

## Chapter 8. Secularization and the Rancho Era, 1834-1846

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This chapter on the secularization and Rancho Era contains sections with a wide central California perspective and sections with a narrow San Francisco Peninsula perspective. The initial section follows the mission secularization process whereby Mission Indians lost legal title to their lands and became a servant class within the Hispanic community. The second section describes land grants received by Indian people in the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Areas. The third section examines various themes pertinent to the San Francisco Bay Area and the larger central California area. The fourth section documents secularization at Mission Dolores and the family groups of the San Francisco Peninsula Indian community up to 1840. The fifth and final section describes the Mission Dolores Indians and the San Francisco Peninsula landscape during the early and mid-1840s.

### SECULARIZATION IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

The first Spanish Franciscans to enter Upper California had intended to turn the local hunter-gatherer people into farmers, ranchers, craftsmen, and faithful practicing Catholic Christians. From the Franciscan point of view, mission lands and other secular properties were being held in trust until such time as the Indians became “people of reason” and full citizens of the Spanish Empire. The promise that mission lands would be returned to the Indians was codified by decree of the Spanish Cortes in 1813. That promise was also implied in a number of laws passed by the Mexican government in the 1820s and 1830s. Below, the subsections of this report section summarize the Mexican laws and statutes and describe the practical events that left the Indians of the California missions landless by 1846.

#### Prelude to Secularization

The first policy by the Mexican government that allowed some Mission Indians to break away from the mission communes was Governor Echendía’s partial emancipation decree of 1826 that was referenced in the concluding section of Chapter 6. The policy allowed a limited number of latinized Indians to find work with Hispanic settlers. British visitor Frederick Beechey described his own understanding of the results of the partial emancipation in late 1826:

Having served ten years in the mission, an Indian may claim his liberty, provided any respectable settler will become surety for his future good conduct. A piece of ground is then allotted for his support, but he is never wholly free from the establishment, as part of his earnings must still be given to them. We heard of very few to

whom this reward for servitude and good conduct had been granted (Beechey [1826] 1831:22-23).

The partial emancipation policy was first applied only to the Monterey district and not other districts. It was extended to the other districts in 1828, but did not include Mission San Rafael or Mission San Francisco Solano on the northern frontier (Bancroft 1886:III:102).

On July 2, 1833 southern Mission Prefect Narciso Duran wrote Figueroa with regard to the difference of life quality of the Indians who were living at the missions and those who were emancipated and living in the pueblo of Los Angeles:

I have seen with the greatest amazement that [the Indians who dwell in the pueblo of Los Angeles] . . . live far more wretched and oppressed than those in the missions. There is not one who has a garden of his own, or a yoke of oxen, a horse, or a house fit for a rational being. The equality with the white people, which is preached to them, consists in this, that these Indians are subject to a white comisionado, and are the only ones who do the menial work . . . All in reality are slaves, or servants of white men who know well the manner of securing their services by binding them a whole year for an advanced trifle . . . The benevolent ideas of the Government will never be realized, because the Indian evinces no other ambition than to possess a little more savage license, even though it involved a thousand oppressions of servitude (Duran [1833] in Geary 1934:137).

Duran's negative analysis of Indian ambition aside, it is clear that the mission system had not prepared emancipated Indians to live as small landholders or private entrepreneurs.

#### **Secularization Law of 1833 and Regulations of 1834**

The secularization law directing the closure of the California missions was passed by the Congress of Mexico on August 17, 1833. It was called the "Decree of the Congress of Mexico Secularizing the Missions." The law implied that each Indian mission community would become a town with its own government, much as the Indian pueblos of New Mexico were self-governing entities. Its 15 sections provided detailed directions for the establishment of parish churches, for the support of parish priests, and for the assignment of selected mission buildings "as an ayuntamiento-house, primary schools, public establishments, and work-shops" (Bancroft 1886:III:336-337). But it was silent regarding rules for the distribution of other mission property.

Regulations guiding implementation of secularization were passed by the California departmental legislature and signed by Governor Figueroa on August 9, 1834. The regulations were set in the "Provisional Ordinance for the Secularization of the Missions of Upper California," referred to hereafter as the "*Reglamento*. [Regulations]" It was a surprisingly balanced document that, had it been followed, would have guided the development of ejidos—communal land-holding pueblos—for the Catholic Indians around each mission. Below we quote some of the key directives from Bancroft's (1886:III:342-344) translation. Concepts regarding the distribution of property are found in directives 5, 6, and 7 as follows:

Directive 5. To each head of a family, and to all over 20 years old, will be given from the mission lands a lot not over 400 nor less than 100 varas square. In common, will be given them enough land to pasture their stock. Ejidos [common lands] shall be assigned for each pueblo, and at the proper time propios [town lands] also.

Directive 6. Among the same individuals there shall be distributed pro rata, according to the judgment of the gefe politico, one half of the live-stock, taking as a basis the latest inventories rendered by the missionaries.

Directive 7. There will also be distributed to them, proportionally, half or less of the

existing chattels, tools, and seed indispensable for the cultivation of the ground.

So the Indians were to receive farm plots, half of the livestock and movable agricultural property, as well as “enough land to pasture their stock,” the latter to be held in common. Although the Indians were to be emancipated, they were to continue to devote labor to common projects, according to Directive 16.

Directive 16. The emancipated will be obliged to aid in the common work which in the judgment of the *gefe politico* may be deemed necessary for the cultivation of the vineyards, gardens, and fields remaining for the present undistributed.

The *Reglamento* formula, if followed with fairness and under direction of true leaders of the Indian communities, might have led to development of a practical *ejido* system at each mission pueblo.

What was to become of the other half of the movable wealth and the “unneeded” mission grazing lands under the 1834 *Reglamento*? Directive 8 states that it was to be reserved for disposal by the federal government.

Directive 8. All the remaining lands and property of every kind will remain the charge and responsibility of the *Majordomo* or employee named by the *gefe politico*, at the disposal of the superior government.

Directive 9 called for the government to use this remaining mission wealth to generate revenue for the public good, i.e., to pay the salary of the *majordomo* [manager of the common property], parish priests, schools, and “other objects of public order and improvement”.

It is not clear how the framers of the 1834 *Reglamento* planned to generate capital from the reserved property for “objects of public order.” It is possible that the framers expected the recipients of privatized mission lands to be taxed in the future to pay for the parish priests, schools, and *majordomo* salary listed in Directive 9.

### **Systematic Hispanic Privatization of Mission Lands**

Had the final secularization law and its accompanying enabling regulations been followed to the letter, the Indians of central California would have received large allotments of lands around each mission in accordance with the *ejido* (lands in common) landholding system. Instead, Hispanic families received the land in large private blocks, following the *haciendo* system. The *ejido* and *haciendo* landholding systems had developed along two separate paths in Mexico over the centuries of Spanish occupation. Much of Mexico’s farm and ranch lands were concentrated in the hands of a few upper-class families as large estates under the *hacienda* system; under it the landless classes, Indians, mestizo, and mulattos, depended upon the land-owning patrons for tools, supplies, and homes on estate lands. In other parts of Mexico, individual families worked lands assigned by community governments, the lands being held under collective ownership in the *ejido* system. The communal *ejido* system developed in many areas where Indians had an agricultural life way, such as among 19 Indian pueblos in New Mexico that are now within the United States.

The distribution of mission lands did not unfold in the way that the 1834 *Reglamento* foresaw. After the death of Governor Figueroa in September of 1835, a series of commissioners worked with a series of governors and provincial legislatures up through 1846 to distribute most mission lands to well-placed Mexican citizens. Some Indian people did receive land titles in a few parts of California, but they were the exception and they seldom retained title for more than a few years.

