

**ETHNOHISTORY AND ETHNOGEOGRAPHY OF THE COAST MIWOK  
AND THEIR NEIGHBORS, 1783-1840**

by

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Technical Paper presented to:

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June 2009



## MANAGEMENT SUMMARY

This report documents the locations of Spanish-contact period Coast Miwok regional and local communities in lands of present Marin and Sonoma counties, California. Furthermore, it documents previously unavailable information about those Coast Miwok communities as they struggled to survive and reform themselves within the context of the Franciscan missions between 1783 and 1840. Supplementary information is provided about neighboring Southern Pomo-speaking communities to the north during the same time period.

The staff of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) commissioned this study of the early native people of the Marin Peninsula upon recommendation from the report's author. He had found that he was amassing a large amount of new information about the early Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores in San Francisco while he was conducting a GGNRA-funded study of the Ramaytush Ohlone-speaking peoples of the San Francisco Peninsula. The original scope of work for this study called for the analysis and synthesis of sources identifying the Coast Miwok tribal communities that inhabited GGNRA parklands in Marin County prior to Spanish colonization. In addition, it asked for the documentation of cultural ties between those earlier native people and the members of the present-day community of Coast Miwok.

The geographic area studied here reaches far to the north of GGNRA lands on the Marin Peninsula to encompass all lands inhabited by Coast Miwoks, as well as lands inhabited by Pomos who intermarried with them at Mission San Rafael. Clues about Coast Miwoks from GGNRA lands in the early primary sources, the mission ecclesiastical registers, are mixed together with clues about the Coast Miwoks from non-GGNRA lands, so that the effort to document the history of one local Coast Miwok group involves the effort to document the history of all Coast Miwok groups. Additionally, as an earlier study reported, "Although the area of concentration for the study is western Marin, other places will also be reviewed because of the affiliation and interaction of the several Coast Miwok groups, designated historically by language and territory, that have emerged today as a composite group – the Federated Coast Miwok" (Emberson *et al.* 1999:5).

This study includes two extensive appendix tables that support its conclusions. The Appendix A table lists all 2,828 Coast Miwoks baptized at four San Francisco Bay Area missions in order of their date of baptism; for each individual's record, baptismal numbers of parents are supplied, if known, and date of death is supplied, if known. The Appendix B table lists all of the mission-born children of Coast Miwoks who could possibly have been alive in 1840.

Results of this study shed light primarily on the pre-1840 period, as attested by the following highlights:

- A new population distribution model reported in Part 3 infers that the 2,828 Coast Miwoks baptized at the Franciscan missions reflected approximately 5,000 contact period people who were spread across the landscape at densities ranging between 3.2 per square mile in the Bolinas Bay region to 11.0 per square mile in the Novato region.
- Most GGNRA lands on the Marin Peninsula were within the territories of the Huimen community of Richardson Bay, the Guaulen community of Bolinas Bay, and the Olema community of the Olema region. A piece of GGNRA land lies in the South Tomales Bay region further north, an area of numerous local Coast Miwok communities (Figure i).
- Coast Miwok people labeled “Tamales” in the mission records hailed from five contiguous regions across much of the Marin Peninsula, suggesting that the place-name “Tamal” does not reflect any political reality of the time.
- Coast Miwoks moved to Franciscan missions between 1783 and 1832, first to Mission San Francisco de Asis (better known as Mission Dolores), then to Mission San Jose, and after 1817, to Mission San Rafael. Southern Pomo moved to Mission San Rafael between 1820 and 1837.
- Nearly 75% of the tribal Coast Miwoks ever baptized appeared in the registers of missions Dolores and San Jose by late 1817, prior to the founding of Mission San Rafael.
- Four of the northern Coast Miwok communities—Alaguali, Chocuyen (alias Sonomas), Olompali, and Petaluma—were baptized in large numbers at two missions, Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose, during the years 1815-1817. Most, but not all, returned north in the 1820s and 1830s to the present Marin and Sonoma county areas.
- By 1839, almost half the living Indian people who had been baptized at Mission San Rafael were Coast Miwok-speakers, almost half were Pomo speakers, and a small number were Wappo speakers. Yet most of those bringing children for baptism in the 1830s were Coast Miwoks, the majority of Pomo and Wappos having moved away.
- The study tracks some of the mid-to-late nineteenth century Coast Miwok people known in ethnographic and archival sources back to the mission registers to serve as examples for future research.

The present study gives short shrift to the post-1840 aspects of the original GGNRA research request, which asked for evidence regarding ties between the contact-period people and the modern Coast Miwoks. The author did not attempt to document the direct genealogical links between modern Coast Miwoks and their mission-era ancestors.

The lack of detail in the following report regarding post-1840 Coast Miwoks is due to the fact that the cultural affiliation link between the current Coast Miwoks, the now federally-recognized Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria, and their mid-nineteenth

century ancestors has been well-established through the important Coast Miwok cultural affiliation study carried out in 1999 by Geri Emberson, Sylvia Thalman, and Dorothea Theodoratus on behalf of the Point Reyes National Seashore and the Federated Coast Miwoks. Rather than reiterate the conclusions of that study, research resources for the current study were directed to the strong documentation of the contact-period historical roots of those mid-nineteenth century Coast Miwok people.

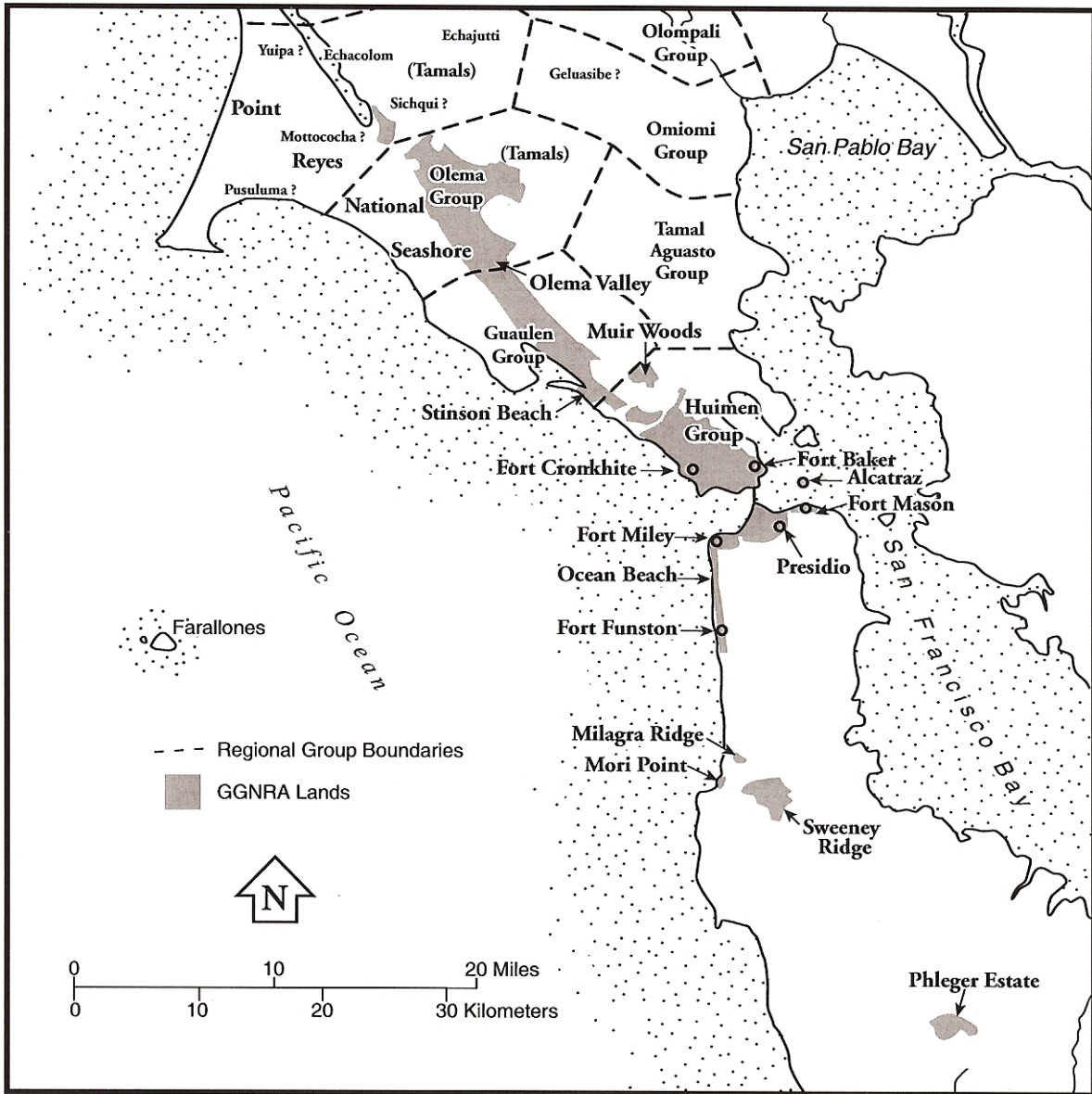


Figure i. Golden Gate National Recreation Area Lands, showing Inferred Traditional Coast Miwok Regional Territories on the Marin Peninsula.

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**PART 1:**  
**INTRODUCTION AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH**



Figure 1. Coast Miwok and Pomo Communities within the Zone of Franciscan Mission Disruption, their Probable Locations and Possible Boundaries.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This report documents the ethnogeography and early history of the Coast Miwok and their neighbors between 1783 and 1840. It is written almost 100 years after Samuel Barrett published the first details on Coast Miwok ethnogeography (1908a) and more than 70 years after Isabel Kelly gathered a rich body of notes about Coast Miwok village locations (in Collier and Thalman 1991). The current study is not merely a new listing of village locations. Rather, it is a study of communities of people who lived during the era of Spanish contact, people who utilized hundreds of discrete villages and campsites.

#### **Methodology and Computerized Tracking of Franciscan Mission Records**

The key sources for Spanish contact-period Coast Miwok communities—their names, population sizes, and histories—are the baptismal, death, and marriage registers at the Franciscan missions of the San Francisco Bay area. Coast Miwoks went to Mission San Francisco de Asis (hereafter called Mission Dolores, as this name is better known), Mission San Jose (in Fremont), Mission San Rafael Arcangel (in San Rafael), and in much smaller numbers to Mission San Francisco Solano (at Sonoma). The mission registers provide details regarding tribal Coast Miwok individuals who were baptized over a 57-year time period from 1783 to 1832 (Table 1). Unfortunately, although the registers list the home communities of the great majority of baptized individuals, they provide few explicit clues regarding the geographic locations of those home communities.

Computer database organization is the key to maximum utilization of the information about Spanish contact-period Indian people listed in the mission registers. Hundreds of thousands of pieces of information, about 17,253 Indian people baptized between 1777 and 1840, are scattered through the baptismal, death, and marriage registers of missions San Rafael (n=1,917), San Jose (n=7,630), Dolores (n=6,221), and San Francisco Solano (n=1,485). They include speakers of Bay Miwok, Lake Miwok, Plains Miwok, Ohlone languages, Patwin, Pomo, Wappo, and Yokuts languages, as well as Coast Miwok.

The missionaries entered the new Spanish name and age of each baptized Indian neophyte (“new Christian”) in open-ended baptismal registries and assigned each person a unique sequential baptismal identification number. Beyond basic date, name, age, and “serial number,” individual missionaries varied in what they wrote about baptized individuals. Almost all missionaries supplied the native names of males, and most of them supplied the

native names of females. Most also entered the name of an individual's home community, although some merely noted the community name in the initial or terminal entry for a group of people baptized from a given place on a given day. Other bits of information about individuals, including more homeland information, are found in cross-references to baptismal entries for parents or offspring, to marriage register entries, and to death register entries. Some people baptized at one mission may appear in the marriage or death registers of another mission.

I began building a computer database for the Mission Dolores registers in 1978, in order to harness its data for a study of patterns of Ohlone Indian family and community relationships. It quickly became clear that computerized databases greatly aided efficient organization of data about individuals, and discovery of patterns about groups. In the early 1980s, I refined the computer database fields, and completed data entry for the first 1,800 baptisms at Mission Dolores. I continued expanding that database, and completed databases for missions Santa Clara, San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and Santa Cruz, in the late 1980s. By the late 1990s, I had initiated the structures for databases for Mission San Rafael and Mission San Francisco Solano.

The Mission San Rafael database was completed during 2003 and 2004 for the present study. In addition the San Francisco Solano database was brought to 80% completion for this study. The databases are the key data set for the conclusions reached in the following sections and for the tables of data in appendices A and B. They have been used to look up individuals, to track yearly baptismal counts for identifiable communities, to mark clusters of geographically and linguistically related communities, and to study marriage patterns among communities.

The map shown in Figure 1 illustrates my new reconstruction of contact-period Coast Miwok regional community locations. To make the map, I had to overcome a paucity of direct clues accompanying the community names in the mission registers. I began the study with two important assumptions. First, groups listed in a mission's early records usually lived closer to that mission than groups listed in its later records. Second, two groups heavily intermarried at the time of missionization usually lived near to one another. By themselves, these two assumptions generate a simplistic and contradictory model of Coast Miwok geography. I have resolved the contradictions to various levels of satisfaction through application of historic and ecological inferences, which I describe in detail in Part 3 of this report.

At the outset of this study I caution the reader that this report does not reprise all available information about dozens of Coast Miwok place names known to Marin County historians and experts on Coast Miwok ethnography. This study refers to such place names, examples being Tocaloma near Olema and Tiutuye at Bodega Bay, only insofar as they can be shown to have been located within the lands of one or another of the early Coast Miwok communities. Specific historic village locations play a role in the analysis of contact-period community locations and population distributions only if they were listed in the early mission records, even though some or all of the ones not so listed may have been inhabited during

the Spanish contact period. In fact, there were certainly thousands of named places in Coast Miwok lands at contact and only a small proportion of them is known today.<sup>1</sup>

Nor does this report directly develop the genealogical ties between the present-day Coast Miwok people and the mission period people. Since contemporary cultural affiliation of the Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria with the tribal Coast Miwok people of the region is already recognized by federal agencies, this study focuses on the geographic and historic context of early missionization. However, the new Bay Area-wide mission register database that underlies this study will aid descendants of contact-period Coast Miwoks and other Bay Area Indian people extend their genealogies back as far as possible into the Spanish-contact period.

### **Overview of Coast Miwok Missionization**

A total of 2,828 tribal Coast Miwok speakers were baptized at the Franciscan missions over a 50-year period from 1783 through 1832 (Table 1). The distribution of Coast Miwok migrants among the missions was not even. The following counts for baptized tribal (not mission-born) Coast Miwoks are based upon information in the computer database newly completed for this project.

- 1,694 tribal Coast Miwoks were baptized at Mission Dolores between 1783 and 1817.
- 390 tribal Coast Miwoks were baptized at Mission San Jose, mainly between 1815 and 1817.
- 725 tribal Coast Miwoks were baptized at Mission San Rafael between 1817 and 1832.
- 19 tribal Coast Miwoks were baptized at Mission San Francisco Solano in 1824 and 1825.

An unknown additional number of tribal Coast Miwoks, probably more than 100, moved north during the 1809-1832 period to join Russian-led communities or Pomo communities.

Of all the Coast Miwoks ever baptized at the missions, nearly three-quarters had already been baptized when Mission San Rafael was opened as a Mission Dolores outpost in December of 1817. Of those who were still alive in 1817, many (but not all) returned north

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<sup>1</sup> Each local Coast Miwok region may have had as many as 200 named village locations (unused, seasonal, and permanent). Waterman (1920:246-248) recorded 142 Yurok place names within a 25 square mile area in the Klamath River region, for a density of 5.6 per square mile. Kniffen (1939:354) recorded the names of 38 Pomo village and campsite locations within a 16 square mile area on the south side of Clear Lake, for a density of 2.4 per square mile. In drier southern California, Strong (1929:244-248) recorded 93 named Cupa landholding tracts within a 110 square mile area around Warner Hot Springs, for a density of 0.85 per square mile.

from missions Dolores and San Jose to help found Mission San Rafael. The last quarter of the Coast Miwoks moved to Mission San Rafael, most of them by the end of 1822. Only a tiny group of unbaptized Coast Miwoks remained by 1832, gathered around their headman Gualinela at Bodega Harbor (Farris 1998).

During the years the Coast Miwoks were gathered at Mission San Rafael, Indian people from many other language groups were going to the missions. Large numbers of Pomo and Wappo-speakers (784 Pomos and 59 Wappos) joined Mission San Rafael between 1820 and 1839. In order to correctly reconstruct contact-period Coast Miwok ethnogeography and mission migration history, I had to be able to differentiate the Coast Miwok people listed in the mission's register from the Pomo people. This was done through identification of important differences between Coast Miwok and Pomo personal names, a technique that will also be described in detail in Part 3. With that information sorted out, I also added a small section regarding Santa Rosa Plains Pomo ethnogeography to Part 3. Note that this report does not explore the motivation of the Indian people for moving to the missions, which some argue was entirely due to force and others contend was due to willful decision-making during trying historical times (cf. Costo and Costo 1987; Sandos 2004).

## **Report Organization**

This report has three parts and two appendices. Part 1 includes Chapter 1, the current introductory chapter with methodology and overview of Coast Miwok ethnogeography and ethnohistory, as well as Chapter 2, which reviews previous studies pertinent to Coast Miwok ethnogeography and ethnohistory. Part 2 includes Chapters 3-6, which describe the historic sequence of the Coast Miwok missionization from 1783 through 1840, and Chapter 7, which gives examples of links that can be established between the Coast Miwok people of the mission registers and the ancestors of contemporary Coast Miwoks who were alive during the mid-nineteenth century.