Most San Francisco Peninsula lands were divided among private families during the 1838-1840 period (Figure 14). Governor Alvarado, who oversaw much of the redistribution of mission land, justified his distribution of vast mission ranch lands to non-Indians with the claim that the number of Indians at the missions had decreased, while the number of Hispanic inhabitants in need

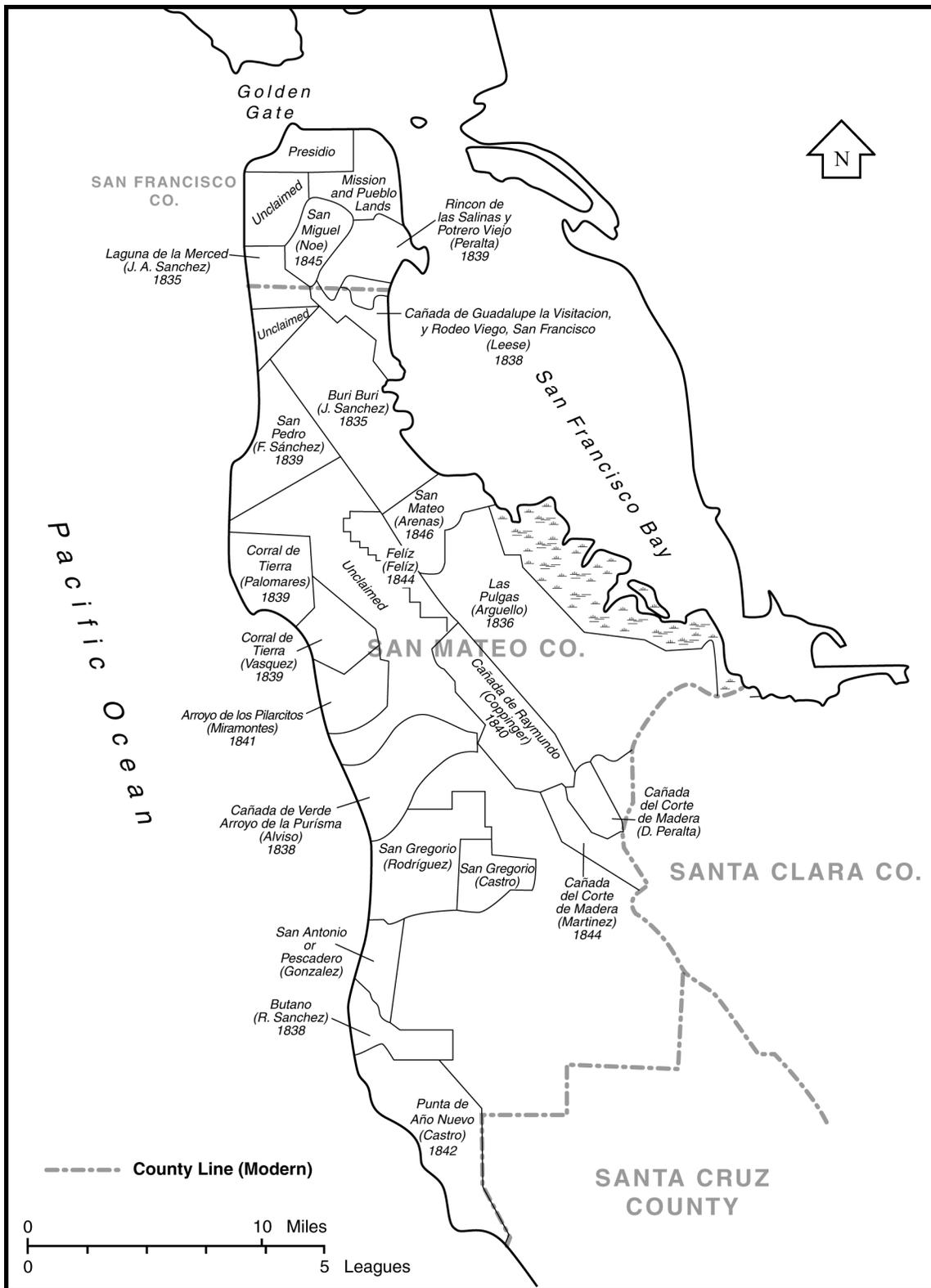


Figure 14. Spanish and Mexican Period Ranchos of San Francisco and San Mateo Counties.

had vastly increased. “It was a simple act of justice, made imperative by the circumstances, to take away lands from those who had too much and grant them to industrious persons who needed them for their horses and cattle” (Alvarado in Miller 1998:84).

The expropriation of mission lands and property accelerated the spread of the rancho system that had begun under Spanish rule, the socioeconomic structure in place when the United States took over California in 1846. The actual process of inventorying and distributing the properties was carried out at each individual mission by officials appointed by the governor. The process involved insider dealing and untruthful reports about the needs of the mission Indians. As one scholar later wrote:

The great mass of the commissioners and other officials, whose duty it became to administer the properties of the missions and especially their great numbers of horses, cattle, sheep and other animals, thought of little else and accomplished little else than enriching themselves. It cannot be said that the spoliation was immediate; but it was certainly very rapid. A few years sufficed to strip the establishments of everything of value and leave the Indians, who were, in contemplation of law the beneficiaries of secularization, a shivering crowd of naked and, so to speak, homeless wanderers...the mission properties...soon began to find their way into the hands of private individuals; and the commissioners and officials in general began to grow rich (Hittell 1885 II:206-207, 209).

The list of people that obtained lands reads like a *Who's Who* of Hispanic California history. The largest San Francisco Bay Area land parcels, totalling 300,000 acres, were carved out of Mission San Francisco Solano lands north of the bay by Mariano G. Vallejo, one of the commissioners for the closure of that mission. In California at large, the largest land acreage, over 532,000 acres, was obtained by Pio and Andres Pico. Next in order of size were the grants to the de la Guerra family (at least 326,000 acres), the Yorba family (235,000 acres), Abel Stearns (200,000 acres), the Carrillo family (over 165,000 acres), Juan Bandini (over 130,000 acres), the Castro family (Over 120,000 acres), the Arguello family (over 116,000 acres), the Lugos (over 100,000 acres), the Estradas (over 66,000 acres), the Ortegas (over 44,000 acres), and the Estudillos (over 35,000 acres).<sup>38</sup> Scores of other *Californio* families received smaller ranchos. The new landowners also took most of the tools and livestock of the missions.

### Hispanic Rancheros and Mission Indian Peons

The emergent rancho system was unique to its place and time—California during the 1830s and 1840s. Since the large estates, whose key product was cattle, were the dominant economic and social units, the labor system typical on these ranchos defined social relations in society as a whole. Native people, whose labor had originally supported just the missionaries and soldiers stationed at the missions, became the labor source for all of the growing Hispanic population. As one contemporary later wrote:

Some of the great ranchos of the country were baronial in their extent and surroundings. Their proprietors being great dignitaries, maintaining large numbers of vassals—for such they were, mostly Indians who, under Mexican majordomos, did all of the labor for the ranch (Bell 1881:288).

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<sup>38</sup> The list of acreages per family has been gathered from Cowan (1956:20-112), Dunlap (1982:192), Hittell (1885 II:209, 753), and Monroy (1998:182).

The leading landowning families had large numbers of female Indian house servants. Francisca Carillo, wife of Mariano Vallejo, recounted servants in her home:

Each child (of whom there were sixteen) has a personal attendant, while I have two for my own needs; four or five are occupied in grinding corn for tortillas, for so many visitors come here that three grinders do not suffice; six or seven serve in the kitchen, and five or six are always washing clothes for the children or other servants; and finally, nearly a dozen are employed at sewing and spinning (quoted in Caughey and Caughey 1976:105).

The most common relationship between patrons and working Indians was a type of peonage, personal dependence on a master, although there were small numbers of both Indian wage laborers and Indian slaves (Cook 1943b:48-52; Pitt 1966:15-16; Castillo 1978a:105; Hurtado 1988:55-71; Phillips 1981:37-38; Hackel 1998:134). Reciprocal obligations were central to the peonage system. The Indian peon typically received food, clothing, some land use rights and basic supplies from the master in exchange for his labor. Ranchero Salvador Vallejo, brother of Mariano Vallejo, described the relationship:

Many of the rich men of the country had from twenty to sixty Indian servants whom they dressed and fed... Our friendly Indians tilled our soil, pastured our cattle, sheared our sheep, cut our lumber, built our houses, paddled our boats, made tiles for our homes, ground our grain, slaughtered our cattle, dressed their hides for market, and made our unburnt bricks; while the Indian women made excellent servants, took good care of our children, made every one of our meals... Those people we considered as members of our families. We loved them and they loved us (Salvador Vallejo in Cook 1943b:51).

In many cases, emancipated mission Indians who had lived in an area all their lives simply transferred allegiance at secularization from the mission to the new local ranch owner. The new hierarchy replaced the missionaries with the head of a Californio family. In the new system, however, the paternalism of the master was a key factor, since the Indian peons were not tied to the institution in the same way that they had been tied to the mission system.

As the missions disintegrated after the fall of 1834, the Indians at each one were cast adrift. They had to find ways to survive. In the new rancho world, where land and goods were owned by the Hispanic patrons, local Old Christian Indians and those new neophytes who did not want to return to the Central Valley saw the patrons as necessary for their survival, and thus became willing participants in their own exploitation. If the Indian family was originally from a rancho location, an added incentive tied them to the patron, the sense that they belonged to that specific place. Becoming a peon on a Californio's rancho was often the only viable option.

### **Final Secularization Act of 1845**

Pio Pico, who succeeded Manuel Micheltoarena as Upper California governor in February of 1845, oversaw the final conversion of all mission lands to non-church properties and conversion of some church buildings to diocesan parish churches, and the sale of others as abandoned property. Bancroft (1886:IV:546-547) writes, "The remnants of property were small and unequally distributed; many of the estates were burdened with ever increasing debts; the Indians fit for work were few and unmanageable; and the friars were old, worn-out, discouraged men, utterly incompetent to overcome the obstacles that beset their path as administrators."

Creditors and citizens desirous of property pushed Pico for final secularization. Pico sent two emissaries to the prefects of the missions, to secure support for some orderly plan to close them or rent them to provide resources for impoverished Indians. Bancroft describes Pico's motives as follows:

He saw in the mission estates a source of possible revenue to be utilized by the government in emergencies; while the padres, representing the Indians, opposed a change, if at all, only because of fear that their wards might be cheated out of their rights (Bancroft 1886:IV:547).

Southern mission Prefect Narciso Duran refused to cooperate with Pico. The following quote from Bancroft paraphrases Duran's response.

[Duran] was surprised that a governor ad interim should dare to undertake such innovations, and declared the real motive to be clear—"the master-key which opens all windows to see, not through a screen, but the clearest crystal, the mystery lurking behind the absolute liberty of the Indians." Their ideas of liberty were those of school-boys glad when the master is sick and school closed. The 'new masters' will have use only for the strong and well; what is to become of the rest? He would never consent to a sale of the missions, which belong, not to the nation, but to the Indians (Bancroft 1886:IV:548).

Nevertheless, Pico pressed forward toward full secularization/privatization. The California legislature passed the following resolution regarding complete secularization/privatization on May 28, 1845:

1. The Indians of San Rafael, Dolores, Soledad, San Miguel, and Purísima are warned to reunite and occupy those mission within a month, or they will be declared mostrencas (ownerless, i.e., abandoned) and disposed of for the general good of the department.
2. Carmelo, San Juan Bautista, San Juan Capistrano, and Solano are to be considered pueblos at present; and after reserving a curate's house, church, and courthouse, remaining property shall be sold at auction for the payment of debts, the surplus being devoted to the support of divine worship.
3. The rest of the missions may be rented at the option of the government; and the Indians shall be free to work for the renters, on the lands to be assigned them, or for other persons.
4. The principal building of Santa Bárbara is reserved for the bishop and the padres, and the rent of this mission is to be equally divided between the church and the Indians.
5. The product of the rents [of all missions] shall be divided into three equal parts, one for the support of the minister and of worship, one for the Indians, and one for the government, to be devoted to education and the public welfare, after the payment of debts.
6. The first part shall be placed at the disposal of the prelates for equitable distribution (Bancroft 1886:IV:549-550).

This resolution of 1845, allowing the government to rent some remaining mission lands with benefit to the Indians, contained an echo of the positive principals of the Secularization Act of 1833 and Figueroa's 1834 *Reglamento*. While retention of some lands as rentals gave no land control to Indians, it suggested a possible future in which Indians would find themselves free citizens in towns with enough ejido lands to provide a decent communal living. The resolution led, however, to the October 1845 decree ordering the final sale of Mission Dolores property, which will be discussed in a subsequent section of this chapter.

## SHORT-LIVED INDIAN LAND GRANTS

While vast tracks of former Indian lands were divided among the Hispanic citizenry, a small number of Indians did receive land grants in former Costanoan lands during the 1840s. Two rancho

grants were given to Indians who had been baptized at Mission Dolores but had moved north to their homelands in the Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano areas. Another four rancho grants were given to Mission Santa Clara Indians. And one small plot of land near Mission San Jose was granted, ejido style, to a group of Mission San Jose Indians.

Five of the seven San Francisco Bay Area Indian land grants were recognized later by the U.S. Land Commission, while two were not. None of the San Francisco Bay Area grantees still held their land in the 1850s. Land grants of various kinds to Indians in the Monterey Bay Area were also lost to non-Indians by the 1850s.

### **North Bay Grants to ex-Mission Dolores Indians**

One of the two Mission Dolores Indians who received a grant was Teodorico Quilaguequi, a Huimen Coast Miwok man who had been baptized at San Francisco at age 8 back in 1798 (SFR-B 3310). Teodorico was the son of Quilajuque, a Huimen who had been baptized Juan Antonio (SFR-B 4859). He had raised a family at Mission Dolores in the 1820s (Appendix F:Table 14, Family 18) and when his wife died, had returned north to Mission San Rafael to have a second family with Micaelina Chuguimen (SRA-B 921), a Pomo-speaking woman from the mouth of the Russian River.

Teodorico was the leader of a group that received Rancho Nicasio by order of Governor Figueroa in 1835. Documents indicate that Mariano Vallejo took control of the land “in trust” for them in 1837, then returned only one square league to them in 1840 as “Tinicasia.” In 1844, Governor Micheltorena assigned the entire Nicasio grant to Pablo de la Guerra and Juan Cooper, with no reference to the Indian title. Timothy Murphy brought a claim before the U.S. Land Commission for the Tinicasia grant on behalf of Teodorico and his Indian associates, but that claim was rejected in 1855 (Dietz 1976).

The other Mission Dolores Indian who received a land grant in the North Bay was Francisco Solano, commonly called Solano. Solano is celebrated in California history as an ally of Mariano Vallejo in conquering the tribal Indians north of the Sonoma frontier. Solano was a Suisun Patwin who had been baptized at San Francisco at age 11 in 1810 (SFR-B 4024). He was one of the people sent back north in 1823 to help found Mission San Francisco Solano. By 1826 he was one of the alcaldes of Mission San Francisco Solano, as documented in a baptismal record noting him as a godparent (SFS-B 194).

Mariano Vallejo petitioned Governor Alvarado, in January of 1837, to give Solano title to Rancho Suisun, the former Mission San Francisco Solano outstation of Santa Eulalia.

Being a free man and working a sufficient number of cattle and horses to establish a Rancho, he solicits from the strict justice and goodness of Your Honor, that you please grant him the land of “Suisun” together with its known appurtenances ... Said land belongs to him by hereditary right from his ancestors, and he is actually in possession of it (Land Case 2 ND).

Vallejo petitioned as the Mission San Francisco Solano commissioner for secularization. He stated in a later memoir that Francisco Solano had earned the grant by leading Christian Indian auxiliaries to help Vallejo defeat hostile northern tribes in 1835 (Vallejo 1850).

Francisco Solano received title to Rancho Suisun on January 28, 1842 (Land Case 2 ND, page 2). Just four months later, in May of 1842, Vallejo bought the land from him. Jesús Molino, one of Vallejo’s North Bay associates, controlled Rancho Suisun during the mid-1840s (Rensch and Rensch 1938:21-22). One might question, in retrospect, whether Vallejo ever intended for Solano to retain ownership of the land.

### **Santa Clara Valley Indian Grants**

In the Santa Clara Valley, four tracts of Mission Santa Clara land were granted to Indian people, all during the 1840s.

- Rancho La Purisima Concepcion, in the Los Altos area on the west side of the valley, was granted to Jose Gorgonio, who had come to Mission Santa Clara from the “San Bernardino” district with his father in 1790, when he was two years old (SCL-B 1721).
- Rancho Los Coches, in the present south San Jose area, was granted in 1844 to Roberto, who had been born at a tribal village in that precise area back in 1782, and baptized at Santa Clara in 1785 (SCL-B 791).
- Rancho Posolmi, north of the present San Jose airport, was granted in 1844 to another long-time Christian Indian of Mission Santa Clara, Inigo (SCL-B 1501).
- Rancho Ulistac, a large tract along the lower Guadalupe River, was granted in 1845 to Marcelo, son of the former headman of Mission Santa Clara’s “San Francisco Solano” district in that very area (SCL-B 1360; SCL-B 4577).