Part 3 consists of a new ethnogeography of the Coast Miwok. Chapter 8 documents the techniques used and describes the population distribution model that I used to test inferences about the home locations of groups of Coast Miwok people for which no direct locational information was available. Chapters 9-12 give the results of this analysis on a region-by-region basis, with Chapters 9-11 dealing in turn with the Coast Miwok community territories of the San Francisco Bay shore, the Pacific Coast, and present inland Sonoma County. The final chapter, Chapter 12, provides short descriptions of the home locations of the members of the Pomo, Wappo, Patwin, and Ohlone language communities who bordered Coast Miwok territory and interacted with Coast Miwoks at the missions.

Appendices A and B are tables listing baptized Coast Miwok people. The table in Appendix A lists all 2,828 baptized Coast Miwoks in order of their date of baptism.

Appendix B lists mission-born children of tribal Coast Miwok people who cannot be shown to have died by the year 1840; they are listed in alphabetical order by their mission of birth.



Table 1







## CHAPTER 2

### PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This chapter reviews the contributions of early ethnographers and later historians and anthropologists to the study of pre-1840 Coast Miwok ethnogeography. Although many books, articles, and scholarly studies contain information on the ethnogeography and history of the Coast Miwok, only a small number utilize primary ethnographic or historic information to address the question of Coast Miwok regional and local community locations at the time of Spanish contact. And no existing study fully details the story of Coast Miwok movement to the missions between 1783 and 1833.

Certain authors and their works will not be discussed below because, while they are important, they either did not address the question of early ethnogeography or they utilized secondary sources to do so. Among those not considered are Catherine Callaghan (1970), whose publication focused on linguistics; Charles Colley (1970), whose article on Coast Miwok missionization was based entirely upon quotations from works by Hubert Howe Bancroft and Sherburne Cook; Rob Edwards (1970), whose model of Coast Miwok settlement systems is derived from archaeological data; and Bev Ortiz (1993, 2001), whose works document original material for twentieth century Coast Miwoks, but rely upon other sources for earlier history.

#### Early Ethnographers

##### *C. Hart Merriam*

C. Hart Merriam visited Miwok people in the Tomales/Bodega Bay area a number of times between 1900 and 1905 (Merriam 1967:364-366). Merriam documented the contact-period distribution of the Coast Miwok in the monograph “Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock in California” (1907). He was able to retrieve only fragmentary information about contact period village locations, and next to nothing about contact-period political affiliations. He published the names and locations of some specific villages later in *California Out-of-Doors Magazine* (Merriam 1916).

Shortly after World War I, Merriam employed Stella Clemence to extract community names recorded in the Franciscan mission records. Those Mission San Rafael and Mission

Dolores lists, including Marin Peninsula community names, were published under the editorship of R. F. Heizer (Merriam 1968). Neither Merriam nor Heizer attempted to map all the Coast Miwok place names in those mission registers.

*Samuel Barrett*

In 1908 Samuel Barrett published two monographs pertaining to the Coast Miwok people. The one entitled “The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians” (Barrett 1908b) actually mentions the Coast Miwok only briefly, within the context of a discussion of Plains and Sierra Miwok people. His detailed information regarding Coast Miwok ethnogeography is found in “The Ethnogeography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians” (Barrett 1908a:305-314). In that work, he discussed many ancient and historic village locations without attributing specific pieces of information to individually named Indian consultants. None of the multi-village Coast Miwok “regional community” names that appear in the contact-period mission records are among the place names that Barrett discussed.

*A. L. Kroeber*

The ethnogeography of Coast Miwok people provided by Kroeber (1925:272-278) in his *Handbook of the Indians of California* merely repeated the unsystematic scattering of local village names that had been collected earlier by Barrett and Merriam. He placed the village of Awani-wi at San Rafael, without stating his source. The title page of the Mission San Rafael baptismal register states that the mission was founded at the location called Nanaguani, but Kroeber’s spelling suggests that he had another source for the location.

*Isabel Kelly*

Isabel Kelly was the preeminent scholar of Coast Miwok ethnology. She gathered a tremendous corpus of information from twentieth century Coast Miwok consultants Tom Smith and Maria Copa. Kelly used those notes to prepare the Coast Miwok chapter for the *Handbook of the Indians of North America* (Kelly 1978:414-25). While Kelly did learn some new place name locations, the map that accompanies her 1978 article shows only the places mapped by Kroeber in 1925, and in precisely the locations shown by Kroeber (1925:274). This suggests that the 1978 map was prepared from the Kroeber map by someone other than Kelly.

Isabel Kelly’s original Coast Miwok field notes now reside in the archives of Southern Methodist University. They were annotated and published in 1991 by Mary Collier and Sylvia Thalman under the title, “*Interviews with Tom Smith and Maria Copa: Isabel Kelly’s Ethnographic Notes on the Coast Miwok Indians of Marin and Southern Sonoma Counties, California.*” In that work, Collier and Thalman’s annotations include comparative place name information from the works of Barrett, Kroeber, and Merriam, making the work a key source for cross-referencing Coast Miwok place names. References from Collier and

Thalman's publication of the Kelly notes will be found in the Appendix B discussions of regional community areas.

Kelly's work includes very little information about Spanish contact-period Coast Miwok regional communities. Knowledge of such communities, in fact, seems to have been lost between the 1820s and the 1920s. For instance, key consultant Maria Copa knew the names of both sets of her great-grandparents on her mother's side, but did not tell Kelly that they were from the Alaguali community of lower Sonoma Creek. (Maria Copa's mission ancestry is discussed in Chapter 7 of this report.)

### **Research in the 1970s and 1980s**

#### *Susan Tanner*

Susan Tanner developed a credible map of Spanish contact-period regional community locations on the basis of mission register analysis in her 1971 Masters thesis in history at the University of California at Berkeley. It is a remarkable piece of work, and it is as remarkable that it is seldom cited. She made a major mistake by placing Omiomi to the east of Coast Miwok territory on the lower Napa River, probably following Bennyhoff's identical mistake on his 1961 map of central California tribelet territories. Tanner's misplacement of Omiomi distorts the locations of all other Coast Miwok territories around San Francisco Bay.

#### *Stephen Dietz*

Dietz (1976) documented the history and archaeology of of the post-mission Coast Miwok village and rancho at Nicasio in a Masters thesis for San Francisco State University. Dietz showed, using archival sources, that Nicasio was a Mission San Rafael outstation that came into possession of ex-mission neophytes under the leadership of Teodorico Quilajuque during a portion of the Mexican Rancho period. Dietz did not attempt to reconstruct locations and histories of the Coast Miwok regional communities in the area prior to the Mission Period.

#### *Charles Slaymaker*

Charles Slaymaker produced detailed analyses of the archaeology and ethnohistory of three local areas in Marin County, the Rancho Olompali State Park area (1974), the Miller Creek area (1977) and the Bodega Bay region (1982). His studies for Rancho Olompali and Miller Creek were archaeological reports with minimal ethnogeographic information. On the other hand, his Bodega Bay study, "A Model for the Study of Coast Miwok Ethnogeography," brought together all information about the local Bodega Bay villages

available from the mission registers and the early twentieth century ethnographers (Slaymaker 1982). In that work, Slaymaker treated the people of the huge Tamal area as though they were members of a single self-conscious tribal group. He agreed with Edwards (1970) that there had probably been three Tamal village clusters, one at Segloque at the mouth of Tomales Bay, one in upper Olema Valley, and another at Nicasio. He assigned 26 Tamal area villages listed in the mission registers to one or another of these three clusters (Slaymaker 1982:332-339). I believe that the clusters are largely incorrect, probably formed without the benefit of marriage network analysis based upon full mission register family reconstitution.

In 1978 Slaymaker carried out the first study of Santa Rosa Plain Pomo regional communities who went to Mission San Rafael. This work, entitled "A Model of Chamay Demography and Political Organization" (Slaymaker 1978), was a University of California class paper that was never published. It documents Santa Rosa Plain Pomo intermarriage patterns, suggests territorial areas, and lists specific ethnographic villages associated with each. Again, however, it was a preliminary work.

### **Ethnohistories Since 1990**

#### *Randall Milliken*

I published an ethnohistory of the native San Francisco Bay Area language groups up through the year 1810, with an ethnogeographic component that included the Marin Peninsula groups, in 1995 (Milliken 1995). My map shows the contact-period regional communities (which I called "tribes") of the entire San Francisco Bay Area as I understood them at the time. I built the map using the few direct statements in the mission registers, together with clues based upon relative time of baptism and intermarriage patterns. That inferential approach to ethnogeography was first developed by James Bennyhoff (1961) for the Plains Miwok, and then applied by Tanner and Slaymaker for Coast Miwok groups.

My 1995 map differed from that of Tanner (1971) most notably in the placements of Alaguali and Omiomi along the San Pablo Bay shore. It differed with Slaymaker (1978) in the placement of the Olompali, Petaluma and Licatiut communities along the Petaluma River corridor. At the end of that study, I was aware of important unresolved problems in understanding the territorial dimensions of large Coast Miwok groups, such as the Tamals, and very small Coast Miwok groups, such as the Chocuays and Geluasibes.

*Emberson, Thalman, and Theodoratus*

A study of the cultural affiliation of the Federated Coast Miwok group to the Point Reyes National Seashore was completed in 1999 by Geri Emberson, Sylvia Thalman, and Dorothea Theodoratus, coordinated by Tribal Secretary Tim Campbell and aided by National Park Service personnel and members of the Federated Coast Miwok. Chapter 4 in that study pertained to early Coast Miwok ethnogeography and mission history. A careful reading of that chapter shows that all of its early mission history and ethnogeography information is secondary. For instance, Emberson *et al.* (1999:33) reprinted Colley's incorrect assertion that 2,020 tribal Coast Miwoks appear in mission registers. The actual number was 2,028 (see Appendix B). Colley (1970:156) himself was repeating the low total from the incorrect figures published by Sherburne Cook (1956).

Emberson *et al.*'s (1999) Spanish contact period ethnogeographic information is secondary material cited from Milliken (1995) and Slaymaker (1982). I have already spoken above about limitations of both of those sources, limitations that lead to the need to carry out the more intensive ethnogeographic studies from mission records reported here.



**PART II:**  
**ETHNOHISTORY OF THE COAST MIWOK**



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **SOUTHERN COAST MIWOKS GO TO MISSION DOLORES, 1783-1814**

#### **Initial Converts From Richardson Bay, 1783-1795**

The first Coast Miwok people to move to Mission Dolores came from Livaneglua, the main Huimen town located where the town of Sausalito stands today. A Huimen man and woman named Juluio and Olomojoia brought their children for baptism during the spring of 1783 (SFR-B 305, 325). They returned in February of 1784 with Motupa, Juluio's eleven-year-old daughter by his other co-wife (SFR-B 356). Juluio and Olomojoia were baptized and married before the church at Mission Dolores on May 2, 1784, along with a group of Ramaytush Ohlone speakers that included Guimas, headman of the San Francisco area Yelamus (among SFR-B 365-384).

A few more Huimens appeared in the baptismal records at San Francisco later in the 1780s and early 1790s. Then, in early 1795, 30 Huimens went to Mission Dolores in mixed groups dominated by Huchiun Ohlones and Saclan Bay Miwoks, as part of a mass migration that winter. Some of those Huimen neophytes joined the flight from Mission Dolores in the summer of 1795, a flight caused by fear of disease and oppressive labor conditions (see Milliken 1995:136-138). Those who fled stayed away from Mission Dolores, along with their East Bay neighbors, from the spring of 1795 until January, 1800. Some Huimens, however, remained at Mission Dolores throughout the late 1790s, as marriage records at the mission corroborate (SFR-M 509, 514).

#### **Huimens, Guaulens, and Tamal Aguastos, 1800-1803**

Coast Miwok-speaking people from the Marin Peninsula began immigrating to Mission Dolores in significant numbers in 1800. On January 28, 1800, five teen-aged Guaulen girls and one boy were baptized (SFR-B 2015-2020). Over the next few weeks, 25 Tamal Aguastos, four Huimens, and two more Guaulens were baptized. Some of the women in this cohort immediately married men who were long-time members of the Mission Dolores community. Among them were two Guaulen girls and two Tamal Aguasto girls who married Huimen neophyte widowers, as well as Tamal Aguasto women in their thirties who married Ramaytush Ohlone men from the San Francisco Peninsula (SFR-M 615, 617, 618, 621, 622, 627). Marriage to an established neophyte may have been a way for a woman to find a secure place for herself and her relatives within the Mission Dolores community.

In the spring of 1801, twelve Huimen couples, three Tamal Aguasto couples, and one Guaulen couple joined Mission Dolores. Huicmuse, aged 20, who was christened Marin (SFR-B 2182), was one of the new neophytes. He became an important member of the neophyte community, and his name was eventually bestowed upon the Marin Peninsula. Two more Guaulen couples were baptized that summer, but—as was the case the year before—there were no baptisms in the fall.

Another Marin Peninsula contingent, consisting mainly of Guaulens and Tamal Aguastos, went to San Francisco during the spring of 1802 (see SFR-M 716-718, 723-724). An epidemic called “the peste” rippled up through the Bay Area missions from southern California in the summer of 1802. No Marin Peninsula immigrants were baptized that summer or fall, but the largest group of Marin Peninsula people to date went to San Francisco during the winter of 1802-1803. Among the forty-nine married couples were the last significant group of Huimens and Guaulens, a few Tamal Aguastos and Tamals, and the first Olemas and Omiomis from farther to the north.<sup>2</sup> Baptisms again declined during the summer of 1803, but in September a large group of Tamal Aguastos from the San Rafael area were absorbed into Mission Dolores, together with a few Huimen stragglers. By the end of 1803, the Huimen, Guaulen, and Tamal Aguasto villages south of Miller Creek were empty.

The southern Marin Peninsula Coast Miwok migrants of the 1800-1803 period included 275 Marin Peninsula adults. A normal adult tribal population of that size should have been matched by the same number of people under the age of fifteen. Yet the 1800-1803 migrants only included 192 infants and young people under the age of fifteen. It is probable that chronic diseases like syphilis, as well as epidemics like the peste, were affecting the Coast Miwok’s ability to maintain their tribal population.

### **Olemas, Early Tamals, and the Alaskan Invasion, 1804-1809**

In 1804, Marin Peninsula villagers suddenly stopped going to Mission Dolores; three Huimens were baptized in April, and one Olema person in June, but that was all. The pause of baptism is atypical in missionization history. I do not have any idea why it happened, but it probably reflected some conscious historic considerations by the people. In 1805 Coast Miwok baptisms climbed to 55, of whom 44 were Olema people from the coast. Another lull in Coast Miwok baptisms at Mission Dolores occurred in 1806 and early 1807, caused no doubt by a terrible measles epidemic in west-central California during the spring of 1806 (Milliken 1995:193-194).

The villagers of the Marin Peninsula were faced with a new foreign pressure in 1807, one that would last until 1840. Native Alaskan sea otter hunters were reported along the outer coast of the Marin Peninsula in February of 1807, brought from Alaska by American

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2. Tamal is an amorphous term with definitional and locational ambiguities. See Part 3 for a discussion of the Tamal “problem.”

(United States) ships contracted to the Russian-American Company (Russian) at Sitka. By early May the Americans and Alaskan natives were building shelters at Bodega Bay (Ogden 1941:50). In July of 1807 a group of thirty-two Olemoloque and Libantone people from the Olema region were baptized at Mission Dolores.<sup>3</sup> No information is available regarding the effect of the Alaskans on their decision to move south.

The Coast Miwok portion of the Mission Dolores population surpassed the Ohlone/Costanoan portion during 1808 (Table 2). A total of 139 Coast Miwoks were baptized during the year. They were predominately Tamals, probably from the Echatalamal community of the Nicasio region, but also including the last large groups of Tamal Aguastos from the San Rafael region and some Olema Tamals. With them were a few Olemas. At the end of 1808 Coast Miwoks represented 45% of the Mission Dolores population, up from 36% the year before, while the Ohlone/Costanoan segment was down to 37% from 42% in 1807.

The Russian ship Kodiak arrived at Bodega Bay in the late fall of 1808 with 130 native Alaskan sea otter hunters, 20 native women, and 40 Russians aboard. In early February, 1809, the Alaskan otter hunters brought fifty canoes into San Francisco Bay by way of a portage across the northern headlands of the Golden Gate (Ogden 1941:57-59). Mission Dolores Indians captured a man from "Onolasca or Coudiac" on Angel Island at the end of February. The captive told the Spanish authorities that the Russian ship Neva was at Bodega Bay and that construction was going on there. On March 25, 1809, ten Spanish soldiers attacked some Alaskan natives camped at San Bruno, killing four men and arresting two more who were badly wounded (Milliken 1995:200-203).

No direct evidence exists regarding the nature of Coast Miwok interaction with Russian-led fur hunters in 1809. Very few people remained in the Olema region by that year, but the villages further north were still intact. Groups of coastal children were baptized at Mission Dolores in January and February (among SFR-B 3665-3678). The last big group of Olema region married couples was baptized on April 2, 1809. On April 19 nine middle-aged "Costa" women, most of them mothers of Olema neophytes, were baptized without their husbands. Seven more were baptized on April 22. Coast Miwok conversion at Mission Dolores then halted for six months. In October a small number of Tamals who may have come from the Nicasio were baptized.

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3. Libantone appears a number of times in the mission register. This may be an unlocated village or another name for the Olema Region. Because its location is unknown, it does not appear on Figure 1.

Table 2. Language Representation of the Indian Population at Mission Dolores for Selected Years between 1790 and 1834.

Year	Ohlone	Coast Miwok	Bay Miwok	Patwin	Wappo	Pomo	Reported Total
1790	446 (94%)	211 (4%)	2 (>1%)	0	0	0	525
1795	618 (75%)	68 (8%)	134 (16%)	0	0	0	872
1800	398 (68%)	90 (15%)	98 (17%)	0	0	0	635
1805	425 (40%)	387 (36%)	261 (24%)	0	0	0	1139
1807	344 (42%)	296 (36%)	188 (23%)	0	0	0	828
1808	332 (37%)	408 (45%)	161 (18%)	0	0	0	906
1810	356 (36%)	418 (43%)	185 (19%)	21 (2%)	0	0	1057
1815	232 (22%)	449 (43%)	110 (10%)	246 (23%)	8 (1%)	0	1113
1817	147 (19%)	381 (48%)	67 (9%)	186 (23%)	6 (1%)	0	1060
1822	183 (19%)	148 (15%)	68 (7%)	375 (39%)	184 (19%)	0	958 <sup>a</sup>
1823	110	63 (27%)	27 (12%)	29 (12%)	4 (2%)	0	233 <sup>b</sup>
1834	102	43 (23%)	27 (14%)	16 (8%)	2 (2%)	1 (<1%)	191 <sup>b</sup>

Note: a Milliken's Mission Dolores database indicates 1,164 people baptized, but not known to be dead, in 1822. The figure includes hundreds of Coast Miwoks, most of whom had moved to San Rafael. To reach the 958 population cited by the mission year-end report, I removed 206 Coast Miwoks from the database. b The total counts for 1823 and 1834 are higher than the year end reports (208 and 136), because they were reconstructed from lists of individuals not proven to be dead at the time. Many really were dead, but not so recorded. This artificially inflates the population of the groups that had been at the mission in large numbers the longest, Ohlones and Bay Miwoks.

## **Omiomi and First Tomales Bay Migrants, 1810-1814**

Between 1810 and 1814, 437 Coast Miwoks went down to Mission Dolores, even as Russian-led activity continued along the Marin coast. Most of the migrants were Omiomis from the Novato region along San Francisco (San Pablo) Bay or “Costa” people from the South Tomales Bay region, inclusive of Point Reyes. The first significant group of Omiomi adults from Novato was baptized in February of 1810, although individual Omiomis had gone to Mission Dolores since 1802. With the Omiomis in 1810 were some “Costa” people who are presumed to have come from west of Novato in the South Tomales Bay region (SF-B 3946-3954). At the time, the spring and summer of 1810, Mission Dolores was absorbing far larger groups of Suisun Patwins and Carquin Ohlones from the northeast portion of the San Francisco Bay estuary system.

Alaskan sea otter hunters were on San Francisco Bay in late summer of 1810. Spanish soldiers captured three Aleut hunters on September 24 (Arrillaga 1810). Gabriel Moraga led a party of Spanish soldiers to Bodega Bay in September of 1810 to meet with the Russians and Americans, who were turning the vicinity into a fur trade depot. Moraga lodged a weak protest regarding their presence, then returned to the Presidio. By November, there were four American vessels, contracted to the Russians, anchored at Bodega Bay. Ten Omiomis and three Tamal people were baptized at Mission Dolores in the last quarter of the year.

Large groups of Omiomis were baptized at San Francisco in March and April of 1811. Over the year, 170 of them joined the mission (see Table 1). Smaller numbers of Omiomis and a few “Costa” people from South Tomales Bay were baptized in 1812. In 1813 a total of 84 people went to Mission Dolores from three regions across the Marin Peninsula and southernmost Sonoma County: 32 from the Novato region (mainly Geluasibes), 29 from the South Tomales Bay region (“Costa” people), and 23 from the Antonio Creek region (mainly Chocoaycos).

Again in 1814, most migrants to Mission Dolores were Napa and Suisun Patwins from north of the Carquinez Straits. However, small groups also went to the mission from the same three Coast Miwok regions that had sent people for baptism the previous year, San Antonio Creek, Novato, and South Tomales Bay. The first nine Wappo speakers were also baptized at Mission Dolores in 1814. Although they were called Canuincaymus at the time of baptism, they cross-refer to people later baptized at Mission San Francisco Solano from the specific Caymus community (Yountville region) of the Napa Valley. They lived farther to the north than the Chocuyens, the easternmost Coast Miwoks of the Sonoma Valley. The move of some Caymus to Mission Dolores may have prodded the Chocuyens, who showed up for baptism in San Francisco for the first time in December of 1814.



## CHAPTER 4

### MIGRATIONS TO MISSION DOLORES AND MISSION SAN JOSE, 1814-1817

By the beginning of 1815, 1,309 tribal Coast Miwoks had been baptized at Mission Dolores, nearly half of those ever baptized at any mission. Coast Miwoks made up 43% of the Mission Dolores population, the same percentage as back in 1810 (Table 2). Another 795 Coast Miwoks were to be baptized in the three-year period of 1815 through November of 1817.

Surprisingly, 379 of the 1815-1817 Coast Miwok migrants were baptized at Mission San Jose, 55 miles south of their lands. The other 416 were baptized at Mission Dolores, only 35 miles to the south. During this period only 81 new Coast Miwok neophytes came from the Pacific coast (mainly the South Tomales Bay region) while 691 came from four inland regional communities--Alaguali, Chocuyen, Olompali, and Petaluma. All four inland communities were divided between Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose (Table 1).

#### Split Migration in 1815 and 1816

Of the four groups split between Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose, the Chocuyens (Chocoimes at Mission San Jose) were the first to move, or be moved, south. Nine of them were baptized at Mission Dolores in late 1814, another 34 at Mission Dolores in the spring of 1815. Then a new pattern emerged. The rest of the Chocuyens were baptized at Mission San Jose rather than Mission Dolores, most between June and September of 1815, a few others later in 1815. In March and April of 1816, mixed groups of Olompalis and Alagualis, with some Petalumas, appeared for baptism back at Mission Dolores. Another switch occurred in May, when dozens more Alagualis and Petalumas were baptized at Mission San Jose. Throughout the remainder of 1816 subgroups of Alagualis and Petalumas, with smaller numbers of Olompalis and Olompali affiliates (Chocoay and Puscuy), were baptized at both missions.

The pattern of Chocuyen, Alaguali, Olompali, and Petaluma split missionization is atypical in the history of Franciscan mission outreach in California. The explanation that neither mission could afford to feed an entire group can be rejected, because, if that were the case, one of the missions could have absorbed two of the communities, while the other mission absorbed the other two. The pattern suggests that the Spanish military feared the

possible negative consequences for social control if concentrations of adult males from these distant groups were gathered over a short time at one or another of the missions.

### **The Kotzebue Expedition, 1816**

The Russian vessel *Rurik* brought a scientific expedition into San Francisco Bay on October 2, 1816 during the wave of Petaluma, Alaguali, and Olompali baptisms at Mission Dolores. On October 4 the Russian officers and scientists visited Mission Dolores, where they attended Mass. After the Mass, ship's master Otto Von Kotzebue learned from the five priests in attendance, including two from Mission Santa Clara, that the missions often contained "Indians of ten different races, each of which has its own language" (Kotzebue [1816] in Mahr 1932:327). The ceremonies following Mass included a dance by dance groups:

As we were leaving the Mission, we were surprised by two groups of Indians, which were also composed of different nations. They came in military array; that is, quite naked, and painted with gay colours: the heads of the most were adorned with feathers, and other finery; some of them however had their long disordered hair covered with down, and their faces daubed in the most frightful manner. There is nothing remarkable in their war-dance, and I only regretted that I did not understand the words of their song (Kotzebue [1816] in Mahr 1932:327).

Expedition artist Louis Choris painted the dancers in front of Mission Dolores, a scene that has been reproduced in many publications since. The dancers may have been from any number of communities, given that there were approximately 1,030 neophytes associated with Mission Dolores at the time. The pictured dancers may have been Suisun Patwins, the largest single community at the mission with 156 people, the Omiomi Coast Miwoks (96 people), the South Tomales Bay (88 people), or the Carquin Ohlones (56 people).

### **Culmination of Split Migrations in 1817**

Baptisms of Olompalis, Alagualis, and Petalumas culminated between January 18 and February 17, 1817. During that 30-day period, 150 Olompali people were baptized, 87 at Mission San Jose and 43 at Mission Dolores. Mixed with them were most of the remaining Alagualis (12 people at Mission San Jose, 14 at Mission Dolores), the last group of Omiomis (25 people at Mission Dolores), and more Petalumas (24 people at Mission San Jose and 11 people at Mission Dolores). Another 23 people from these communities, mainly Olompalis, were baptized at Mission San Jose later in the spring and summer of 1817.

By the end of the summer of 1817, no Coast Miwok-speaking communities were extant south of a line from Olema to Sonoma (Figure 1). Fewer than half of the people of the South Tomales Bay/Point Reyes region were still in their villages, the others having gone to Mission Dolores in small groups between 1809 and 1815, and in larger groups in 1816 and 1817. Some Olompalis and Petalumas still lived away from the missions, but as remnant groups of less than 100 people each. By the end of 1817 the only completely intact Coast Miwok communities were those of the North Tomales Bay, Bodega Bay, and Bloomfield/Cotati regions.



## CHAPTER 5

### COAST MIWOK FOCUS AT MISSION SAN RAFAEL, 1817-1834

Mission San Rafael was founded in December of 1817. Although initially it was a Mission Dolores outpost with a chapel, from the very beginning it maintained its own ecclesiastical registers. At the time of the founding of Mission San Rafael, approximately 499 Coast Miwoks were alive at Mission Dolores, representing 48% of the tribal people gathered there (see Table 2). Another 327 Coast Miwoks were alive at Mission San Jose at the end of 1817, representing about 12% of its population.

The new mission of San Rafael was built with the labor of Coast Miwok neophyte returnees from the southern missions. The Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose neophytes appear in the Mission San Rafael baptismal register as parents of baptized children and godparents, in the marriage register as brides, grooms, and witnesses, and in the burial register as deceased people. However, not all of the Coast Miwoks alive at the southern missions returned north to Mission San Rafael.

#### **The Founding Population at Mission San Rafael**

No list exists of the individuals who moved north from missions Dolores and San Jose to help found Mission San Rafael at the end of 1817. Regarding the number who moved north, Bancroft wrote, “The number of neophytes transferred at first I suppose to have been about 230, but there is very little evidence on the subject, and subsequent transfers, if any were made in either direction, are not recorded” (Bancroft 1886:330). Computer database cross-reference information accounts for the final mission affiliation of many, but not all, of the Coast Miwoks baptized at missions San Jose and Dolores.

Of the 327 Coast Miwoks alive at Mission San Jose when Mission San Rafael was opened, final mission affiliation can be shown for 281; 152 remained at Mission San Jose where many appear in the marriage register and 148 in the burial register. Another 75 can be explicitly documented at Mission San Rafael in later years, through marriages and/or deaths; most of them were Olompalis and Petalumas. Another 54 appear in later Mission San Francisco Solano registers; they were Chocuyens, Petalumas, and Alagualis (Tamalcos at San Francisco Solano). The 46 Mission San Jose Coast Miwoks not accounted for in later records were probably spread among the three pertinent missions in proportions equivalent to those who can be documented.

Problems with the Mission Dolores records led me to track its 354 Coast Miwoks alive at the end of 1821, rather than the 499 people alive at the end of 1817. Of those 354 people, 155 died, married, or had children at Mission San Rafael and 76 died, married, or had children at Mission Dolores. There were also 19 recorded at Mission San Francisco Solano, 14 at Mission San Jose, and 1 at another mission. Another 89 are not accounted in later records (Table 3).

Most of the Coast Miwoks who remained at Mission Dolores were women who married at San Francisco and had families there during the 1820s and 1830s, including Lucia Moyencac (SFR-B 3409) and Atanasia Pispigetit (SFR-B 3702) from Olema; Barbara Motus (SFR-B 4051) and Lamberta Joboc (SFR-B 4267) from Omiomi; Antusa Huyungetit (SFR-B 4265) and Tecla Yencos (SFR-B 4487) from the south Tomales Bay area. At least five Coast Miwok men also had children baptized at Mission Dolores in the 1820s: from the San Rafael region were Eudocio Guacaya (SFR-B 2613) and Sabel Jumayuva (SFR-B 272); from the Olema region were Nestor Moyo (SFR-B 2661) and Marino Jose Tuyume (SFR-B 3906); from the Novato region was Pacomio Uniela (SFR-B 4240); from the Richardson Bay region was Teodorico Tualssutuputti, alias Quilaguequi (SFR-B 3310). Some of the people who stayed at Mission Dolores seem to have traveled back and forth to San Rafael; Teodorico, at least, returned to Mission San Rafael to raise a second family and attempt to obtain a grant to Rancho Nicasio in the 1830s (see Chapter 7).

### **San Rafael's Primary Era of Coast Miwok Absorption, 1817-1821**

Nearly three-quarters of the Coast Miwoks ever baptized, 2,073 out of 2,828 people, had already been baptized at Mission Dolores or Mission San Jose at the time Mission San Rafael began receiving new neophytes (Table 1). Another 629 Coast Miwok people would be baptized at Mission San Rafael between December of 1817 and June of 1822. Only 126 tribal Coast Miwoks would be baptized after the missionaries turned their attention to Pomo recruitment in July of 1822. A brief description of 1817-1822 Coast Miwok baptism patterns follows in the next two paragraphs.

The first new neophytes were baptized at Mission San Rafael on December 14, 1817; they were children, two from Petaluma, one from Olompali, and one from Yauai, probably upper Chileno Creek (SRA-B 1-4). Another 31 children were baptized over the next two days (SRA-B 5-31); most came from communities of "the Tamales" to the northwest of the mission, including Ocolom, Echajutti, and Yauai in the hills, and Segloque, Guacayomi (probably Guatta), Echacolom, and Yuipa on or adjacent to Tomales Bay. Parents of many of the children were baptized in early 1818. The pattern of predominately "Tamales" baptisms at Mission San Rafael continued through the rest of 1818, with the notable addition of the final groups of San Antonio Creek region people (43 people), separately identified as

Table 3

Choquinicos (probably equivalent to Chocoays), Puscuis, and Olompalis. By the end of 1818, 81% of the Coast Miwok neophytes had been baptized.

Over 1819 and 1820, another 223 Coast Miwoks were baptized at San Rafael. More than 100 of them were from northern Tomales Bay and nearby interior valleys. Another 57 were from South Tomales Bay region communities. Baptisms of groups of Tomales Bay elders (ages 60-80) took place on November 4, 1819 (SRA-B 332-339) and on November 7, 1820 (among SRA-B 444-468), events that reflect the near total success of mission outreach to the Tomales Bay area. By the end of 1820, 87% of the Coast Miwok neophytes had been baptized.

The year 1821 witnessed 132 tribal baptisms at Mission San Rafael. The year marked northward shifts of outreach along the coast and in the interior. From the coast, the last significant numbers of North Tomales Bay people went to the mission in mixed groups with the first significant numbers of people from the Bodega Bay region (see, for instance, SRA-B 507-548). From the interior, 44 Petalumas (the last significant portion) and the first large groups of Bloomfield/Cotati region people (Tamalsimela, Licatiut, Oleyomi, Geluayomi) were baptized. By year's end, 1821, 93% of the Coast Miwok neophytes had been baptized. Only two Coast Miwok regions had significant numbers of people still living in tribal villages, Bodega Bay and Bloomfield/Cotati.

### **Era of Predominant Pomo Recruitment, 1822-1831**

The year 1822 was one of endings and beginnings in mission outreach. Bodega Bay and Bloomfield/Cotati were the only populated Coast Miwok regions at the beginning of the year. By year's end, 96% of the Coast Miwok neophytes had been baptized (Table 1). Of 68 Coast Miwoks baptized in 1822, 65 were listed before the end of June. They came from all regions in the northern part of Coast Miwok territory, and included 35 Licatiuts and Tamalsimelas from the Bloomfield/Cotati region.

During the latter half of the year, the first large groups of Pomo speakers were baptized at Mission San Rafael. They were listed in the Mission San Rafael baptismal register on July 21 and August 21, 1822, 66 people in all. They were mainly Livantolomis from Sebastopal and Gualomis from Santa Rosa. Altogether, 75 Pomos were baptized in 1822, marking a permanent shift from Coast Miwok to Pomo predominance in yearly baptisms at Mission San Rafael (Table 4).

The year 1824 saw the last cluster of Bloomfield/Cotati region Coast Miwok people baptized, 18 people at San Rafael and another 11 at newly opened Mission San Francisco Solano. (From 1824 through 1839, the San Francisco Solano registers list numerous Petalumas and Licatiuts, who had been baptized at San Rafael as parents, marriage spouses,

and deceased, indicating that they were re-aggregated at the San Francisco Solano when it opened.) The year 1824 also saw more Pomos baptized at Mission San Rafael than any year before or after, 206 people largely from Livantolomi, Gualomi, Jauyomi, and Lupuyomi. Pomos continued to be baptized in large groups in 1825 (106 people) and 1826 (105 people). Remnant Coast Miwoks were baptized in small numbers in those years, 4 Licatiuts in 1825 and 12 Bodega Bay villagers in 1826.