By the time of the U.S. land case investigations in the 1850s, these lands were in control of Juan Briones, Antonio Suñol, Robert Walkinshaw, and J. D. Hoppe, respectively (see Shoup and Milliken 1995).

### **A Mission San Jose Parcel License**

No formal ranchos were granted to any Mission San Jose Indians. However, a written license was written in 1844 by Father Muro to one group of Mission San Jose Indians that gave them the right to farm along Mission Creek:

I concede a necessary license to Buenaventura, Meliton, Martin, Eusebio, Polycarpo, Lorenzo, and Epifanio and their respective families that they may at a distance about a quarter of a league from this Mission on the road leading to the Arroyo de la Alameda live together working the land they may want for the maintenance of themselves and their families apart from the work of community doing this favor particularly for the three first, Old Christians, for having proved to be constant in the work of the Mission since their childhood, besides their obedience and willingness in the services of their Superiors. And in proof thereof at the request of the same parties interested, I give them this writing at the Mission of San Jose, the 2nd day of the Month of November 1844 (signed) Fr. Miguel Muro (Land Case 290 ND).

The head of the group, Buenaventura, had been baptized in 1798 at age 2 (SJO-B 161). As of 1844 he was one of the few survivors of the original villagers in the immediate Mission San Jose vicinity.

The Buenaventura group’s license was purchased as a land title by a North American in 1849 and presented before the U.S. Land Commission in 1855 (Land Case 290 ND). The title was rejected by the Land Commission. The license is important as a possible example of the type of short-term private utilization of common lands that would have arisen if an ejido system had been allowed to develop at Mission San Jose.

### **Monterey Bay Area Indian Land Grants**

Most Indians of Mission Carmel worked on Mexican ranches or in the town of Monterey after secularization. However, a small group of Indian people obtained land. Most received parcels through assignment from the mission secularization commissioner, a means that was not

accompanied by outright land title. Hackel (2005:390-392) found evidence that five Indians successfully petitioned for titled ranches.

Hints of Indian landownership in the Monterey region surfaced during the inquiry into the title of the very small Rancho el Tucho, located along the banks of the Salinas River, several miles inland from Monterey Bay. In 1843, José Joaquín Buelna had declared that two Carmel Indians were granted land there in 1840. Apparently, though, soon thereafter, one grantee had moved to Santa Cruz, the other to San Jose. Similarly, San Carlos Indians also seem to have been granted land they later abandoned on Rancho Los Laureles, located east of the mission up the Carmel Valley. In all of these instances, Carmel Indians at some time held parts, if not all, of these ranchos, but the Indians' identities are lost, as are the circumstances of their use and abandonment of their land (Hackel 2005:390).

Names of some other Mission Indians associated with Mission San Carlos who were successful in obtaining and holding land title are known. One example was Cristina Salgado, a Baja California Indian descendent born at Mission San Luis Obispo who moved to Mission Carmel and married Gaspar Talatis, an Esselen speaker, in 1819. The couple was emancipated and lived in San Jose in the mid-1820s. They then moved to the mission sheep ranch of Las Salinas, west of Castroville, where Talatis died in 1827. After secularization, Cristina Salgado was given title to Rancho Rincón de Las Salinas. She maintained a successful cattle ranch, sold the property to Rafael Estrada in 1844, and continued to live in her house on the property until her death (Hackel 2005:391-407).

Some Mission Carmel Indians who managed to secure pieces of land faced attempts at land theft by unscrupulous Hispanic citizens. Those Indians who were able to hold land did so with the support of influential members of the Hispanic community of the Monterey Bay Area. Most Carmel Indians who obtained land held it for less than a decade. Only one family held land for many decades after secularization, the family of Loreta Onesimo and James Meadows; the husband in that family was an English seaman who jumped ship in Monterey in 1837 (Hackel 2005:404-405).

## MISCELLANEOUS THEMES OF THE RANCHO ERA

### Three Experiential Classes of Indians

By the 1840s the native people of lands now within the state of California fell into three separate experiential groups, depending upon their degree of experience within the previous Franciscan mission system. The three groups—*Christianos antiguos* (old Christians), *Christianos nuevos* (new Christians), and *gentiles* (non-Christian)—may be defined as follows:

*Christianos Antiguos* (Old Christians): Church baptismal entries of the 1830s and 1840s label certain parents and godparents as *Chistianos Antiguos*. The old Christian Indians were Spanish speakers who had baptized at a mission during or prior to the early 1820s (or the child of such a person) and were committed to the values that missions had tried to instill. After secularization they worked in the households and on the ranchos of Hispanic citizens.

*Christianos Nuevos* (New Christians): The new Christians were tribal people who had been baptized during the last ten to 15 years of mission activity. Their proficiency in Spanish and acceptance of Catholicism varied with length of time spent at a mission and individual interest. At secularization, most of them, but not all, went back to their homelands, some to lead the many horse raids against the Coast Range ranchos. Others, however, remained at the Hispanic towns and ranchos as laborers. Some new Christian women married into old Christian families.

*Non-Christians*: The non-Christians were the tribal Indian people who had never been baptized by the Franciscans (or by Russian priests in the Bodega Bay and Fort Ross areas). The non-

Christians included most Pomoan people from north of the present towns of Cloverdale and Middletown in the North Coast Ranges, Patwins from north of Woodland, Nisenans from north and east of Sacramento, Sierra Miwoks, Western Monos and Foothill Yokuts from the Sierra Nevada, and the many groups of far northern and transmontane eastern California.

During the Rancho Period over half of the modern territory of California was still in the hands of non-Christian Indians, tribal people who had never moved to any mission or learned a non-Indian language. Those groups were not living in pristine conditions, however. Their numbers had been lowered during Hispanic times, reduced by new diseases that were constantly spreading by indirect contact with Western populations.

### Hispanic Inter-marriage with Central California Indians

Very few marriages occurred between Hispanic people and California Indian people at the seven Costanoan area missions. A total of 11,355 marriages are documented at the missions from Soledad north to San Francisco Solano prior to 1841, with the following ethnic breakdown:

- Both spouses were California Indians in 10,649 marriages.
- Both spouses were *gente de razon* (mostly Hispanic, occasionally North American or English after 1820) in 636 cases.
- One spouse was a California Indian, the other a *gente de razon* in 43 cases.
- One spouse was a Baja California Indian, the other a California Indian in 25 cases.
- Both spouses were Baja California Indians in one case.
- One spouse was a *gente de razon*, the other a Baja California Indian, in one case.

Of the 43 cross cultural California Indian-Hispanic marriages at missions from Soledad north to San Francisco Solano, Hispanic men married Indian women in 38 cases, and Indian men married Hispanic women in 5 cases (Appendix F:Table 16).

Seven of the cross cultural Indian-Hispanic marriages occurred at Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Table 16). No offspring resulted from five of the marriages, all of which took place between 1779 and 1806. One of the marriages that did produce offspring was between Mexican blacksmith Jose Ramos and local woman Francisca Maria of the Aramai village of Timigtac (present-day Rockaway Beach, San Mateo County). Ramos died soon after their son Pablo Antonio (SFR-B 410) was born. Pablo Antonio, who was not himself considered *gente de razon* in the records, had many children with three successive wives. The other Indian-Hispanic marriage at Mission Dolores was between a Mission San Jose Indian woman, Maria Ygnacia (a Souyen San Francisco Bay Costanoan) and Hispanic Felipe Garcia of Monterey (SCA-B 659). After a wedding at Mission Dolores in 1813 they had three daughters, one of whom, Maria Francisca Trinidad (SFR-B 5198), later married an Hispanic man with the surname German. Their children survived to have descendants into the twentieth century, some with the Buelna surname.

Among the 25 central California marriages involving Baja California mission Indians and California mission Indians, three took place at Mission Dolores on April 18, 1779 (SFR-M 15-17). Participants and descendants were:

- Raymundo Morante married Maria Inez Puruem of Yelamu (SFR-B 77); one child, Antonio de Padua Morante (SFR-B 160), survived to adulthood.
- Cipriano Agraz married Maria Rosa de Viterbo (SFR-B 61) from Halchis; no children survived to adulthood.
- Joaquin Fabian married Ana Maria from Amuctac in Visitation Valley (SFR-B 22); no children survived to adulthood.