Tribal baptisms plummeted at Mission San Rafael in 1827, but the pattern of those who were baptized in that year is interesting. Of 19 Pomos baptized in 1827, 13 were coastal Guasamolus from Big Russian Gulch north of the Russian River (among SRA-B 1478-1513). Of 12 Coast Miwoks baptized in 1827, all were from coastal groups, including 11 Lupualics, Yoletamals and Geluatamals from Bodega Bay (among SRA-B 1498-1512). Is it possible that all of them, Pomos and Coast Miwoks, are people who had been living at Bodega Harbor and working for the Russians?

The last 31 tribal Coast Miwoks ever baptized went to Mission San Rafael in 1831 and 1832. No tribal Coast Miwoks at all had been baptized in 1828, 1829, or 1830; during those three years 79 tribal Pomo speakers, mainly northern Santa Rosa Plains Livancacayomis, had been baptized at Mission San Rafael (Table 4). Of the 31 Coast Miwoks of 1831 and 1832, 26 were Bodega Bay people and four were Yuipas from the coast west of Tomales Bay. Many of them were definitely people who had been living among the Russians over the previous several years. Two of the last baptized Coast Miwok families were explicitly said to have interacted with the Russian community:

First, a 6 year-old girl “from the community of Cutchi; she was conceived by a Russian who was at the establishment of Ross, and who died two years ago” was baptized as Angela on April 26, 1831 (SRA-B 1689). Her mother, Quenispo, also from “Cutchi” was baptized as Arcangela four days later (SRA-B 1701). Arcangela did not remarry at Mission San Rafael.

Then in April of 1832 Miguel Santos, an 11 year-old boy, was baptized and documented as having been born to a Bodega woman “by a Koryuk who died at the Russian Fort of Ross” (SRA-B 1803). His mother, Florencia Koscou was baptized two weeks later, at which time it was stated that she was to be “married to Florencio, baptized in San Francisco” (SRA-B 1808). That husband, Florencio, had been baptized at Mission Dolores back in 1816 as a man from the “Coast” (SFR-B 5473).

Finally, not all of the last Coast Miwok converts of 1831 and 1832 were originally Bodega Bay people. Four of them were Yuipas, probably from further south on the coast at Abbotts Lagoon or McClures Beach (SRA-B 1682, 1683, 1690, 1691). These last Coast Miwok converts of 1831 and 1832 were baptized in mixed groups with Guasamolu Pomos from the coast in the Big Russian Gulch vicinity north of the Russian River, also people likely to have been working for the Russians in the 1820s.



Table 4



## CHAPTER 6

### THE EARLY POST-SECULARIZATION PERIOD, 1834-1840

This chapter sketches the process by which mission control of the Marin Peninsula people came to an end in 1834. It documents the deterioration of Mission San Rafael records up to and during that period. It provides information about the individuals alive on the Marin Peninsula at the end of the 1830s and their language backgrounds. And it briefly discusses the smaller numbers of Coast Miwoks who were alive in the environs of other San Francisco Bay Area missions at the end of the 1830s.

#### Breakdown of Mission San Rafael Records

No good census list can be reconstructed for the Indian people alive at Mission San Rafael at the close of the Mission Period in 1834. This is due to the fact that the deaths of Indians associated with Mission San Rafael during the 1820s and 1830s were not well documented in that mission's death register. Baptismal and death register tracking with the computerized database used for this project indicates that there should have been 1,097 tribally-born people (548 Coast Miwoks and 549 Pomos) living under Mission San Rafael control at the end of 1830, plus another 120 mission-born children, for a total of 1,217 people. Yet Father Amoros reported that there were only 970 Indian people under his charge at San Rafael at the end of 1830 (Bowman 1958:146). Although it is possible that some had left the mission, it was usual for annual mission reports before 1834 to continue listing people who had left. Therefore, approximately 247 of the 1,217 people noted as alive in the computer database may already have died without record.

During the year 1831 another 158 people were listed as baptized and 29 were listed as having died, for a net gain of 129 people. Logically, proceeding from the reported year-end 1830 population of 970, the year-end 1831 population would have been 1,099. Yet the 1831 year-end population was reported by Amoros to have been only 1,073 (Bowman 1958:148). Did Amoros actually count people? Did he know about 26 deaths that he failed to list in the death register?

The status of Mission San Rafael population counts for 1832 was still worse. During 1832 36 individuals were listed in the death register and 20 were listed in the baptismal register. The net loss should have been 16 people, to bring the population down from the reported 1,073 at the beginning of the year to 1,057. Yet the missionary in charge at San Rafael that year, Father Estenega, reported only 300 Indian people at the mission at the end of 1832 (Bowman 1958:148). Had 773 other Indian people left Mission San Rafael during

1832? Had the fall off occurred over a longer period, with the new minister finally admitting the true number of people that he had to work with? Had there been a massive number of deaths due to epidemics that overwhelmed the accounting powers of the priest? I do not know the answer.

A new priest, Father Mercado, arrived at San Rafael in March of 1833. He immediately roused the ire of some neighboring Indian people, of the soldier escort, and of the governor of California, in an affair that is partly documented by Bancroft (1886:322-324). By the end of the year, Mercado's report for 1833 indicates only 285 Indian people at Mission San Rafael (Bowman 1958:148).

Due to suspicion over the quality of the Mission San Rafael death records, no accurate list can be made of all the individual Indian people living at Mission San Rafael at the end of 1832, in 1833, 1834 or any subsequent year leading up to the American Period.

### **Secularization in 1834**

On August 17, 1833, the Congress in Mexico passed the secularization law guiding the closure of the Upper California missions. It was called the *Decreto del Congreso Mejicano secularizando las Misiones* (Decree of the Congress of Mexico secularizing the Missions). The law's 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 workshops" (Bancroft 1886:336-337). But the secularization law was absolutely silent regarding rules for the distribution of other mission property.

In early May of 1834 Governor Figueroa presented the secularization law of 1833 to the territorial California legislature with a request for advice regarding its enforcement. A surprisingly balanced document, the *Reglamento Provisional para la secularizacion de las Misiones de la Alta California* (Provisional Ordinance for the secularization of the Missions of Upper California), was approved by the California legislature in secret session and published under Figueroa's signature on August 9, 1834 (Bancroft 1886:336-344).

The provisional *Reglamento*, had it been enforced, would have guided the development of communal Indian land-holding pueblos around each of the missions. 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. The government was to use the remaining mission wealth to generate revenue for the public good, such as to pay the salary of the majordomo [manager of the common property], parish priests, and schools.

Secularization began at Mission San Rafael when Ignacio Martinez took an inventory in October of 1834. Missionary control over the land and Indians seems to have ended immediately (Bancroft 1886:346). Father Quijas, the Franciscan missionary who had only arrived at San Rafael in January of 1834, continued to serve as a parish priest for San Rafael and Sonoma through the remainder of the 1830s. The San Francisco Presidio was nearly abandoned in the summer of 1835, when the military garrison for the San Francisco Bay Area was moved north to the new town of Sonoma under orders from Governor Figueroa (Bancroft 1886:294). Actually, Alferez M. G. Vallejo and a number of his San Francisco Presidio troops had been living in buildings of Mission San Francisco Solano since the late summer of 1834, when Vallejo had gone there as secularization commissioner. Conveniently, Vallejo had also been granted nearby Rancho Petaluma in 1834. From 1834 to 1846, the Mexican military presence in the San Francisco Bay area was centered at Sonoma (Bancroft 1886: 702).

### **Mission San Rafael Families in the Late 1830s**

One goal of the current study is to characterize the state of the Coast Miwok population at the close of the Mission Period, the extent to which they survived and had mission-born children, and the extent to which they intermarried with Ohlones, Pomos, Wappos, and Patwins. I have stated above that some Coast Miwoks were at Mission San Francisco, others at Mission San Jose, and still others at Mission San Francisco Solano at the close of the Mission period in 1834. A full discussion of all of them is beyond the scope of the current project. Below, I present a view of the Coast Miwoks at Mission San Rafael in the mid-to-late 1830s, a group that includes the great majority of survivors from Pacific Coast villages.

A sense of the language and regional community representation of Indians at Mission San Rafael in the 1830s can be gained through examination of entries for the children being baptized, and from that examination identifying parents definitely alive and participating in church activities in the period. I identified the families by filtering the San Rafael computer database to create a file of children born after 1833 and still alive at the end of 1839. I then expanded the file to include the parents of those children and all other children born to those parents. The result was a set of 35 nuclear families, listed on Table 5 at the end of this chapter.

The wives in 28 of the 35 families listed in Table 5 came from different regions than their husbands. The husband was Coast Miwok, while the wife was Pomo, in 10 of the 35 cases. There were no cases in which the husband was Pomo and the wife Coast Miwok. Some of the Coast Miwok-Pomo marriage alliances were between people from adjacent regions. Such marriages would not have been surprising in pre-contact times. For example, a Licatiut Coast Miwok (Bloomfield-Cotati)-Gualomi Pomo (Santa Rosa region) marriage, such as that between Pio and Maria de la Luz would have been normal in pre-contact times

(SRA-M 2:542). However other Coast Miwok-Pomo marriages occurred between people from widely separated groups, marriages that were unusual at the time of initial contact. The clearest example of such an unusual marriage is the one between Teodorico of the Huimen Coast Miwoks (Richardson Bay region) and Micaelina of the Lupuyomi Pomos (Duncan Point region), shown in the first entry on Table 5.

A glance at the family groups listed in Table 5 indicates that very few pure Pomo families remained at Mission San Rafael in the 1830s. Of the scores of Pomo families who were there in the 1820s, only two were christening their children at Mission San Rafael in the late 1830s (last section of Table 5). Part of the explanation for their absence from San Rafael is suggested in evidence from the Mission San Francisco Solano baptismal register for the 1830s, which lists a number of children born to Pomo couples who had been baptized at San Rafael. This suggests that many baptized Santa Rosa Plains and Russian River Pomo families reagggregated to San Francisco Solano in the mid-1830s, although their numbers at that mission are not great either. Most Pomos who survived the various diseases that plagued the North Bay in the late 1820s and early 1830s seem to have dropped out of the Catholic church system and returned north to their homes after the missions were secularized in 1834.

The Coast Miwok male family heads at Mission San Rafael in the 1830s represented all of the Coast Miwok community regions except for the Bolinas Bay and San Rafael regions. The Olompali community of the San Antonio Creek region was most highly represented, with five male heads of families that were having children. This is not surprising, since the San Antonio Creek region had the highest original population of all Coast Miwok regions. Also well represented were the Bloomfield/Cotati region (Licatiut and others), the Olema region (Olema community), and the Novato region (Omiami community), each with four families having children in the 1830s (Table 5).

No families from either Bolinas Bay or San Rafael were having children at Mission San Rafael in the 1830s, whether I list them by male family head or female family head. However, individuals from those two regions were still alive in the 1830s. Three older Guaulens lived at Mission Dolores and two older Guaulens may still have been alive at San Rafael, but none of them were having children in the 1830s. At least 10, perhaps 20 Tamal Aguastos of the San Rafael region were still alive during the 1830s, but were not having children. Some of them, including a man named Quintino (SFR-B 2038), were at Mission Dolores, but most were at Mission San Rafael.

### **Coast Miwoks at Other Missions in the Late 1830s**

While most Coast Miwoks alive in the 1830s were back on the Marin Peninsula, a few individuals remained at the older missions, Dolores or San Jose, where they were first baptized. Additionally, a few Petalumas and Chocuyens were affiliated with Mission San Francisco Solano. A full study of the Coast Miwoks at these other missions is beyond the

scope of this report, because each mission's records has its own idiosyncracies that deserve extensive discussion if details about them are to be provided. But a brief description of information about the Coast Miwoks at the other missions in the 1830s is provided here.

### **Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores in the 1830s**

At Mission Dolores a small number of the survivors of the nearly 1,700 Coast Miwoks baptized between 1783 and 1817 remained there to raise families during the 1820s and 1830s. The table in Appendix B lists 47 children not known to be dead by 1840 who had been born at Mission Dolores to one or two Coast Miwok parents. In most cases (57%) both of the parents were Coast Miwok. Among the couples bringing children to Mission Dolores for baptism were Domiciano, a Huimen, and his wife Tecla from Olema or the South Tomales Bay region, who had children baptized at Mission Dolores in 1828, 1832, and 1838 (SFR-B 6513, 6534, and 7093). Another couple consisted of Nestor and Maxima (both Olemas) whose children were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1823 and 1826 (SFR-B 6470, 6493).

Sixteen (34%) of 47 Mission Dolores children of Coast Miwok heritage who were not known to be dead by 1840 had an Ohlone/Costanoan father and a Coast Miwok mother. The children of Carlota of the "Costa" (probably Olema) Coast Miwok and Juan Nepomuceno of the Huchiun Chochenyo Ohlone, for instance, were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1824, 1826, and 1833 (SFR-B 6477, 6495, 6993). An Omiomi woman named Lamberta and her Huchiun-Aguasto Chochenyo husband, Zoylo, had a child baptized at Mission Dolores in 1836 (SFR-B 7058). Another Omiomi woman, Antusa, had children with Hilario of the Yelamu Ramaytush Ohlones of San Francisco in 1821, 1824 and 1828 (SFR-B 6327, 6482, 6508), then had a child in 1838 at Mission Dolores with a Coast Miwok, Eloy of the Huimens.

Three children born in the 1820s at Mission Dolores to Coast Miwok fathers and Bay Miwok mothers were not known to be dead by 1840 (SFR-B 6478, 6487, 6512). One child baptized at Mission Dolores of a Coast Miwok father (Jose Antonio of the Chocuyen) and a Pomo mother (Maria de la Cruz of Gualomi) was not known to be dead in 1839; she was baptized in 1833 (SFR-B 6992).

None of the children born at Mission Dolores to Coast Miwok parents have yet been traced to any people living in the San Francisco Bay area after 1840. It is not known how many of them died young, how many moved back north to the Marin Peninsula, and how many survived to have children elsewhere in the greater San Francisco Bay Area.

### **Coast Miwoks at Mission San Jose during the 1830s**

During the period of split migrations, 390 tribal Coast Miwok speakers were baptized at Mission San Jose. A total of 209 died at Mission San Jose (most during 1817-1829, but 25 in the 1830s), while 110 can be shown to have moved north to Mission San Francisco Solano

(Chocuyens, Alagualis, and Petalumas) or Mission San Rafael (Olompalis, Alagualis, and Petalumas). Of the remaining 71 tribal Coast Miwoks baptized at Mission San Jose, only 14 appear in Mission San Jose records of the late 1820s through 1840s. That leaves 62 Coast Miwoks baptized at Mission San Jose during the 1816-1818 period not accounted for in any subsequent mission register; most of them probably returned to the North Bay at the time of secularization or earlier, where records were poorly maintained.

The 14 Mission San Jose Coast Miwoks who were alive at Mission San Jose during the 1830s included eight married people from Petaluma, Olompali, and Alaguali who had living children there in 1840 (SJO-B 2928, 3246, 3249, 3263, 3264, 3314, 3393, 3403 – see Appendix B table). The other six were young married people from the above groups, plus Chocuyen, couples who did not have living children in the 1840s (SJO-B 2925, 2927, 2940, 3240, 3362, and 3453; see also SJO-M 1499, 1765, 1784, and 1924).

Mission San Jose records of the 1830s and 1840s also document the presence of a small number of Coast Miwoks who had been baptized at Mission Dolores and Mission San Rafael. A Petaluma woman named Juliana (SFR-B 5311) married a Mission San Jose Olompali man at Mission San Jose in 1825 (SJO-M 1559); a child of theirs was baptized at Mission San Jose in 1831 (Appendix B table). An Olompali man from Mission Dolores, Vicente Paul (SFR-B 5360), married a Mission Santa Clara woman named Josefa at Mission San Jose in 1832 (see SJO-M 1954); they had two living children at Mission San Jose as of 1840 (Appendix B table). A Petaluma/Omiomi man named Zenen (SRA-B 558) married a Plains Miwok woman named Joaquina at Mission San Jose in 1838 (SJO-M 2711). Among their children was Maria de los Angeles Colos (SJO-B 7774), who learned Chochenyo Ohlone from her step-father and grew up to become the primary Chochenyo informant for J. P. Harrington (Milliken 2002:5-77).

Despite this presentation of a selective list of well-documented Coast Miwoks at Mission San Jose during the 1830s, it should be kept in mind that the Mission San Jose Indian community was largely Plains Miwok at the time of secularization. The original local Ohlone population had not fared well since the founding of that mission back in 1798. Native Ohlone speakers represented only 3% of the Indian population associated with Mission San Jose by 1840, while Plains Miwoks represented at least 60% of that population. Yokuts speakers represented about 12% of the population, Patwin speakers about 8%, and Bay Miwok speakers only 1%. Coast Miwoks would have represented as much as 9% of the 1840 Mission San Jose population if all 62 of the unaccounted Mission San Jose Coast Miwoks actually still lived there (Milliken 2002:5). It is more likely that about 5% of the Mission San Jose people of the mid-nineteenth century were Coast Miwoks or Coast Miwok descendants.

### **Coast Miwoks at Mission San Francisco Solano in the 1830s**

The Mission San Francisco Solano Indian community was predominately Patwin-speaking by the time of secularization, secondarily Wappo-speaking, with some Pomo and Coast Miwok representation. This was despite the fact that the mission was founded on the lands of the Chocuyen Coast Miwoks. The few Coast Miwoks at Mission San Francisco Solano became a minor portion of the community due to the immigration of Wappos from the north, the transfer of many Pomos from Mission San Rafael with some baptisms in the late 1830s, but mainly due to the assignment of large numbers of Patwins from Mission Dolores, along with Patwin migrations from the east through the late 1820s and the 1830s.

Thirty-three Coast Miwok children who were born at Mission San Francisco Solano before 1840 are listed in the Appendix B table as not known to be dead by 1840. Many of those listed children actually did die before 1840, but the death records of Mission San Francisco Solano have not yet been completely cross-referred to the baptismal records. The list is valuable, however, for illustrating the fact that Mission San Francisco Solano quickly became a linguistic melting pot. Of the 35 children listed, only 12 (36%) had two Coast Miwok parents, while 14 (42%) had a Coast Miwok-speaking father and a Wappo-speaking mother, 4 (12%) had a Patwin-speaking father and a Coast Miwok mother, and 3 (9%) had a Coast Miwok father and a Patwin-speaking mother.

The Coast Miwoks involved as parents at Mission San Francisco Solano were Petalumas and Licatiuts, who had traditionally lived adjacent to the Wappo-speaking Huilucs, and Chocuyens (alias Sonomas), who had traditionally lived adjacent to both the Huilucs and the Patwin-speaking Napas. Survivors among the families represented probably worked for M. G. Vallejo at Rancho Petaluma during the Rancho Period of 1834-1846.



Table 5 (1)

Table 5 (2)

Table 5 (3)

Table 5 (4)

Table

5

(5)

Table 5 (6)

## CHAPTER 7

### BRIDGING THE MISSION AND AMERICAN ERAS

Part 1 has portrayed the pre-1840 history of the Coast Miwok people at a level that has not been available before. The new elements of this study derive from a recently completed cross-referenced database for missions Dolores, San Jose, and San Rafael, three of the four missions to which Coast Miwoks moved between 1783 and 1834, along with a nearly completed database segment for the fourth mission, San Francisco Solano.

Future researchers can use the underlying Bay Area-wide mission register database to link the historic Coast Miwoks discussed in late nineteenth and early twentieth century documents to their contact-period home communities. (In turn, descendant families have already linked the late nineteenth century people to the modern Coast Miwok community through standard genealogical research.) Below, I provide examples of the types of links that one can make using the mission register database.

#### Rancho Nicasio

##### Early Claimants to Rancho Nicasio

The sleepy site of Nicasio in south-central Marin County was a refuge community of Coast Miwok people in the middle and late nineteenth century. Stephen Dietz (1976) brought together ethnographic, historical, and archaeological evidence to tell the story of that community and the Coast Miwok people who lived there. Once a tribal village, Nicasio became a Mission San Rafael sheep ranch during the late Mission period. Soon after secularization a group of ex-Mission Indian men tried to use the Mexican legal system to gain possession of the outstation and surrounding land. The United States Land Commission turned down their petitions for the land in 1855, because they lacked papers of ownership.

While Dietz brought together fascinating and tragic facts about the Coast Miwoks of Nicasio, he did not tie the individuals mentioned in various court documents back to the pre-1840 mission register entries. For many of the named individuals, the connection can be established through a study of the new composite database. The men who were first given the Nicasio grant were “Teodorico Quilaguequi, Sebastian, Juan Evangelista, Luis Gonzaga, and Luis Antolin” (Dietz 1991:19). The Teodorico Quilaguequi of the Mexican Period records was clearly Teodorico of the Huimens, baptized at age 8 in the year 1806 (SFR-B 3310). Teodorico’s wife in 1840 was Micaelina, who can be shown to have been a Pomo

from the Duncan Point area (Lupuyomi), who had been baptized in 1823 (SRA-B 921). Sebastian was probably Sebastian Muniputti of Echacolom, baptized at San Rafael at age 19 in 1819 (SRA-B 274), but he may have been Sebastian Tiulechi of Omiomi, baptized at Mission Dolores at age 7 in 1817 (SFR-B 5549). Juan Evangelista “from Echatamal and Pusuluma” was baptized at San Rafael in 1817 at age 3 (SRA-B 15). Luis Gonzaga from Mottococha was baptized at San Rafael in 1818 at age 12 (SRA-B 43). Luis Antolin may have been Antonlino from the Tamals of the coast, baptized at Mission Dolores at age 7 in 1806 (SFR-B 3377).

Dietz (1991:36-41) also described documentation of a homicide at Nicasio in 1852 that involved Mariano, Jose Antonio, Tardeo and Pastorio (or Pastor). Tardeo, the oldest of the four, was the murder victim. He was a man from Puscuy (Olompali) who had been born in 1816 (SFR-B 5553). The killer, Pastor, was a man from Lupualic north of Bodega Bay, who had been born in 1826 (SFR-B 1500). Mariano, son of an Ocolom (Olompali) man and Gualomi Pomo woman, had been born in 1827 (SRA-B 1491). Jose Antonio, son of an Omiomi man and Olemaloque coastal woman, had been born in 1824 (SFR-B 6479). Clearly, the residents of Nicasio valley in the early 1850s already represented a composite cluster of descendants of various traditional Coast Miwok communities.

### **Nicasio Residents in the 1870s and 1880s**

A Coast Miwok man named Jose Calisto bought the old village property in 1872 and soon after was appointed keeper of “certain old and infirm Indians at Nicasio” by the Marin County Board of Supervisors. When he died in 1874 at age 47, his wife Maria Rafaela Calisto took over that position (Dietz 1991:57-61). I find no appropriate surviving Jose Calisto from any Coast Miwok group. He may, however, be the same Jose Calixto Teodorico who appears as a parent in Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara records in the 1840s and 1850s (SJO-B 8536, 8795; SCL-B 10,157).

Finally, the 1880 census indicates that 36 Indians lived at Nicasio. Maria Copa, consultant to Isabel Kelly whose family will be discussed below, was listed in that census (Dietz 1976:64). Later, in the 1920s she remembered many of the people there:

The elders living in the late nineteenth century at Echa-tamal, the village at Nicasio, were remembered by Maria Copa as follow: MC remembers 7 houses here, most occupied by her relatives. She names: Jose Maria, Sebastian, Carlos, Tio Helos, Salvador, Martin, Cupertino (cousin of her mother’s), Yo Calisto (half-breed, husband of her aunt) [Copa in Collier and Thalman 1991:63].

Yo Calisto was probably Jose Calisto. According to information presented by Dietz (1991:67), Jose Calisto’s heirs sold the last parcels of his Nicasio property in 1887.

### **Ancestors of Isabel Kelly’s Coast Miwok Consultants**

Isabel Kelly worked closely with Tom Smith of Bodega Bay and Maria Copa of Marshall to document Coast Miwok ethnography. Among the many kinds of information that Kelly gathered were notes regarding the ancestors of Smith and Copa. Clues are too sparse to reconstruct the home communities of Smith's ancestors. But those of Maria Copa can be identified.

Maria Copa's maternal grandfather was said to be Ilsario (Elzeario) and his parents were said to be Isidro and Isidra (Collier and Thalman 1991:26, 319). Her maternal grandmother was Maria Nicolasa, whose parents were said to be Otilio and Otilia (Collier and Thalman 1991:26, 316). All six are recognizable in the mission register databases. Elzeario Sacnepa of Alaguali was baptized at Mission Dolores at age seven in January of 1817; his parents, Isidro Saulate and Isidra Geium of Alaguali were baptized at the same mission in February of the same year (SFR-B 5562, 5631, 5642). Otilio Panamele and Otilia Saquenuiu of Olompali were baptized during the same time period (February of 1817) at Mission San Jose (SJO-B 3474, 3484). One of their children, Theodora (SJO-B 3436), was baptized with them. However, another of their children, Escolastica Tollepo, had been baptized at age 4 almost a year earlier at Mission Dolores (SFR-B 5270). Escolastica married Elzeario at Mission San Rafael in December of 1826 (SRA-M 402). It is a near certainty that Escolastica (later known as Maria Nicolasa) and Elzeario were the parents of Maria Copa's mother, Juana Bautista.

We see from the genealogy presented above that the maternal family of Maria Copa all hailed from the north end of San Pablo Bay, from the adjacent Olompali and Alaguali regional communities. Because Isidro and Isidra had lived at Mission San Jose, and their daughter Escolastica (Maria Nicolasa) knew some words of the language spoken there, Kelly speculated that she was of Costanoan descent:

My [maternal] grandmother was baptized at San [sic] Dolores. I'm not sure if she was Costanoan or Miwok. I never heard her talk anything but our language and kekos (San Jose and San Leandro language, i.e. Costanoan) [Maria Copa in Collier and Thalman 1991:26].

The "kekos" language of Mission San Jose was actually Plains Miwok, a major language at Mission San Jose in the 1815-1825 period, and the predominant native language of the East Bay for the remainder of the nineteenth century. "Kekos" derives from the Plains Miwok word for water, "*kik*" (Callaghan 1984:296). The Costanoan word for water is "*si*." Irrespective of the nature of the "Kekos" language, Copa's grandmother Maria Nicolasa (aka Escolastica) was certainly a native speaker of the inland dialect of Coast Miwok spoken by the Olompali and Alaguali people.

### **Opportunities for Future Research**

The new Bay Area-wide mission register database that underlies this study, and which is explained in Part 3, offers a powerful tool for linking baptized tribal people and mid-nineteenth century people, as the few examples in this chapter illustrate. In the future, the database will allow descendants of Coast Miwoks and other Bay Area Indian people to extend their genealogies back as far as possible into the Spanish-contact period.

The Bay Area-wide mission register database also offers potential for contact-period ecological studies and mission period demographic studies that will go beyond the efforts of twentieth century ethnographers:

- The population distribution model introduced in Part 3 is a step toward more detailed and rigorous studies of the ecological basis of contact period Marin Peninsula settlement. Future ecological anthropologists may want to fold in information from archaeological patterns to test and modify the model.
- Demographic researchers will be able to track, among other things, the nature of family and infant survivorship in the missions and on into the post-mission period.

Such studies, building on the present one, will contribute to everyone's understanding of California history.

**PART 3:**  
**CONTACT PERIOD COAST MIWOK COMMUNITY GEOGRAPHY**



## CHAPTER 8

### MODELING COAST MIWOK COMMUNITY LOCATIONS

Part 3 provides the detailed evidence that is the basis for Figure 1, the new ethnogeographic map for the Spanish-contact period Coast Miwok people and their Pomo neighbors to the north. Chapter 8 describes the problems I initially encountered and my development of a population model to guide the inferential ethnogeographic reconstruction. Three succeeding chapters provide information for analytical regions of the Pacific Coast, Bay shore, and Inland Sonoma area, respectively. Some of the analytical regions correspond to self-conscious regional communities and others are merely structures for discussing groups of local communities.

#### **Differentiating Coast Miwoks, Pomos, and Wappos in Mission Records**

In order to analyze the placement of specific communities within the Coast Miwok landscape of the Marin Peninsula and portions of southern Sonoma County, it was important to separate out the Coast Miwok communities from the Pomo communities mentioned in the Mission San Rafael registers. This task seemed difficult initially because the Pomo communities appear in the Mission San Rafael registers under Coast Miwok names. For instance, the Kabemali Pomos of Duncan Point, north of Bodega Bay, were called Lupuyomis in the San Rafael records, the latter being their Coast Miwok name. It turned out to be a simple task. The personal names of the vast majority of Southern Pomo women ended in the suffix, “-men.” The “-men” suffix does not occur on female names from any other west-central California language community. Additionally, the majority female names among Wappo-speaking groups that went to the missions end with ‘-pi.’

During the year 2003 I added an auxiliary “language family” field to all records in the San Francisco Bay area mission record database. Once I established a given community’s language, I entered codes for that language in the computer record of each individual from that community. Each of the thousands of individuals has been assigned to a language family by code letters in that field. All Coast Miwok, Pomo, and Wappo tribal people are individually marked to language family in the databases, as are all Ohlone, Patwin, Plains Miwok, and Yokuts people. Thus, the databases can be used to perform separate studies of the 2,828 Coast Miwoks baptized at the missions, the 817 Pomos baptized at the missions, or any of the language groups represented at the Bay Area missions. The marked fields also allow quick filtering of the databases to study aspects of relationships between selected language families within the mission context.

## **The Problem of Scale Regarding Tamals and Other Communities**

In trying to reconstruct the relative locations of communities listed in mission records without locational data, one cannot presume that all the named communities were spread equally across the landscape because of the problem of scale. Missionaries called most of the home communities that they listed *rancherías*. But they used the word *ranchería* to describe two different scale levels of social identity and spatial reality. Some of the *rancherías* they listed were specific hamlets or villages. However, most missionaries also used the term *ranchería* to apply to large groups of hundreds of people who either had more than one permanent village or moved seasonally among specific locations. In both Hispanic usages the word *ranchería* is equivalent to the word “community” in English, i.e. it can apply to a local town or to a widespread group of people who continually interact and identify with one another.

Occasionally, the California missionaries used non-community or multi-community geographic terms for large numbers of people from a large area. One of those terms, “Tamal,” is a place name critical to the reconstruction of Marin Peninsula ethnogeography. Over 170 neophytes were baptized at Mission Dolores between 1802 and 1810 who were specifically identified as being from “the” *ranchería* Tamal, “from the Tamales,” from the “Olema Tamals” or “Tamal Aguastos.” Later, another 108 people at Mission San Rafael were said to be from one or another of a dozen tiny villages associated with the Tamales. On August 17, 1819, a group of 53 people were baptized at Mission San Rafael, “nearly all said to be from distinct communities, but all from the same direction called ‘The Tamales,’ some on one side and some on the other” (SRA-B 295). Initial analysis suggested that villages associated with the Tamales stretched from the San Rafael area west and north as far as Bodega Harbor.

Another scale problem involved the relationship between some commonly-named communities and some infrequently-named communities in the general Petaluma River vicinity. Many families who were predominately from the large Alaguali, Omiomi, and Olompali communities had members said to be from Geluasibe, Chocoay, Choquinico, and Puscuy. It was difficult to infer the locations of the small communities, given their almost contradictory cross-links to the larger ones. Did the people of the small communities live in politically independent regions, or were they villages of larger regional communities? As it turns out, there is not enough evidence to ascertain the answer. For this study, each local community was considered a component population of a known or inferred larger regional community.

## **Initial Reconstruction of Regional Community Locations**

This section describes the initial steps in the iterative method I used to arrive at the portrayal of Coast Miwok community locations and possible boundaries illustrated in Figure 1. The method assigns individuals to inferred regions on the basis of (1) historic clues, (2) time of baptism, and (3) group intermarriage patterns. The second stage of the method involves reexamining and modifying population assignments in light of ecological expectations. It is described in the next subsection. The method allows assignment of the many specific “Tamal” villages, of the undifferentiated “Tamal” people, and of the members of the many small and large Petaluma River communities to regional homelands without need to know specific village locations.

I had documented the general locations of most of the large Coast Miwok regional communities mentioned in the Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose registers prior to the beginning of the current project (Milliken 1995). When this project began, however, I still did not understand the full extent of the homeland areas of the “Tamal” and “Costa” people baptized at Mission Dolores. Nor did I understand the locations of the many small communities listed at Mission San Rafael, many associated with “the Tamales,” but some associated with the Licatiuts on the north edge of the Coast Miwok territory.

To solve the problem of home locations for all of the baptized Coast Miwoks, I recreated the problem as a puzzle, with edges and with pieces of inferred sizes. I divided the overall Coast Miwok territory into watershed-based “test-case” community regions. Thirteen of the regions were about 50 or 60 square miles, the average size of “tribelet” territories elsewhere in west-central California. Because of the shape of the Marin Peninsula, I could not encompass all the land in the 13 regions, nor create other “tribelet” sized regions. Thus, I created three smaller regions along the Pacific Coast, one west of Olema, a second at Point Reyes, and a third at the mouth of Tomales Bay (that original map, different than Figure 1, is not reproduced here).

I assigned as many of the 2,828 baptized Coast Miwok people as possible to one region or another, using the traditional techniques of mission register-based ethnogeography. For instance, over 100 identified members of the Huimens, the first Coast Miwok people to go to Mission Dolores, were assigned to the Richardson Bay region. The Chocuyens, alias Sonomas, of Sonoma Valley were assigned to the Sonoma region. Olompalis, Choquinicos, and Puscuy, all seemingly synonymous terms for a single community, were assigned to the San Antonio Creek region. Olemas were assigned to the Olema region. Groups for which no ethnographic or historic locational evidence is available were placed on the landscape in relation to their better-documented neighbors on the basis of their times of baptism and outmarriage patterns. For instance Aguastos were placed in the San Rafael region and Omiomis in the Novato region because of their marriage ties to one another and to the earlier-baptized Huimens and later-baptized Olompalis (Tables 6-7).

My initial approach to assigning the many “Tamal” and “Costa” people to regions was to distribute the “Costa” families from south to north in the Point Reyes and North

Tomales Bay regions, then place the Tamal families from south to north among the Nicasio, South Tomales Bay, and Chileno Creek regions. It became a nightmare. I discovered families with members from both the “Costa” and from “Tamal” villages that I was certain were on the inland shore of Tomales Bay. I discovered many nuclear families with “Olema” members and “Tamal” members. It became clear that I could not separate off small “coastal” regions from the larger regions on the Pacific Coast side of the Marin Peninsula. Thus, I conflated the Olema and Nicasio regions, the Point Reyes and South Tomales Bay regions, as well as the Chileno Creek and North Tomales Bay regions. The regions so defined were not too different in area from the regions as shown in Figure 1.