No marriages or offspring have been identified for Antonio Morante, who died at San Mateo in 1845 (SFR-D 5480). Pablo Antonio Ramos, however, married twice and did have children still known to be alive in the 1830s.

San Francisco Bay Costanoans also married Hispanics at two other missions, San Francisco Solano and Santa Clara. At San Francisco Solano a woman who was part Baja Indian, part Saclan Bay Miwok, and part Timigtac San Francisco Bay Costanoan from Mission Dolores named Leandra Ventura (SFR-B 4179) married Hispanic soldier Jose Rafael Robles in 1825 at Mission San Francisco Solano in the North Bay (Appendix F:Table 16). Their possible offspring have not been traced. Five Mission Santa Clara marriages involved Hispanics and San Francisco Bay Costanoans, all late in the Mission Period (1815 and later). All were exceptional for California during the Mission Period, in that they involved Indian men and *gente de razon* women. In three of the cases, the *gente de razon* women in the marriages were themselves part-Costanoan by ancestry (Appendix F:Table 16).

At Mission Carmel, 13 Hispanic men married Rumsen Ohlone women, one Hispanic man married a Yuma Indian women, another married a Tongva Shoshonean woman from Los Angeles, and still another married a Nootka Indian woman from present British Columbia, all prior to the year 1800 (Appendix F:Table 16). The descendants of those 16 marriages were raised as *gente de razon*. By 1846 the descendants of the early Mission Carmel soldier-Indian marriages represented scores of members of the Hispanic community in the Monterey and San Francisco Bay Areas.

We have not studied the effect of part-California Indian ancestry on the ability of *gente de razon* individuals to advance in the military or government, or to eventually secure rancho lands. We note that Lizbeth Haas (1995) studied the varied genetic backgrounds of early Hispanic migrants into California and concluded that lighter-skinned individuals had advantages in securing position and wealth.

### **Indian Boatmen on San Francisco Bay**

The shipping business for the hide-and-tallow trade was important on San Francisco Bay in the mid-to-late 1830s. Historic memoirs emphasize the role of William A. Richardson in that trade. Richardson ran a launch manned by ex-mission neophytes. Baptized at Mission Dolores in July of 1823, Richardson married Maria Antonia Martinez in May of 1825 (SFR-M 2012), thus becoming the son-in-law of Commandante Ignacio Martinez and the brother-in-law of Jose Joaquin Estudillo, the first secularization commissioner of Mission Dolores in 1834-1835. He first hired out as a pilot on the bay between 1827 and 1829. He then moved to San Gabriel Mission in Southern California (Bancroft 1886:IV:694).

Richardson returned to San Francisco Bay in 1835, where he gained access to some launches in order to help move settlers north to found the pueblo of Sonoma. It is not clear when Richardson became a launch owner in his own right. Bancroft described his business and his dependence on Indian boatmen:

His business was the collection of produce from points about the bay to make up the cargoes of trading vessels by the aid of Indian crews who navigated two or three old launches belonging to himself and the missions. His Indians had a temascal, or bath-house, at the foot of Sacramento Street, the water front being the present Montgomery street (Bancroft 1886:III:709).

Clearly, mission Indian men worked for Richardson in the middle and late 1830s, at a time when the missions were under control of administrators. Were the Indian boatmen hired out by the administrators, or were they emancipated?

Richard Henry Dana, a crewman on a Boston hide-and-tallow trade ship, was under the impression that the launches on San Francisco Bay were still under the control of the missions when he visited in December of 1835. He wrote:

The mission of San Francisco, near the anchorage, has no trade at all, but those of San José, Santa Clara, and others, situated on large creeks or rivers which run into the bay, and distant between fifteen and forty miles from the anchorage, do a greater business in hides than any in California. Large boats, manned by Indians, and capable of carrying nearly a thousand hides apiece, are attached to the missions, and sent down to the vessels with hides, to bring away goods in return (Dana [1840] 1869:221).

Dana described Richardson's presence at the future site of downtown San Francisco. He noted that "an enterprising Yankee, years in advance of his time, had put up, on the rising ground above the landing, a shanty of rough boards, where he carried on a very small retail trade between the hide ships and the Indians" (Dana 1869:375). Richardson built the first adobe building at the place, then called Yerba Buena, in 1836 (Dana 1869:380). He was named Captain of the Port by M. G. Vallejo in 1837. At that time he obtained Rancho Sausalito at the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula.

William Heath Davis reminisced years later about Richardson's relationship with the Indian boatmen who worked for him.

The Captain had eight trained Indians, who had become proficient boatmen. They lived on the premises at the Captain's home in Sausalito.... These Indians would do anything to serve and please the Captain. He was kind to them and they loved him (Davis 1929:13).

No list of the names of Richardson's Indian boatmen in the 1830s exists. Earlier Bay Area mission death register entries do occasionally note individual *lancheros* [boatmen]. An 1836 Mission San Francisco Solano census listed Pablo Caguampis, a Carquin from Mission Dolores (SFR-B 3735), as the *Patron de Lanchas* [Boss of the Launches] (Anonymous 1836). It is likely that Richardson drew his boatmen from the ranks of *Christianos Antiguos* who had manned the launches for missions up through the early 1830s. It would not be surprising if many of them were Carquins, given the large number of people from that water-oriented group still alive at missions Dolores and San Francisco Solano in 1834.

### **Indian Horse Raiders on the Frontier**

The Coast Range ranchers of the 1836-1846 period were constantly harassed by Indians from the Central Valley who stole their livestock, primarily horses. Tribal people from the Central Valley had been raiding Coast Range stock ranches long before the missions closed. Yokuts groups from the present Los Banos area raided Mission San Juan Bautista as early as 1812. In 1819 the Spaniards raided the Moquelemne Plains Miwoks in the present Lodi region east of the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, to punish them for stock raiding. But stock raiding increased sharply following the partial secularization of the missions in 1834-1836.

Numerous reports of the late 1830s and early 1840s document Indian horse raids into the East Bay and Mexican counter-raids against native villages in the Central Valley (Cook 1960:190). Charles Wilkes, head of the visiting U.S. Navy South Seas Exploring Expedition, was told in 1841 that ex-neophytes were involved in the horse raiding:

Many of them [displaced Mission Indians] have joined the wild Indians, and are now committing acts of violence on the whites; they are becoming daily more daring, and have rendered a residence in single farm-houses or estancias not without danger... a month previous to the arrival of the squadron, they had driven off three

hundred horses (Wilkes 1845:173).

The main post-secularization horse raiders into the San Francisco Bay Area were members of local tribes that had been partially absorbed into Mission San Jose, then sent home to the Central Valley in 1836-1837. They were Moquelemne, Chilamnes, and Seumne Plains Miwoks. The Delta Yokuts tribes that had gone to Mission San Jose between 1812 and 1826 were too depleted in numbers to cause much trouble in the late 1830s. Further south, Northern Valley Yokuts groups (Oyima, Chausila, and Geuche) raided the ranches of the San Juan Bautista and Soledad vicinities. None of the Central Valley tribal groups that became horse raiders had been baptized at Mission Dolores.

When the most recent converts from the Central Valley were released from the missions at secularization, they returned home without the items necessary to take traditional life up again, such as cutting tools and baskets, and with their old tribal social and economic networks disrupted. A British exploratory party encountered one such returned tribal group on the Sacramento River near its confluence with the American River in November of 1837. Captain Edward Belcher described the group:

They appeared as if they had just returned from plundering the dresses of a theatre, being partially clothed in shirts, jackets, trousers, &c; in many instances wearing but half of one of the articles; the effect of which, in the case of trousers, was ridiculous in the extreme. Those who could not sport these grotesque dresses, were fancifully decorated with those pigments which wood fires produce, and which, when nearly dry, was scored off, thus displaying skeletons, tatoos, &c; some indeed exhibited the new patterns of fancy shirts very admirably imitated (Belcher 1843:126).

The people Belcher described were probably a mixture of Gualacomne, Ochejamne, and Chupumne Plains Miwok speakers newly turned out from Mission San Jose.