I was able to tentatively assign all family groups to one or another of thirteen Coast Miwok regions. The regions along San Francisco and San Pablo Bay were each dominated by a single regional community, suggesting that they represented meaningful social units. On the Pacific Coast, however, no multi-village regional community names seem to have existed beyond the term “Tamal” for the huge 300 square mile area from Olema north to Bodega Bay. Each local community in that large Tamal area may have been an independent village or mobile band. However, I have retained the Olema/Nicasio, South Tomales Bay, North Tomales Bay, and Bodega Bay regions to organize the analysis of Tamal village community locations and present their history by regions of generally equivalent size to the regional communities around San Francisco Bay.

### **Iterative Procedure for Final Mapping of Coast Miwok Communities**

The first map that I constructed on the basis of the procedures described above was a crude representation of the probable pre-contact community distribution. Did it conform to any possible pre-contact reality? Dry season fresh water availability varied greatly from one area to another in Coast Miwok lands. Furthermore, some regions had a greater variety of microhabitats—seed fields, oak groves, fishing streams, and freshwater marshes—than others. The foggy coastal Bolinas Bay region, with small creeks, steep terrain, and limited variety in microhabitats, could not be expected to have sent as many people to the missions as the sunny Novato Creek region, with its extensive meadows, oak groves, and freshwater marshes.

With this sense of differing habitats in mind, I was concerned that I had drawn territorial boundaries that packed hundreds of people into one region, but left a neighboring region with only a few dozen members. Had I presumed that one group of 60 people held a hundred square miles of well-watered lands, while a larger group of 200 people held only a





hundred square miles of tiny upland feeder streams and dense redwood forests, a situation that defies our expectations regarding hunter-gatherer population distribution? Or had I used “time-of-baptism” and “marriage networks” to spread groups evenly across the landscape, when in fact there may have been local areas with numerous groups packed closely together? This subsection describes the process I developed to reconsider and adjust community locations and regional boundaries in light of anomalies in initially inferred regional population distributions.

Table 8 shows the population model that I constructed to look for glaring anomalies in my early assignments of baptized people to the thirteen Coast Miwok regions, and to carry out iterative steps to correct those anomalies. On the table, column 1 lists the regions, organized in three major spatial groups. Their territorial sizes (as mapped in Figure 1) are listed in column 2. Column 3 gives the name of the largest significant native community assumed to have lived in each region. Column 4 states the mean year of baptism of all people assigned to a given region; the regions are listed in order of their mean year of baptism within each of the three major geographic areas in column 1. Columns 5-9 provide information about the numbers of baptized adults that I finally assigned to each region. Columns 11-13 show aspects of the “expected” pre-mission population of each region. Column 10, a factor that links the “baptized” and “expected” populations, will be explained below.

Historical demographers since Sherburne Cook (1943, 1956, 1957, 1976) have realized that the baptized California Indian population represented only a fraction of the contact-period tribal population. Increased mortality rates spread out into the tribal communities ahead of the mission frontier. Some new epidemics hit all age groups. But the diseases that really crippled populations, that kept them from rebounding quickly, were those that killed infants. We know that infant diseases were endemic in west central California by the late 1790s, because each succeeding community that came into the missions had a smaller proportion of children (age 14 and under) to adults (age 15 and older) than the preceding one. Accumulated evidence suggests that a new strain of virulent syphilis was the primary culprit in the dramatic rise of infant mortality during the mission period (Cook 1943:22-30; Milliken 1995:172-173). As a result of the differential effects of disease over time, the baptized-population sizes of south Marin Peninsula Coast Miwok communities more closely corresponded to initial tribal population sizes than did the baptized population sizes of northern Coast Miwok communities.

In order to reconstruct the pre-contact tribal populations of the Coast Miwok communities necessary for testing the reasonableness of their spatial distribution against an ecological background, I made two important modifications of the data for the baptized populations. First, I examined only the population assignments of the 1,859 baptized tribal adults, rather than all 2,828 baptized tribal Coast Miwoks (see Table 8, column 9), minimizing the role of infant mortality in the relative change in the southern and northern populations over time. Second, recognizing that adults baptized in the 1820s had survived many more years of disease-induced population destruction than adults baptized in the early



1800s, I applied a differential correction factor to extrapolate the “predicted tribal adult population” for each region’s “baptized adult population.”

For the earliest baptized group from Richardson Bay, that sent most of its people to the mission prior to the 1802 “peste” epidemic and almost all of its people to the mission before the 1806 measles epidemic, I presumed that 90% of the adults were baptized. I reduced the survival factor to 87% for the next groups to the north, those of Bolinas Bay and the San Rafael area, most of which were baptized between 1802 and 1806. I applied a factor of 82% adult survival for the Olema/Nicasio region people, whose average year of baptism of 1807 indicated baptisms both before and after the 1806 measles epidemic. For regions with average times of baptism later than 1807, I added a one percent adult population reduction per year to the survivorship correction factor (see Table 8, column 10).

The unpublished original version of Table 8 was not very different than the published version. My original assignments of communities to various regions, based upon traditional “time-of-baptism” and “marriage patterns” methods, had produced results that seem to make sense against the ecological background. The predicted population densities of two local regions initially look suspect in relation to their neighbors, but are not so when special environmental circumstances are taken into account. First, the predicted population density of the Olema/ Nicasio region (6.2 people per square mile) is only slightly higher than that for the South Tomales Bay region (5.9 people per square mile), despite the fact that the creeks running through the Olema/Nicasio region carry much more water in the dry season than the creeks in the South Tomales Bay region. Note, however, that about one-sixth of the Olema/Nicasio region is biologically unproductive redwood forest, while the South Tomales Bay region has no extensive tracts of redwoods. Turning to the Tolay Creek region in the San Francisco Bay Shore zone, it is noted that its population density, given current boundary mapping, was only 5.0 persons per square mile. Yet approximately one-third of the 56 square miles in the region was San Pablo Bay brackish marshland, with only two-thirds of the area being solid ground.

The iterative method of reconsidering the regional population densities implied by the traditional mission register-based community reconstructions allowed me to make a number of minor regional boundary modifications until I reached an inferred pattern of group distribution that I could justify to myself and to the careful reader. Even with the many iterations of analysis, however, the regional boundaries on resultant Figure 1 are approximations of the contact-period community land use areas.



## CHAPTER 9

### COAST MIWOK GROUPS ALONG THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY ESTUARIES

Of the four mapping regions along the shores of the San Francisco Bay estuary (including San Pablo Bay), three have been designed to be equivalent to the inferred territorial areas of specific multi-village regional communities. They are Richardson Bay (Huimen community), Novato (Omiomi community), and Tolay Creek (Alaguali community). The fourth mapping region, San Rafael, was inhabited by Tamal Aguastos and by people merely called Tamals. It seems that the Aguastos lived along Corte Madera Creek, while the Tamals from this region lived to the north in the Miller Creek drainage. This distinction may be artificial, merely reflecting confusion on the part of Mission Dolores priests regarding what it meant to be a Tamal, or a change in the nomenclature used by the priests during the time that they were converting people from the region in question.

The Table 8 population model indicates increasing population densities northward from Richardson Bay to the Novato Region. The Novato Creek region is predicted to have had the highest population density in Coast Miwok territory at 11.0 people per square mile. The lower Huimen (Richardson Bay) inferred population density of 5.8 people per square mile reflects the extensive groves of biologically low value redwood forest and relatively cool climate adjacent to the cold Golden Gate.

#### **Huimen Community (Richardson Bay Region)**

*Proselytization:* The first Coast Miwok baptized at Mission Dolores, in March of 1783, was a girl “native of the other side of the Port to the north, born in the place called Liuaneglua” (SFR-B 305). Her sister, baptized in June of 1783, was also said to be from Liuaneglua, while a third sister, baptized in 1784, was said to be “a native of the other shore to the north of the Port of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco” (SFR-B 325). The sisters’ parents were baptized on May 2, 1784 (SFR-B 369, 370). The multi-village group term “Huimen” was not applied until the fourteenth person from north of the Golden Gate was baptized at Mission Dolores as Hermogenes Ssitúco; he was baptized on January 25, 1787 “of the Huimen Nation on the other shore to the north of the Presidio” (SFR-B 6060).

The first large group of Huimens, 46 people, was baptized at Mission Dolores during the mass mission migrations of 1794-1795. After a long pause another 46 people were baptized in 1801 (Table 1). In fact, half of all Huimen baptisms took place by late February, 1801. Ninety percent of the Huimens were baptized by the end of 1803, all at Mission

Dolores. The last two baptized Huimens went to Mission Dolores on July 19, 1814 with spouses from the South Tomales Bay villages (Juan Antonio Quilajuque, SFR-B 4859) and Omiomi (Severo Culupis, SFR-B 4863), respectively.

*Location:* The Huimens controlled the southern tip of the Marin Peninsula, including the lands surrounding Richardson Bay, the southeastern slopes of Mt. Tamalpais, the Ring Mountain vicinity, and the lowlands north of Ring Mountain, perhaps as far north as Larkspur Creek, including extensive GGNRA lands (Figure 1).<sup>4</sup> They probably controlled Muir Beach and adjacent Redwood Creek drainage on the Pacific Coast side of the Marin Peninsula, as well. The Huimen group controlled approximately 38 square miles of lands, of which one quarter was dense redwood groves and more than half was steep terrain.

*Population:* A total of 163 Huimen people were baptized at the missions, including 100 adults and 63 children. I infer that the low amount of contact across the Golden Gate buffered the Marin Peninsula populations from the early disease outbreaks that ravaged the San Francisco Peninsula and Santa Clara Valley prior to the mid-1790s. Thus, the Table 8 population model considers the 100 baptized Huimen adults to represent a high (90%) proportion of the pre-Hispanic adult population. The Spanish contact-period Huimen population is inferred to have been approximately 222 people. This works out to a population of 5.8 people per square mile (Table 8).

*Villages:* The village of Liuaneglua is listed in the Mission Dolores Baptismal Register as the home village of eight members of Huimen extended families (SFR-B 305, 325, 485, 495, 532, 533, 580, 726). It was located at Sausalito, according to an elderly Coast Miwok informant to C. Hart Merriam (1916:118). Also documented in the baptismal register of Mission Dolores were the unlocated villages of Naique "of the Uimen family to the north of the Presidio across from Angel Island" (SFR-B 843) and Anamás "of the far shore from the Presidio, the port called Huimenes" (SFR-B 1631). In addition, an unlocated village called "Uquismac" was listed as the home of a man (SFR-B 950) who had a Huimen wife and child (SFR-B 947, 941).

*Political Leaders:* No Huimen headman was identified in the mission records. He may have been Torquato Lantapaca (SFR-B 2219), age 40, first in line in a large cluster of Huimen converts in the key year of 1801. Another candidate is 45 year-old Amiano Muluni, baptized privately in a Huimen village by interpreter Jacinto Oboce on September 7, 1801 (SFR-B 2292). Marino Huicmuse, of later Rancho Era fame, was the lead person baptized among a small group of Huimens, Guaulens and San Rafael area people in March of 1801 (SFR-B 2182-2191); although only 20 years old, his place at the head of the group is typical for a community leader. Prior to his transfer to Mission San Rafael years later, Marino

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<sup>4</sup> In 1775 the people of the southern Marin Peninsula spoke to the officers and sailors of the ship San Carlos in an Ohlone dialect (Galvin 1971). This led Alan Brown (1973) to suggest that Ohlone, not Coast Miwok, was their first language. However, Huimen personal names and Arroyo de la Cuesta's 1821 Huimen vocabulary clearly indicate that they were Coast Miwoks.

married daughters of Huchiun Ohlone and Olompali Coast Miwok headmen in succession at Mission Dolores (SFR-M 738, 1660).

*Exogamous Marriages:* Fifteen outmarriages have been documented for tribally-born Huimens (Table 6). Thirteen of those marriages were with people from directly adjacent regions, seven with Aguastos or Tamals of the San Rafael region, five with Guaulens of Bolinas Bay, and one with a Huchiun Ohlone across the bay to the east. Two exceptional long-distance marriages are documented, one with a Tamal of the South Tomales Bay region, and one with an Omiomi of the Novato region. Of interest, no tribal marriages are documented between Huimens and Yelamu Ohlones to the south across the Golden Gate.

### **Tamal Aguasto Community (San Rafael Region)**

*Proselytization:* The San Rafael vicinity sent 283 people to Mission Dolores between 1794 and 1814, and another five people to Mission San Rafael between 1818 and 1821 (Table 1). The first 13 people from the area arrived at Mission Dolores during the mass migration of the winter of 1794-1795, as members of large groups dominated by East Bay Huchiun Ohlones and Saclan Bay Miwoks (SFR-B 1422, 1439, 1763, 1793-95, 1798, 1801, 1815-1816, 1838, 1839). Although the Spanish priests at the time, Danti and Landeata, did not record their home lands, they are identified as San Rafael vicinity people by family cross-referencing.

The first baptized person from the San Rafael region was Cristina Maria Oyumain, who was baptized in February of 1798 from “the village called Piguucu from the direction of the Huimens” by a new missionary, Father Espí (SFR-B 1933). Beginning in 1800, people labeled “Habastos” and “Aguastos” began arriving at Mission Dolores from lands north of the Huimens. A total of 36 Aguastos were baptized in 1800. More arrived at San Francisco in 1801 and 1802; some of them were explicitly called “Abastos,” others were called Tamals, and still others were said to be from “the direction of the Huimens” (members of the latter two groups are identified as Tamal Aguastos through their nuclear family ties). The year 1803 saw the baptism of 96 Aguastos and closely associated Tamals at Mission Dolores. Half of all Tamal Aguastos were baptized by the end of January of the year. By the end of 1803, the only extant villages left in the region were probably on Miller Creek to the north of San Rafael.

Between 1804 and 1807, only 9 people from the region were baptized at Mission Dolores. The last year of significant baptisms from the San Rafael vicinity was 1808, when another new priest, Father Sainz, baptized 42 Tamal people whose marriage records show them to be from “Xotomcocha” (Miller Creek, see below) and whose nuclear family links are with earlier-baptized Aguastos. The first 10 of them were called “Tamales from the direction of Omiomi” (SFR-B 3477-3486), while five others were in a group of “Tamal, Uymen, Omiomi” people (SFR-B 3594, 3597-3600). These 1808 converts were probably the last significant group of Miller Creek villagers. After 1808 another 20 “Aguastos” and “Tamals”

from San Rafael vicinity family groups were baptized at Mission Dolores, usually in association with large groups of Tamals from the Nicasio vicinity or with Omiomis.

Finally, five people were baptized at Mission San Rafael years later whom I tentatively associate with the San Rafael vicinity, because their home villages, as recorded in the San Rafael Baptismal Register, look like ethnographic Miller Creek villages names. Two of them came from “Echaguali” (SRA-B 33, 76), one from “Eguali” (SRA-B 131), and one from “Heuali” (SRA-B 282), all reminiscent of “Ewu,” a Miller Creek village (see below). The last person from the San Rafael vicinity to be baptized was a 40-year-old woman from “Sotomcocha” named Alexa Ottacgloglo; she was baptized at San Rafael in July of 1821 with her husband from “Nayamu” (thought to be in the North Tomales Bay vicinity).

*Location:* The general region of the Aguasto people and closely associated southern Tamals, whom I lump together here as Tamal Agustos, came from villages in the Lagunitas Creek watershed (Greenbrae, Kentfield, San Anselmo, Fairfax), the San Rafael Creek watershed (San Rafael), the Miller Creek watershed (Lucas Valley, Terra Linda), and Point San Pedro. They may not have formed a single political group, since the southern people in the region were explicitly labeled “Agustos,” while the Miller Creek people were distinguished as Tamals. Yet they seem to have been strongly inter-married, and thus probably behaved in many ways as a single regional community. The bay-oriented San Rafael region watersheds include approximately 54 square miles, including about 12 square miles of dense redwood forest on the northeast slopes of Mount Tamalpais (Figure 1).

*Population:* The pre-contact population of the San Rafael vicinity must be inferred. It clearly included all of the people called Tamal Agustos and Abastos at Mission Dolores. It also included an unknowable number of the people who were labeled “Tamales” at Mission Dolores, many of whom were among those baptized in 1802 and 1803 from “the direction of the Huimens” and in 1808 in composite groups of “Tamals, Huimens, and Omiomis.” I have assigned 288 baptized people to this region; 170 of them were adults at the time of baptism, the other 118 were children (i.e. under age 15). I infer that the 170 adults reflected an 86% fraction of the pre-Hispanic adult population, and that the contact-period San Rafael vicinity population would therefore have been approximately 395 people. This works out to a population of 7.3 people per square mile.

*Villages:* Kelly (1978:415) published four village locations in the San Rafael vicinity: Awani-wi, the site of Mission San Rafael, Ewu at Gallinas Creek, Puyuku and Shotomoko-cha at Miller Creek. All four of those locations were originally documented by Samuel Barrett (1908a:309, Map 1). Puyuku is probably the same place as “the village called Piguucu from the direction of the Huimens” listed only one time at Mission Dolores (SFR-B 1933). Shotomoko-cha was certainly the same place as “Sotomcocha,” home of the woman mentioned in the proselytization section above as having been the last of the San Rafael vicinity converts. A few Mission San Rafael references, also mentioned above, may refer to Ewu. Awani-wi, however, was never listed as anyone’s home village in the registers, although “Nanaguani” was stated on the title page of the Mission San Rafael Baptismal Register to have been the location where Mission San Rafael was built.

*Political Leaders:* No San Rafael region headman was identified in any mission register, neither Tamal Aguasto nor Miller Creek Tamal. One important man from the San Rafael region was Salustino Jetuansula, alias Conoche, a 45-year old man baptized at the head of a group of married Aguastos in June of 1803; his wives were Germana Ochacanmoti (SFR-B 2611) and Salustina Quichispo (SFR-B 2738). One of his five children was Quintino Tiguacse (SFR-B 2038), the only Coast Miwok “Quintin” in the mission records.

*Exogamous Marriages:* The people of the San Rafael region had pre-mission out-marriages with groups in all adjacent areas, including seven with Huimens of Richardson Bay, six with Gualen of Bolinas Bay, three with Huchiun Chochenyo Ohlones of the East Bay, three with Tamals of the Nicasio region, and one with an Omiomi of the Novato region (Table 6). Additionally, some longer distance intermarriages are documented, including one between a Tamal Aguasto and an Olema person (at Mission Dolores), one between a Tamal Aguasto and a Huchiun-Aguasto Chochenyo Ohlone person from the east side of San Pablo Bay (at San Francisco), one between a Miller Creek Tamal and North Tomales Bay region person at Mission San Rafael (SRA-B 530-531), and one between a Miller Creek Tamal and a Bodega Bay region person at Mission San Rafael (SRA-B 130-131). A question arises regarding marriage ties between the San Rafael region and the adjacent Novato region; five or six marriages would have been expected, but only one has been documented. Close scrutiny of the family kinship networks of the scores of people identified as Omiomis at San Francisco in 1810 (not undertaken for this project) will probably illuminate more marriages between Aguastos, presumed Miller Creek Tamals, and Omiomis.

### **Omiomi Community (Novato Region)**

*Proselytization:* The Novato region includes the large Omiomi regional community and the smaller Geluasibe community, both in the general Novato Creek and lower Petaluma River vicinity. Some children baptized as Omiomis had parents baptized later as Geluasibes, suggesting that the terms may be synonyms for a single group. Yet the missionaries often differentiated individual Omiomis from individual Geluasibes in the baptismal entries of a single day. For the present, I consider the two groups as near neighbors of the Novato region, with a total baptized population of 342 (Table 1).

The first two Novato region people to be baptized were teenaged boys “from the community called Yomiomi, to the north of the Aguastos” (SFR-B 2508, 2509). They were baptized on December 3, 1802 along with two Huimen teenagers and two Tamal teenagers who are inferred to have been from Miller Creek. Small numbers of Omiomi individuals appeared for baptism with Aguastos and Tamals between the years 1803 and 1810. The main Omiomi group, 178 people, was baptized at Mission Dolores between December 29, 1810 and May 28 1811 (within SFR-B 4086-4339).

The first Geluasibes baptized at San Francisco were four young adults baptized on December 21, 1812 (SFR-B 4622-27). With them were two young Choquinicos (San Antonio Creek region affiliated with Olompali) and one Alaguali (Tolay Creek region). Another 23 Geluasibes were baptized over the next two months, January and February of 1813. Up to that time, 230 Omiomis had already been baptized. From March 1813 until Mission San Rafael was founded at the end of 1817, 46 more Omiomis and 20 more Geluasibes were baptized. At Mission San Rafael, the last four Omiomis were baptized between 1818 and 1820 (one with an Olompali wife, three with Tomales Bay people). Also at San Rafael, the last 11 Geluasibes were baptized between 1818 and 1822 (3 with North Tomales Bay region people, 2 with Olompalis, 3 with Petalumas, and 3 with Licatiuts).

*Location:* The Novato Creek watershed was the heartland of the Omiomi group. Evidence discussed in the “Exogamous Marriages” section below suggests that the Geluasibes lived on the headwaters of Novato Creek in the western portion of the region. The boundary between the Omiomi/Geluasibe population and the more northerly Olompali/Chocoay population probably ran eastward along the ridge north of Novato Creek to Mt. Burdell, then southeast down to the Petaluma River south of Olompali State Park and the Marin County airport, and finally eastward across the open valley of the lower Petaluma River estuary to the present Lakeville Road and southeast to San Pablo Bay between Black Point and Sears Point. On the south, I surmise that the Omiomi-Geluasibe group held the Ignacio area and the various open space preserves north of Big Rock Ridge, and that their lands also stretched west to the headwaters of Novato Creek (Figure 1).

*Population:* A total of 342 Novato region people were baptized at the missions, 281 Omiomis and 61 Geluasibes. Of the 342 people, 220 were adults and 122 were children (under 15 years of age). I infer that disease had taken a toll on the tribal population, so that the 220 baptized adults reflects 77% of the pre-Hispanic adult population. The contact-period Omiomi/Geluasibe population would thus have been approximately 572 people. Their territory, extending from bayshore marshes inland along Novato Creek to rolling oak-covered hills and meadow lands, included approximately 52 square miles. Population density is inferred to have been eleven people per square mile, the highest population density in Coast Miwok lands and probably the highest density in ethnographic west-central California.

*Villages:* No specific Omiomi village is mentioned in the mission registers. Samuel Barrett learned from a Coast Miwok informant that the village of “Tcōke'ttce” once lay along Novato Creek in the vicinity of Novato (1908a:309). It may have been the main Omiomi village site, or a subsidiary village site. Geluasibe, which had a small baptized population of only 43 people, may have been an independent single-village community. Although one 1821 entry at Mission San Rafael states that a “Gelusiguenguea” man named Alexo Patricio Lamantilla “was baptized in *articulo mortis* by the interpreter Geronimo at the point of the Petaluma estuary” (SRA-B 731), i.e., Black Point at the mouth of the Petaluma River, marriage patterns suggest that the Geluasibe local community was inland to the west of Novato.

*Political Leaders:* No Omiomi or Geluasibe headman was explicitly identified in the mission records. A possible headman was Varico Nomeiacon, baptized on May 2, 1811 at the head of the largest group of older Omiomi couples ever baptized (SFR-B 4276). Barrett (1908a:309) and Merriam (1907:355) write that the rancho and town of Novato derived their name from an Indian headman of the Mexican era. Only one man with the name Novato was baptized at either Mission Dolores or Mission San Rafael. He was Novato Gayuc, an early Omiomi convert who was baptized at Mission Dolores on February of 1802 (SFR-B 2649). Novato had three children, but no grandchildren. He died at Mission San Rafael in 1821 (SRA-D 128).

*Exogamous Marriage:* Omiomi and Geluasibe outmarriages are portrayed together in Table 6. Yet their patterns were not identical. Only eight Omiomi outmarriages are documented, including two with Alagualis (Tolay Creek region), two with South Tomales Bay people, and one each with an Olompali (San Antonio Creek-Lakeville region), a Petaluma (Petaluma region), a Habasto (San Rafael region), and a Huimen (Richardson Bay region). Many other Omiomi outmarriages were probably not documented during 1811, when scores of couples were baptized as Omiomis during a hectic period of mass baptisms and marriages. The smaller Geluasibe group had many outmarriages, including five with Chocoaycos (San Antonio Creek region), three with Puscuyts (Olompali subgroup of San Antonio region), five with people from the South Tomales Bay villages to the west, three with Petalumas (Petaluma region), two with Alagualis (Tolay Creek region) and one with an Oleyomi (tentatively placed in the Cotati region).

### **Alaguali Community (Tolay Creek Region)**

*Proselytization:* The Alaguali people of the Tolay Creek region moved to the missions between 1811 and 1818, 151 people in total (Table 1). The first 13 Alagualis went to Mission Dolores between 1811 and 1815 in mixed groups that were dominated by Omiomis and Olompalis. The majority of Alagualis were baptized in 1816 and 1817, most (91 people) at Mission Dolores, but some (37 people) at Mission San Jose (where one subgroup of them was called Tamalcolu). The last three members of this group were baptized with Petalumas and Olompalis at Mission San Rafael in 1818, under the label “Cottomoyux” (SRA-B 166, 174, 201). Nine Alagualis later transferred to Mission San Francisco Solano (eight from Mission San Jose, and one from San Francisco), where they were listed under the community name “Tamalcos,” except for two who were called “Colus” (SJO-B 3190 as SFS Transfer Padron entrant 390; SJO-B 3276 as SFS Transfer Padron entrant 402).

*Location:* Alaguali lands bordered the north edge of San Pablo Bay. The southern one third of their area was low tidal marshland at the mouth of Sonoma Creek and Napa Slough. It is inferred from their strong marriage ties to the Petalumas that the Alagualis also held all of the valley of Tolay Creek to the north of Sears Point. They probably did not hold

lands north of the Sonoma Valley airport. Their territory is estimated to consist of approximately 56 square miles.

*Population:* A total of 151 Alagualis were baptized at the missions, including 101 adults and 50 children under age 15 (Tables 1, 8). I infer that 101 baptized adults represent 73% portion of the pre-Hispanic adult population of 140. The inferred total contact-period Alaguali population is approximately 280 people. On that basis, the population density on the 56 square mile land base would have been five people per square mile. But if the extensive marshlands are eliminated, the population density would have been 7.5 people per square mile.

*Villages:* The first Alaguali baptisms took place at the only Alaguali village named in the mission registers, which was visited by Franciscan missionaries by boat on August 21, 1811. At the time Father Abella wrote “in the rancheria called Cholequibit I baptized [two elders] ... they call the Aguastos of that land Alaguali. It is 16 to 18 leagues distant from the mission by water. We arrived at the rancheria with two launches ... it is situated to the north or nearly northwest of the mission. It has a good disembarking spot” (SFR-B 4414, 4415). The Alaguali village of Cholequibit may have been at Sears Point. No Tolay Creek region villages are documented elsewhere in the ethnographic record.

*Political Leaders:* No Alaguali headman was identified by the Franciscan scribes. Most of the older Alaguali family heads were baptized at Mission San Jose. Three different older men stood first in line in large baptismal groups: 40 year old Albano (SJO-B 3188), 50 year old Brigido Oües (SJO-B 3269), and 38 year old Venusto Huecucese (SJO-B 3307). Brigido’s son, Sixto (SJO-B 3248), married a Mayacma Wappo woman at San Francisco Solano in 1826 (SFS-M 48) and his daughter, Venusta (SJO-B 3253) married an “Old Christian” Huimen man at Mission Dolores in 1826 (SFR-M 2018).

*Exogamous Marriage:* Documented pre-mission Tolay Creek outmarriages total 22 (Table 6). All involved Alagualis; the people labeled Tamalcolus were baptized children or single people. Eleven of the Alaguali outmarriages were with Petalumas, a remarkably high number. The others were with Omiomi/Geluasibe (4), Olompali (3), Chocoime (3), and Napa Patwins (1).

## CHAPTER 10

### COAST MIWOK COMMUNITIES ALONG THE PACIFIC COAST

In this chapter I discuss the Coast Miwoks from the ocean-facing valleys from Bolinas Bay north to Bodega Harbor. The coastal communities are discussed as members of five regions, Bolinas Bay, Olema/Nicasio, South Tomales Bay (including Point Reyes), North Tomales Bay, and Bodega Bay (Figure 1). Mission register entries suggest that the southernmost region, Bolinas Bay, was equivalent to the territory of a single regional community, the Guaulens. However, the other four regions are merely arbitrary zones that I utilized in order to organize mission register data regarding a large number of local communities associated with “the Tamales” area.

#### **Guaulen Community (Bolinas Bay Region)**

*Proselytization:* A total of 111 Guaulens moved from the Bolinas Bay region to Mission Dolores, all but six of them between 1800 and 1805. The first Guaulen convert, Constantina Telpela, was baptized on June 30, 1787 (SFR-B 652); Constantina was married at the time to a recently converted Huimen, Telesforo Uiytunas (SFR-B 623). Small groups of Guaulens went to Mission Dolores over the three year 1800-1802 period. Half of the Guaulens were baptized by the end of 1802. Most of the remaining Guaulens were baptized over January 15-29, 1803. The last two Guaulen converts were not baptized until August 19, 1814. They were Samuela Ottacataime and Damiana Tabalechac (SFR-B 4862, 4867), who were part of an interesting group of older Tamals, Huimens, and Aguastos who had probably moved north to Tomales Bay after their own more southerly territories had been abandoned.

*Location:* The timing of Guaulen proselytization and the outmarriage patterns of the group indicate that they came from the Bolinas Bay region. It is therefore presumed that the Spanish settlers corrupted the plural term “Guaulenes” into “Baulinas,” a name applied by the Mexicans to the rancho at Bolinas Bay. Baulinas was corrupted into “Bolinas” during the American Period (see Gudde 1998:41). The main Guaulen villages were probably around Bolinas Lagoon. Their hinterlands certainly included the coast north at least to Double Point and the valley of Pine Gulch Creek, and south to Stinson Beach. They also probably utilized inland areas on the western slopes of Pine Mountain and Mount Tamalpais in the upper Lagunitas Creek watershed (including Alpine Lake). The inferred Bolinas Bay region includes approximately 50 square miles of land, a large part of which is covered with dense redwood groves.

*Population:* A total of 111 Guaulens were baptized at the missions, including 69 adults and 42 children. I infer that pre-mission disease limited the baptized adult population to 87% of the contact-period tribal adult population. Thus I predict that the pre-Hispanic adult population was 79, and that the total pre-Hispanic population was 159. From that figure I infer that the population density of the rugged coastal Bolinas Region, 50 square miles including dense redwood forest, was about 3.2 people per square mile (Table 8).

*Villages:* The first Guaulen convert, Constantina Telpela, came from “the other shore to the north of the Presidio, from the place called Itaes, of the Uáuele Nation” (SFR-B 652). No other specific Guaulen villages were mentioned in the mission registers or in later ethnographic records.

*Political Leaders:* No Guaulen political leader was explicitly mentioned in any mission period record. Nor does any one of the men who led the various Guaulen baptismal groups stand out as more likely to have been the main head man than any other.

*Exogamous Marriage:* Guaulen pre-mission outmarriages were concentrated with the neighboring Huimens of the Richardson Bay region (five marriages) and the Agustos of the San Rafael region (six marriages). Two outmarriages are documented to the adjacent Olema region to the north. Also documented were one outmarriage each to the South Tomales Bay region and the Novato region (Table 6).

### **Olema and Echatamal Communities (Olema and Nicasio Sub-Regions)**

*Proselytization:* Interrelated Olemas, Olema-Tamals, Olemoloques, Olomopass, and generic “Tamals” went to Mission Dolores from the Olema region (on the Pacific coast just south of Point Reyes) and the adjacent inland Nicasio region between 1802 and 1812. I presume that that Olemas came from the valley of Olema Creek and the adjacent coast, while the pure Tamals among them came from Nicasio Creek and San Geronimo Creek to the east of Olema. But my analysis has not succeeded in cleanly separating the two groups or their territories. In fact, there may have been no separation in the eyes of the native people of the time. So the two areas are considered here to be the Olema sub-region and the Nicasio sub-region of a single mapping region (Figure 1, but see Table 1 for separate baptism counts).

I have identified 217 people as Olema Tamals of the Olema sub-region and another 112 people as Tamals of the Nicasio sub-region. Many of the coastal people were variously labeled as being from Olema, Olema-Tamal, Olemoloque, and Libantone at Mission Dolores. I have also assigned the people baptized as Tamals, but listed as “Costa” people in the 1818-1821 Mission Dolores padron, to the Olema sub-region. Of the families clearly tied to Olema, the first individuals went to Mission Dolores with some Guaulens and San Rafael region Tamals in 1802 (SFR-B 2404, 2503). Most of the Olema sub-region adults, however, moved to Mission Dolores in one of four large groups; one group was baptized in early March, 1803 (SFR-B 2682-2715—labeled Olemos and Olemos Tamales), another group in

November, 1805 (SFR-B 3264-3283—labeled Olemos), another in August, 1807 (SFR-B 3416-3441—“Tamales from beyond the Guaulecos of the community called Libantone”), and one in April 1809 (SFR-B 3684-3716—“from farther up the coast; called Olemoloque or those of the immediate neighborhood of the other side of the port”). The children of the Libantone group, baptized a few days before the adults, were said to be from "Olemalocoe" rather than Libantone (SFR-B 3405-3411). The last 14 people from Olemoloque and Olomopos went to Mission San Rafael between late 1817 and February of 1822. The actual relationships between Olemalocoe, Olema, Olomopos, Olema-tamal, and Libantone may not be understandable, no matter how detailed the future analysis.

Most of the 112 Tamals that I have tentatively identified with the Nicasio sub-region were baptized in 1808, between May and July. A group of nine Tamal elders baptized later, on October 17, 1809, including three men said to be eighty years old, were likely to have been from Nicasio, as well (SFR-B 3783-3792). (Some of the Tamals that I assigned to the Nicasio sub-region may actually have come from the Miller Creek area of the San Rafael region, but the reverse is also true.) The last four converts from the Nicasio sub-region went to Mission San Rafael, where they were explicitly labeled as being from “Echatamal” (SRA-B 15 and 21 in December 1817; SRA-B 214 in January 1819; SRA-B 442 in November of 1820).

*Location:* The heartland of the Olema Tamals was probably in the area of the modern town of Olema (Figure 1). The boundary with more northerly Tamal village groups is unclear, but the large number of Olemas and Olema-related people suggests that they also reached north to the Point Reyes Station vicinity at the very base of Tomales Bay. The upper Lagunitas Creek watershed, at least as far south as the present Kent Lake, was also probably within the collecting territory of the Olema Tamals. Whether or not the Olema people had permanent or semi-permanent villages on the coast west of Olema Creek will be for archaeology to decide.