### **Slave Trade for Indian Labor**

Tribal people living on the margins of the rancho world seem to have been the source groups for a virtual slave trade in captured youths from the North Coast Ranges and the Sierra Nevada that emerged during the late 1830s and continued into the 1850s. The marginal area stretched on an arc from the Russian River Valley and Clear Lake on the north (lands of Pomo speakers), to the present Colusa and Yuba City areas in the mid-Sacramento Valley, then around to the foothills of the Sierra Nevada east of Sacramento and Stockton.

Among those who sold captured children in the 1840s was Augustus Sutter, who sold Indian children to his Hispanic creditors around San Francisco Bay (Bancroft 1886:IV:544). Many others also engaged in the practice, including Hispanic families and some of the North Americans who settled along the northern frontier in Sonoma. Maria Angela Colos, a Mission San Jose Indian woman, remembered young tribal Indians brought in to Mission San Jose during her youth, probably during the late 1840s or early 1850s:

She saw a wagon filled with Indian children coming from Martinez. Dona [blank] was in the seat. They were bringing them como (like) animals to be bought up by Spanish Californians. After they got out of the wagon [Angela] was watching and listening carefully ... to overhear what they would say. They mentioned water as *mem*, they wanted some water to drink. They were naked (Harrington 1921-29:III-14).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> *Mem* is the Wintu (Northern Wintuan) word for water (Schlichter 1981:386).

Mission San Jose records between 1830 and 1856 show no less than 25 Indian “orphans” of non-Christian parents brought for baptism by the Amadors, Bernal, Higuera, Livermore, and Welch. Nine of the 25 listed children were explicitly stated to be adopted, all between 1841 and 1845.

At Mission Dolores, 14 “orphaned” Indian children (7 boys and 7 girls) between the ages of 3 and 14 were baptized over the 1838-1853 time period. Their godparents included citizens Augustus (Ignacio) Andrews, Francisco Avila, Antonio Cibrian, Nazario Galindo, Juan Prado Mesa, and Toribio Tanferan (or their wives). No proof exists that any of these children had been brought in through capture, but the pattern suggests that many were.

At the close of the Mexican Period, almost every Hispanic household in the San Francisco Bay Area contained Indian servants. There is no way of knowing how many of the house servants were captured orphans from the distant interior and how many were emancipated *Christianos Antiguos*.

## **PENINSULA LANDS AND INDIANS IN THE 1830S**

Mission Dolores Indians in 1834 had every reason to believe that their traditional lands would be given back to them when the Franciscan missions were closed. The Secularization Act and the succeeding 1834 *Reglamento* suggested, on paper, that mission lands and other property would be turned over to the Indians, minus a small portion necessary to pay for churches, schools, and management of the transition. Yet no lands were ever returned to any surviving descendant of the San Francisco Peninsula people or any other San Francisco Bay Costanoans of Mission Dolores.

In this section we will describe how secularization developed at Mission Dolores, with special attention to the loss of mission lands on the San Francisco Peninsula and the 1839 and 1840 visits of mission inspector William Hartnell to the mission lands. We finish the section with an overview of the Indian families who were living on the Peninsula during the 1830s.

### **Mission Dolores Secularized and Presidio Deactivated, 1834-1835**

Joaquin Estudillo was appointed commissioner in September of 1834 to inventory Mission Dolores and secularize its lands. Missionary control over the land and Indians seems to have ended immediately. Soon after, on October 30, 1834, Governor Figueroa

issued a resolution of the diputacion [legislature] that although the Indian towns still bore the name of missions, they were not lawfully so, since they ought to have been secularized ere this, and should therefore be considered as towns of the republic, subject to the same laws as other towns” (Bancroft 1886:III:348).

Mission Dolores should have been one of those Indian towns, with its outlying lands controlled in common by an Indian town council. However, the Hispanic Mexican town council of the Mission/Presidio vicinity, established in January of 1835, had no intention of providing large tracts of lands to the Mission Dolores Indians, either as individual ranch owners or as pueblo land holders in common. The village of Mission Dolores soon developed into a Mexican settler town.

During Estudillo’s tenure as Mission Dolores commissioner no mission lands were given to Indians, but none were given to Hispanics either. However, Mission Dolores had already lost 90% of the best bay shore Peninsula lands prior to 1834, as was discussed in the fourth section of Chapter 6. In review, Rancho Las Pulgas, the former Lamchin tract along the bay shore of the Peninsula, had been taken as a military stock ranch prior to the year 1800; its 35,240 acres (the entire southern 60% of the rich bay shore plain between San Bruno Mountain and San Francisquito Creek) were transferred into the private control of the first Mexican governor of California, Luis Arguello, in the early 1820s. Rancho Buri Buri, 14,639 acres of former Urebur and Salsón lands (the northern 30% of the rich bay shore plain) had also been confiscated before 1800 for the same purpose; it remained a

military ranch in 1834. Of the rich bay shore area, only Rancho San Mateo (itself 10% of the bay shore plain) remained under Franciscan control. And we should not forget the Presidio, taken by the Spanish government back in 1776.

The San Francisco Presidio was deactivated and nearly abandoned in the summer of 1835. Mariano G. Vallejo, then a second lieutenant in the army of Mexico, established a new military center for the San Francisco Bay Area at Sonoma that summer, under orders from Governor Figueroa (Bancroft 1886:III:294). Vallejo had already been living in buildings of Mission San Francisco Solano with a number of his San Francisco Presidio troops since the summer of 1834, when he had arrived there as secularization commissioner. The population at the San Francisco Presidio varied between two to six men with their families over the 1836 to 1840 period (Bancroft 1886:III:702)

### **First Post-Secularization Land Losses at Mission Dolores**

Enforcement of the relatively fair secularization regulations at Mission Dolores began to be evaded soon after Governor Figueroa became sick and Gumesindo Flores succeeded Joaquin Estudillo as commissioner on July 28, 1835. Governor Figueroa died on September 29, 1835, leading to a 14 month struggle of succession among factions of the Mexican citizenry. The first post-secularization acts of land privatization on the San Francisco Peninsula occurred during this period.

- Rancho Buri Buri, the military stock ranch just south of San Bruno Mountain, was obtained by Jose Antonio Sanchez, then a junior officer at the presidio, in 1835; he established his headquarters in the present Millbrae area (Hynding 1982:24, 31, 33-34; Beck and Haase 1974:30).
- Rancho Laguna de la Merced, Mission Dolores land in present southwest San Francisco, was granted to Jose Antonio Sanchez's nephew, Jose Antonio Galindo, in late 1835.
- Rancho Las Pulgas, the military stock ranch that took in the rich bay shore plain from San Francisquito Creek north almost to San Mateo, was transferred into the private control of the first Mexican governor of California, Luis Arguello, in 1836. (Arguello had been living on the tract since the early 1820s.)

Although the two military ranches went into private hands, they had been taken from Mission Dolores and its Indians long before. Laguna de la Merced was the first parcel actually lost to Mission Dolores after secularization (Figure 14).

Faxon Atherton provides a picture of desolation at the San Mateo Mission Rancho and Mission Dolores on May 10, 1836, on a trip north from Santa Clara.

At 11 a.m. arrived at the Rancho of the Mission of San Francisco [San Mateo]. Is now deserted and in ruins, lies about 25 miles from the Mission. Land around looks remarkably well, but no signs of cultivation. Stopped at a Rancho of some Indians, had some dried beef broiled on the coals and, after resting a few moments, started again, and after crossing some sandy hills arrived in sight of the wreck of the M[ission] of S[an] F[rancisco], although it never could have been a M[ission] of any great note as the land around it is not capable of supporting a large population. Still it has been a small but well conducted M[ission] until it was placed under the charge of an Administrator, since which time it has been going to ruins and is now literally a wreck and not an Indian to be seen (Atherton [1836] 1964:11).

The Indian village visited by Atherton may have been located in present Burlingame on the San Mateo Rancho, just north of Oak Grove Boulevard and just south of the Rancho Buri Buri line. At that spot the Indians were on Mission Dolores land, but were available to act as laborers for the Sanchez family on the Rancho Buri Buri.

## Sanchez as Commissioner and Extensive Land Losses, 1837-1840

Juan Bautista Alvarado became governor of California in December of 1836. He immediately appointed Jose de la Cruz Sanchez, eldest son of Jose Antonio Sanchez, as Mission Dolores commissioner (Bancroft 1886:III:715). New land grants began to be carved from the remaining Mission Dolores lands by the next year, some of them to Jose Antonio Sanchez's relatives.

- Rancho Laguna de la Merced passed from Jose Antonio Galindo (cousin of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez) to Francisco de Haro (husband of Jose de la Cruz Sanchez's sister), in 1837 (Hoover et al. 1990:371-372, 375-376; Hynding 1982:34).
- Rancho Cañada Verde y Arroyo Purísima, on the San Mateo coast north of San Gregorio Creek, was granted by Governor Alvarado to Jose Maria Alviso in 1838. This was the old Cotegen tribal homeland.

William Heath Davis remembered Mission Dolores as a Mexican town in 1838. His list of citizens does not include the Indian house servants. It does highlight the families who were in real control of the land of the San Francisco peninsula at the time:

At the Mission Dolores were Francisco de Haro, then alcalde, who was married to the daughter of Don José Sánchez; Francisco Guerrero, who was afterward alcalde and subprefect; Tiburcio Vásquez; Dona Carmen Cibrián; Candelario Valencia, married to a daughter of Don José Sánchez; Jesús Valencia, married to another daughter of Sánchez; Don Jesús Noé. The residence of Don José Sánchez was at Buri-buri, which place he owned. It contained 8,000 head of cattle and a great many horses and mares. His sons, who lived there also, were José de la Cruz, Francisco, Manuel, Chino and Ysidro (Davis 1929:291).

Although non-Indian citizens appear to have been living in buildings at Mission Dolores at this time, evidence is lacking that they had title to their abodes. While many Spanish surnames appear in Davis's list, the evidence from land deals in the period indicate that the extended family of Jose Antonio Sanchez dominated land and society.

In 1839, Governor Alvarado granted the entire coastal strip from Half Moon Bay north to the present San Francisco County border as private ranchos (Figure 14).

- Rancho San Pedro, 8,926 acres of old Pruristac lands in the present Pacifica area, was obtained by the commissioner's brother and son of Jose Antonio Sanchez, ostensible Presidio commander Francisco Sanchez, in 1839. (Francisco Sanchez utilized a surviving portion of the San Pedro outstation as the bottom floor of a two-story home, a site now commonly known as the Sanchez adobe.)
- Rancho Corral de Tierra, the Chiguan homeland along Half Moon Bay, was granted to Tiburcio Vasquez and Francisco Palomares in 1839. (Tiburcio Vasquez succeeded Jose de la Cruz Sanchez as Mission Dolores administrator in May of 1840.)
- Rancho San Gregorio, Oljon land on Pescadero Creek, was granted to the Buelna family in 1839.

By 1839, the best bay shore lands of the Peninsula were already in private hands, with the one exception of the mission ranch of San Mateo. But back country Peninsula tracts and most remaining lands near Mission Dolores were granted by Governor Alvarado in 1839 and 1840.

- Rancho Rincon de Salinas y Potrero Viejo, a large part of the present southeastern San Francisco County, was granted to Juan Antonio Alviso in 1839.
- Rancho Feliz, a 4,448 acre ranch in the San Andreas Valley, the site of today's Crystal Springs Reservoir, was granted to Jose Antonio Sanchez's grandson Domingo Feliz in 1839.

- Rancho Cañada de Raymundo, 12,545 acres inland from Luís Arguello's Rancho Las Pulgas, became a private rancho in 1840.

In addition, the town council of San Francisco granted 17 lots at Yerba Buena between 1836 and 1839, none to Indians.

### **The Hartnell Investigations, 1839-1840**

Just a few months before the major coastal ranches were granted to Hispanic families, Governor Alvarado sent an Inspector General on the first of two tours of the missions to determine the needs of their Indian populations. William Hartnell arrived at Mission Dolores on September 20, 1839, following his inspection of the state of affairs at Mission San Rafael. He wrote on September 23 that the Indian people of Mission Dolores were all living at San Mateo, and that they knew exactly which lands they wished as their portion of the secularized mission lands:

Within the mission proper there is no Indian community but at San Mateo where all the plantings are, there are 90 souls. All request their freedom and that one Vicente Miramontes continue to care for them. That the place of San Mateo not be taken from them for they cannot subsist without it. Along the coast they want the land extending from los Pilarcitos to La Purísima left to them. Some six or seven old people want the Cañada de Guadalupe bordering on the rancho of Don José Sánchez (Hartnell [1839] 2004:89-90).

Hartnell's note of the next day, September 24, reiterated many points, added some new information, and refined his population count down to 89:

September 24. I assembled the people and there are 50 men, 19 women, and 20 children (89). The Indians request their freedom and the terrain from San Mateo to Las Salinas adjacent to Don José Sánchez and ask that a certain Vicente Miramontes continue to care for them as mayordomo. Along the coast they want the land from Pilarcitos to Purísima left to them but do not need the Corral de Tierras. Some six or seven Indians who want to be left at the Cañada de Guadalupe, adjacent to Don José Sánchez and want to be subjects of the present Administrator, complain that they work hard and no clothing is given to them (Hartnell [1839] 2004:90).

Rancho San Mateo seems to have been the one Mission Dolores property that was being protected in response to the 1834 *Reglamento's* call for the establishment of separate ranches at each mission "for the support of the padre and for public worship" (Bancroft 1886:III:351).

The mission registers suggest that there should have been 112 Mission Dolores Indians alive in 1839. The year-end population in 1834 had been 136. Over the five years since that time 27 Indians had been baptized and 51 Indians had been reported dead; thus the expected total of 112, 23 more than Hartnell's reported 89. The 23 missing people may be due to the emancipation of individuals who went to work in homes or on ranches around San Francisco Bay. The language representation of the 89 people at San Mateo in 1839, reported by Hartnell, was probably similar to that in 1834, since no major redistributions of population occurred between the two time periods.

Hartnell returned to the San Francisco peninsula on his second tour in May of 1840. At that time he did find a few Indians at Mission Dolores.

Only nine or ten men were capable of labor... all the others were employed by private persons, and many against their will. In other words, they were held as slaves and not as voluntary servants (Hartnell in Engelhardt 1924:245).

Hartnell recommended that all of the mission's Indians be gathered at San Mateo and organized as a town, according to Hittell (1885:2:304). As it happened, the Mission Dolores Indians were not given any lands, either on the coast or along the bayshore. The Doloreños, who would have owned the

greater portion of San Francisco had the 1834 *Reglamento* been fairly carried to conclusion, were reduced to slavery within six years of secularization.

By the end of 1840, Rancho San Mateo was the only original land still legally the property of Mission Dolores and potentially available for the benefit of the Doloreño Indians. The last large tract given as a rancho, with the exception of San Mateo, was an area of former Lamchin local tribe land (part of which would become the GGNRA Phleger Estate) that was split off from the Arguello family's Rancho Las Pulgas and granted to John Coppinger in that year. Coppinger, an Irish sawyer, had married a granddaughter of key San Jose resident Ygnacio Soto in November of 1839.

### **Indian Families in Mission Dolores Records, 1834-1840**

The total Indian population of Mission Dolores at the outset of the secularization process was reported to be 136 people, according to the year-end report of 1834 (Appendix F:Table 1). Yet positive evidence is found in the Mission Dolores registers for 202 individual Indian people participating in events at the mission during the mid-1830s (Appendix F:Table 17). The extra 66 people, over and above the 136 counted in the year-end report, probably include:

- Emancipated Indians, active in recorded church activities but not counted as Mission Dolores dependents.
- People actually affiliated with other missions, particularly San Rafael and San Francisco Solano, who visited Mission Dolores and participated in recorded activities.
- People who had died prior to 1834, but for whom no death record was ever entered.

Studies of family groups, age structure, and language group mix must be based upon the 202 Indian people listed on Appendix F:Table 17, since the year-end count is merely an aggregate number that does not contain such information. It is clear, of course, that analyses based on the Appendix F:Table 17 list are approximations of a likely reality.

A number of important points about the age, gender, and language structure of the 1834 Mission Dolores population can be drawn from the information about the 202 people listed in Appendix F:Table 17. Four of those points are bulleted here.

- The Costanoan languages together had the highest percentage of speakers (51%) among the 202 people involved with the mission, followed by Coast Miwok (25%), Bay Miwok (12%), and Patwin (8%). There is little difference from the 1824 language distribution, with only a minor relative rise in East Bay Costanoan representation and a minor fall in Coast Miwok representation (see Table 5).
- Males outnumbered females by 114 to 88. Among the Costanoan old Christians the ratio was 76 males to 38 females. Patwin, Wappo, and Pomo females, many married to Costanoan men, greatly outnumbered males of their groups.
- The age structure, marked by 149 individuals who were age 15 or older, and only 15 individuals under age 15, reflects a population in continuing decline.
- A remarkable 35 people, among 202, were over 50 years old. The greatest number of those elders were men from the Peninsula San Francisco Bay Costanoan local tribes (11 people) and men from the East Bay San Francisco Bay Costanoan local tribes (8 people).

The 202 people listed in Appendix F:Table 17 can be grouped into 45 family groups of married couples or a parent and at least one child, a number of bachelors and widowers without any known relatives, and a few widows without relatives. Among the 45 family groups, 17 included at least one member descended from San Francisco Peninsula Costanoan speakers (seven families include a "Yelamu" person or descendent; ten families include a bay shore or San Mateo coast person or descendant). A larger contingent, 20 family groups, contained at least one member from the chain

of East Bay San Francisco Bay Costanoan and Karkin speaking local tribes. Only eight of the 45 family groups associated with Mission Dolores in 1834 had no Costanoan-speaking members (two of them were headed by Bay Miwoks and six were headed by Coast Miwoks).

The ten most prominent Indian families at Mission Dolores in the 1830s, those that had a series of children baptized at the mission, are shown on Appendix F:Table 14 as families 7, 8, 11, 12, 21, 23, 25, 26, 28, and 30. The husbands were San Francisco Bay Costanoans in five of the ten cases (three from the East Bay, one Puichon of the Peninsula, one Yelamu of the Peninsula), Karkin Costanoans in two cases, Coast Miwok in two cases, and Suisun Patwin in one case. The contrast between the ethnic backgrounds of the wives and husbands is startling. None of the wives were from San Francisco Bay Costanoan lineages. Four were from Coast Miwok local groups, three were Saclan Bay Miwoks, two were from Patwin local groups, and one was a Carquin Karkin.

The Mission Dolores population was hit by smallpox between September 13 and December 22, 1838. However, only ten Indian people are reported to have died. They were all older adults, between 35 and 63 years of age. The low number of deaths suggests that the Indian population had been inoculated for small pox, a procedure that had become common by that time in parts of California.

## PENINSULA LANDS AND INDIANS IN THE 1840S

### Mission Dolores Indian Families in the 1840s

In 1841 78 Indians were on the roles at Mission Dolores, according to administrator Tiburcio Vasquez, who noted that they were “scattered over the peninsula” (Englehardt 1924:248). An 1842 census of the north end of the San Francisco Peninsula counted 127 people of Spanish blood, 23 English and North Americans, and 46 Indians and Hawaiians, not including the Indians attached to Mission Dolores (Bancroft 1886:IV:664). Some of the Indians in that unattached group of 46 were probably old Christians who had been emancipated from one mission or the other over the years since 1826. Others, however, were probably recently baptized “orphans” from distant tribal lands. They were probably living as house servants and laborers on ranchos and in the tiny communities of Mission Dolores and Yerba Buena.

Mission Dolores Indian couples continued to bring children for baptism in the 1840s. Example families that had two or more baptized children can be divided into two groups, the older couples and the younger couples, as follows:

- Three older couples who had been having children at the mission in the 1830s continued to do so in the 1840s. In all three cases, the wife was a Saclan Bay Miwok descendent, while two of the husbands were San Francisco Bay Costanoans and one was a Suisun Patwin (Appendix F:Table 14, families 8, 25, 30).
- Three younger couples married at Mission Dolores between 1840 and 1844 brought two or more children for baptism at the mission. They included two Huchiun husbands and one Habasto Coast Miwok husband, with wives who were Huchiun, Suisun, and unidentifiable to ancestral group, respectively (Appendix F:Table 14, families 31, 32, 33).

Some Indian families moved among missions Dolores, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz during the 1840s, the ecclesiastical records show. Three such families that spent time at Mission Dolores are listed here:

- Prudencio (Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoan) and Faustina (Suisun Patwin) were Mission Dolores Indians who married there in 1840. Their first child was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1842, and a subsequent child was baptized back at Mission Dolores in 1847 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 31).

- Bernardino Alcantara, Mission Dolores-born son of Cotegen/Yelamu San Francisco Bay Costanoan Pedro Alcantara and Suisun Patwin Crisanta (Appendix F:Table 14, family 19), married Mariana of Mission Santa Clara (“Tulares,” probably Yokuts) at Mission Santa Clara in 1843. Their first child was baptized at Santa Clara in 1843. Another was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1847 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 34).
- Francisco Borja (Tomoi Mutsun Costanoan) and Maria Concepcion (Tejey Northern Valley Yokuts) were Cruzeños who married at Santa Cruz in 1833 and had their first child at that mission. One of their children was baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1843, another back at Santa Cruz in 1844, then three of their children were baptized at Mission Dolores between 1847 and 1855 (Appendix F:Table 14, family 29).

Such movement of established nuclear families from one mission to another had been rare in earlier decades. It is possible that old Christian Indian families were moving from place to place with their Hispanic patrons.

### **Obliterated Social Safety Net**

Under the traditional local tribe system and the Franciscan mission system, the community took care of enfeebled elders. Such was not the case in the rancho system. The poor condition of the elder Doloreños is documented by Hittell for mid-1843:

A melancholy picture was presented by a plaint of the old Indians of San Francisco in July, 1843, and what they had to say applied very generally to all the missions. They represented themselves as the remnant, eight in number, of the former large congregation of neophytes, as plunged into the very depths of indigence, nakedness and hunger, without property of any kind for their support, far advanced in age, and worn out with a life-time of labor (Hittell 1885:2:382).

Some of those elders may formerly have been the boatmen who maintained communications around San Francisco Bay from 1812 through the 1830s. Because the Rancho Era social structure included no institution dedicated to taking care of old Indian people without families, they languished in poverty.

### **Final Mission Dolores and Rancho San Mateo Sale, 1845-1846**

A decree was issued on October 28, 1845 providing for the sale at public auction of the lands under immediate control of Mission Dolores and eight other missions, excluding the churches themselves and adjacent buildings for a curate’s house, town house, and school. The decree responded to a May of 1845 resolution by the provincial legislature directing the final secularization and sale of all mission properties (see general discussion of final secularization in the first section of this chapter). Money from the sale was to be used to pay the debts of the missions, although some money was to be reserved to support the priest and Indians until the next harvest. Any surplus was to be used by the church for support of public worship (Bancroft 1886:IV:552).

The decree of October 1845 called for self-rule for the Indians of ex-mission communities. There is no indication in the historic record, however, that the Mission Dolores or San Mateo Indians were recognized as such a community. The property at the Mission Dolores site was to be sold by the provincial government on January 2-4, 1846 (Bancroft 1886:IV:552). A decree arrived from Mexico suspending all such sales and the immediate Mission Dolores property was spared. Mission Dolores and its nearest buildings were eventually confirmed to the Catholic Church by courts of the United States (Bancroft 1886:V:564).

Rancho San Mateo was still Mission Dolores property at the time the impending sale of the mission site was suspended. Jose de la Cruz Sanchez had petitioned for that land in December of 1836, in May of 1840, and again in April of 1844, but his petitions had been rejected by three governors.

Despite the fact that they could not gain ownership of Rancho San Mateo, the Sanchez family seem to have run it as their own personal fief from adjacent Rancho Buri Buri to the north during the 1840s.

Finally, Governor Pico granted Rancho San Mateo to his secretary, Cayetano Arenas of Los Angeles, in May of 1846.<sup>40</sup> With that action, the last possible chance was lost, under Mexican law, for a San Francisco Bay Costanoan land base on the San Francisco Peninsula.

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<sup>40</sup> Jose de la Cruz Sanchez later claimed prior ownership in the U.S. court system. He testified in an 1855 land case hearing that Rancho San Mateo belonged to him and that the Indians “went there with my permission;” the Sanchez case was dismissed (Land Case 409 ND).