The central area of the Tamals of the adjacent inland Nicasio sub-region is inferred to have been at Nicasio on Nicasio Creek, since that location became a post-mission Indian community (see Dietz 1976). San Geronimo Creek may have been a harvest area of either the Olema people or their Tamal neighbors of the Nicasio sub-region. I provisionally place the San Geronimo-Woodacre vicinity in the Nicasio sub-region and the Lagunitas vicinity in the Olema sub-region, but admit to having no logical way to define a boundary between the two regions. The total inferred land area of the Olema and Nicasio sub-regions is about 78 square miles.

*Population:* I have identified a total of 217 baptized Olema Tamals, of whom 136 were adults and 81 were children (under 14 years of age). Also, I have identified 112 Tamals likely to have come from the Nicasio region; of them 61 were adults and 51 were children under the age of 15 (Table 8). I infer that disease had reduced the adult population of the two regions at time of baptism (just before and just after the devastating 1806 smallpox epidemic) to 82% of the contact-period adult population. Thus I predict that combined baptized adult population of the two sub-regions, 197 people, represented the remainder of 240 adults at

Hispanic contact, and an overall pre-Hispanic population of 480. This figure suggests a population density of about 6.2 persons per square mile across the two well-watered sub-regions. The population density might have been higher were it not for the region's large inland expanse of relatively unproductive redwood forest (Table 8; Figure 1).

*Villages:* Barrett (1908a: 307, foldout map) placed the village of Olemalóke on Olema Creek near the modern town of Olema, although he did not document his source. Dietz (1976:5-17) summarizes the strong Mission period and Rancho period evidence for placing Echatalamal at the present location of Nicasio. There must have been many other named villages and temporary campsites within the Olema and Nicasio sub-regions. The Libantone and Olemoloque communities named at Mission Dolores, for instance, may have been villages within the lands of a more general Olema regional community. Olema itself may have been a village community name, rather than a community name. The name Tocaloma, found on early twentieth century topographic maps, may refer to one of the local villages or to Lagunitas Creek; it does not occur in the early mission registers (see Collier and Thalman 1991:14)

*Political Leaders:* No Olema or Nicasio region headman was identified in the mission records or in later ethnographic records. However, a Libantone man named Raymundo Teluccaguam (SFR-B 3420) is likely to have been the headman. He had children by three different women at the time of his baptism. Although fewer than 10% of the men in tribal central California had multiple wives, the headmen always had multiple wives. Raymundo renewed his marriage to Raymunda Putuela at the time of his baptism in 1807, but the other two mothers of his children were not baptized until many years later (SFR-B 4264, 5324).

*Exogamous Marriage:* The few documented Olema region outmarriages were to Bolinas Bay Guaulens (2 marriages), to the South Tomales Bay Tamals (2 marriages), to Nicasio Tamals (one marriage) and to Tamals of Miller Creek (one outmarriage). Five outmarriages have been discovered for people that I have identified as Tamals of the Nicasio region; three are with San Rafael area Agustos and Tamals, one is with a South Tomales Bay Tamal, and one is with an Olema Tamal (Table 6). Misidentifications of the home regions of some "Costa" people and some "Tamal" people at Mission Dolores may be masking other outmarriages from the Olema and Nicasio regions.

### **Echacolom, Echajutti and Other Villages (South Tomales Bay Region)**

*Proselytization:* I have identified 317 people baptized at Mission Dolores and Mission San Rafael over the long 1808-1823 period as having come from the South Tomales Bay region, inclusive of Point Reyes (Table 1). Of those who were baptized at Mission Dolores, most were "de la Costa" people (99 individuals), others were identified with the "Estero de San Francisco" (23 people), some were from Echajutti (10 people), and two people were expressly said to be from the "Punta de Reyes." Those baptized at Mission San

Rafael from the South Tomales Bay Region were from a large number of local villages, some mentioned only once, others mentioned more than ten times.

The earliest convert clearly from the South Tomales Bay region was Jose Leonisa Pispistabal; he was labeled a “Costa” person when he was baptized as a six year old at San Francisco in February of 1808 (SFR-B 3468). He was said to be from “Xechqui [standard spelling Sichqui]” in his marriage record at Mission San Rafael in May of 1818 (SRA-M 16). Another 14 “Costa” people who had family ties to later converts from village groups thought to be in the South Tomales Bay region were baptized in 1808 and 1809. The first of two “Punta de Reyes” converts, Antonio Estroncinio Lamtulile, was baptized at San Francisco on February 7, 1810. Another 29 people were baptized from the “Costa” at Mission Dolores in 1810, all of whom are assumed to have come from communities somewhere in the South Tomales Bay region. Smaller numbers inferred to have been from the region were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1811 and 1812 (Table 1).

The next group of “Costa” people was baptized at Mission Dolores over a two-week period from the 16th to the 30th of January, 1813 (SFR-B 4644-4689). Then came a lull in coastal Marin Peninsula baptisms that lasted until the spring and summer of 1816. In April and May of 1816, nine Echajutti were baptized at Mission Dolores. Then 17 children were baptized at Mission Dolores from the “Estero de San Francisco” on August 1, 1816; their parents were baptized in late August and September as “Costa” people (all between SFR-B 5388 and 5510). Small numbers of Echajuttis and “Estero de San Francisco” people were baptized in the spring and summer of 1817.

The 125 people from Mission San Rafael that I assign to the South Tomales Bay region came from numerous local communities, most importantly Echacolom, Echajutti, Mottococha, Pusuluma, Sichqui, and Yuipa. Large groups of adults from these local communities were baptized in two different periods, March 11-June 6, 1818 (SRA-B 51-140) and August 17, 1819 (SRA-B 246-289). A cluster of nine elders, all said to be 60 or 70 years old, were baptized at San Rafael, “from the territory of Ligorio” on November 4, 1819 (SRA-B 331-339). Ligorio Olela, a 42-year old alcalde at San Rafael at the time, had been baptized with a group of Olemas at San Francisco on November 18, 1805. He probably came from the South Tomales Bay region, given the times of baptism of the people said to be from his territory. The Pusuluma people, probably of Point Reyes, were baptized in 1818 and 1820 (SRA-B 37, 66, 77, 97, 424, 440, 467). The final nine people thought to have been living in South Tomales Bay region villages were baptized in 1822 and 1823; they were from Echajutti (SRA-B 637, 641, 819, 831, 832), Echacolom (SRA-B 633, 638, 640), and Sichqui (SRA-B 639). Many years later, in 1831, a family from Yuipa (that may have come back south after living with the Russians) was baptized at Mission San Rafael (SRA-B 1682, 1683, 1690, 1691).

*Location:* The South Tomales Bay region includes the estuaries at Point Reyes, the southern portion of Tomales Bay where the towns of Inverness and Marshall now exist, and the inland valleys of Salmon Creek and Arroyo Sausal further east. The boundary with the Olema region to the south and the North Tomales Bay region to the north is an arbitrary one.

I have mapped it just south of the town of Point Reyes Station (Figure 1). The area, as defined, includes 98 square miles of quite variable habitat.

*Population:* I have assigned 317 people to the South Tomales Bay region, of whom 210 were adults and 107 were children under 14 years of age (Tables 1, 8). I infer that disease had reduced the adult population of the region during the period of baptism, around 1816, to 73% of the contact-period adult population. Thus I predict that there were about 288 adults in the region at Hispanic contact, and an overall pre-Hispanic population of about 575. This figure suggests a population density of about 5.9 people per square mile across the entire region. The population density on the outer Point Reyes coast, which lacked large streams and oak groves, may have been as low as 3 people per square mile for most of the year, while the population density around the shores of Tomales Bay may have been greater than 8.0 persons per square mile (Table 8).

*Villages:* Etcakólum, two miles south of Marshall, is the only specific village location documented for the South Tomales Bay region by early twentieth century ethnographers (Barrett 1908a:308, folded map; Collier and Thalman 1991:6). It is certainly equivalent to Echacolom of the Mission San Rafael records. Marriage network analysis suggests that Sichqui may have been between Echacolom (near Marshall) and Olemoloque (at Point Reyes Station), Mottococha may have been at Inverness, and Echajutti was further inland in the upper Walker Creek watershed (Salmon Creek or Arroyo Sausal). Pusuluma and Yuipa are the communities most likely to have been on the Point Reyes Peninsula. Note that the Coast Miwok word for small elongated (*Olivella* sp.?) shells is “*pussúlli*” and the word for whale is “*púusu*” (Callaghan 1970:62, 63).

*Political Leaders:* No person from groups identified with the South Tomales Bay regions was labeled a captain in the mission baptismal registers. Work to identify the most important family heads through analysis of polygynous marriages has yet to be carried out.

*Exogamous Marriage:* Assigned South Tomales Bay people had 29 pre-mission marriages to communities outside the region (Table 6). Eleven of the outmarriages were with villages that I believe to have been in the adjacent North Tomales Bay region. Seven outmarriages were with people of the Novato region to the east, of which three were among adjacent Echajuttis and Geluasibes. Four South Tomales Bay region outmarriages were to the San Antonio Creek region to the northeast (with Olompalis and Ocoloms). Two were with Olema region people to the south and one was with a presumed Nicasio region Echatalmal. One pre-mission outmarriage was between a Yuipa person and a Guolea person, presumed to be from the Bodega Bay region. Four pre-mission marriages were to groups beyond their immediate neighbors, one to a Huimen to the south, one to a Petaluma person to the northeast, one to a Bodega Bay person, and one to a Livantolomi Pomo from the Sebastopol region. The latter marriage involved an old Pusuluma man from the Point Reyes Peninsula and an old Livantolomi Pomo woman (SRA-M 134, SRA-B 467, SRA-B 468).

### **Segloque, Cotpoloyomi and Other Villages (North Tomales Bay Region)**

*Proselytization:* The people of the North Tomales Bay region, like those of the South Tomales Bay region, were recorded at Mission San Rafael as being from a large number of local villages or communities. Some of the communities were mentioned only once, others were mentioned more than ten times. No single regional name applies to any greater portion of them. I give priority to Segloque as the main village because a headman was identified from there.

Only ten of North Tomales Bay region people seem to have been baptized at Mission Dolores, all between 1813 and 1817. Five possible North Tomales Bay people were among the “Costa” and “Estero de San Francisco” converts at Mission Dolores in 1816. Only one of them, a “Costa” child whose Yaui father was baptized later at San Rafael, was definitely from the northern region of the Tomales Bay vicinity (SFR-B 5276, SRA-B 136). Two more North Tomales Bay people were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1817. All subsequent people from the region were baptized at Mission San Rafael.

The great majority (187 people) of North Tomales Bay people were baptized at Mission San Rafael between 1817 and 1821. Large groups of North Tomales Bay converts, mainly from the communities of Segloque and Xotomcohui, were baptized during the periods of April 14-June 6, 1818 (among SRA-B 87-141) and August 17, 1819 (among SRA-B 244-295) in mixed groups with South Tomales Bay (including Point Reyes) people. By late 1819, North Tomales Bay baptisms were still increasing at Mission San Rafael, while South Tomales Bay baptisms were becoming infrequent. People cross-referred to relatives from the North Tomales Bay communities of Xotomcohui and Guacayomi (perhaps an alias of Guatta) were baptized in September, 1819, under the label “Tamals of the Estuary” (among SRA-B 300-328). Many elders from North Tomales Bay villages were baptized at San Rafael on November 7, 1820 (SRA-B 445-467). Many people from Calupetamal on the west side of Tomales Bay were baptized in July of 1821, along with people from some of the other villages in the region and people from Bodega Bay. By the end of 1821 only 15 North Tomales Bay region people remained to be converted. Most of them were people from Segloque and Calupetamal who were baptized in 1823 and 1824.

*Location:* The North Tomales Bay region is drawn to include villages from the Estero de San Antonio on the north to the Marshall vicinity along Tomales Bay on the south, and inland to include the watersheds of Stemple and Chileno creeks. It also included Tomales Point, the northern tip of the Point Reyes Peninsula, on the west side of Tomales Bay (Figure 1). The North Tomales Bay region encompasses approximately 86 square miles.

*Population:* Communities assigned to the North Tomales Bay region supplied 211 converts to the missions, 152 adults and 59 children. The very high ratio of adults to children shows the effect of high infant mortality on populations baptized in the late mission era. The adult population was presumably affected as well, so that I estimate the baptized adult population to have been only 69% of the adult tribal population of the region. The estimated pre-contact adult population, therefore, was probably about 220, and the overall pre-Hispanic

population of the region was probably about 440. This figure suggests a population density of about 5.1 people per square mile across the entire region, a region of rich estuarine resources but relatively light rainfall and minimal interior oak woodlands (Table 8).

*Villages:* A bewildering list of probable North Tomales Bay communities are cited in Mission San Rafael baptismal registers, including Caltipa (4 people), Calupetamal (30 people), Cotpoloyomi (17 people), Guacayomi (6 people), Guatta (3 people), Guococha (2 people), Nayamu (5 people), Pattai (4 people), Pulucnaquis (5 people), Segloque (22 people), Xotomcohui (11 people), Yauí (5 people), Yoittaca (6 people), and another six locations mentioned only once each. Reconstituted kinship charts suggest synonymy between Guacayomi and Guatta, as well as between Yauí and Yoittaca.

Only three of the communities, Segloque, Xotomcohui, and Calupetamal, are definitely recognizable in later ethnographic literature. Kroeber (1925:274) mapped “Sakloki” on Sand Point at the mouth of Tomales Bay, citing Merriam. Barrett (1908a: 308, folded map) located Cotomkowi, the Xotomcohui of Mission San Rafael records, about two miles south of the town of Tomales, probably on Keys Creek at the north end of Tomales Bay. Merriam (in Collier and Thalman 1991:8) documented Calupetamal as the name of Tomales Point.

*Political Leaders:* San Rafael Baptismal entry 602 for 30 year old Marcelo Guayola, on July 28, 1821, states that he was “Captain of Segloque.” He was baptized in a group of 41 adults, the majority of which were Petalumas and Licatiuts from further east. Unlike most headmen identified in the mission records, Marcelo was not the lead person in the baptismal group of that day, nor even the first baptized Segloque man of the day.

*Exogamous Marriages:* North Tomales Bay baptized people were involved in 29 documented pre-mission marriages to people from other regions (Table 6). The highest count of outmarriages, 12, was to the adjacent South Tomales Bay groups. Another seven outmarriages were to Bodega Bay region communities just to the north. Three outmarriages were with communities of the Bloomfield/Cotati region to the north and northeast. Three others were to San Antonio Creek region communities, two of those being to Ocolom. Atypically, one North Tomales Bay person seems to have had a long-distance marriage link with a San Rafael region person, a Nayamu man (SRA-B 530) and a Sotomcocha (probable Xotomcocha on Miller Creek) woman (SRA-B 531). Two pre-mission marriages with Pomo-speakers involved Calupetamal men, a Calupetamal-Gualomi (Santa Rosa region Pomo) marriage documented in 1822 (SRA-M 235) and a Calupetamal-Lupuyomi (Duncan Point region Pomo) marriage documented in 1823 (SRA-M 265)

#### **Geluatamal, Lupualic and Other Villages (Bodega Bay Region)**

*Proselytization:* Nine communities listed at Mission San Rafael mission which appear to be from the Bodega Bay region are listed in the “Villages” subsection below. Additionally, the place name “Bodega” was applied in eight baptismal records and three marriage records, including two baptismal records at Mission Dolores and one marriage

record at Mission San Francisco Solano. All people from “Bodega” are included in the count for the Bodega Bay region, with the exception of those from “Calupetamal o Bodega” on Tomales Point in the North Tomales Bay region. The name Geluatamal is given priority for the region because the headman during the period of heavy baptisms was identified from there.

Bodega Bay people were baptized at the Franciscan missions between 1810 and 1832 (Table 1). The first baptism occurred in 1810 when a six year old child of non-Christian parents, named Gabriel Palachapaii (SFR-B 3986), was baptized as part of a group of “Costa” children otherwise thought to have come from the South Tomales Bay region (SFR-B 3979-3990).<sup>5</sup> Over the next few years the Russians used Bodega Harbor as their port for Fort Ross. On August 4, 1817, seven year-old Mariano de Las Nieves Ellapoo was baptized at Mission Dolores “from the community called Geluatamal on the other side of the Estuary of San Francisco” (SFR-B 5702); he died two months later (SFR-D 4450). Fedor Lutke visited the harbor in September of 1818, reporting of the Indians at a village on the shore that, “their lives are almost nomadic, because in this settlement there are sometimes more than 50 of them, and at other times no more than ten” (in Dmytryshyn *et al.* 1989:276). Lutke saw only the native people at Bodega Head; he did not visit villages elsewhere along the coast or further inland.

A couple from “Guolea and Yoletamal” brought their child to Mission San Rafael for baptism on January 30, 1818 (SRA-B 39). Over the remainder of the year 1818 another nine people were baptized from Guolea and three were baptized from Geluatamal, both inferred to have been in the Bodega Bay region. Not until August 17, 1819 did any significant group of Bodega Bay region adults appear for baptism at a Franciscan mission. On that day three people from Hutchi and three from Guolea were baptized at San Rafael among a group of 52 people dominated by North Tomales Bay people (SRA-B 244-295). The next large group of inferred Bodega Bay adults, five elders from Bolea and Bolego, were baptized on November 7, 1820 (SRA-B 459-463). Bodega Bay individuals came in from time to time with more southerly coastal groups in 1821. The Lupualics, probably from the mouth of Salmon Creek, were first baptized at San Rafael in May of 1822 (SRA-B 717-718).

By the end of 1824 the Bodega Bay region was the only Coast Miwok region with a significant remnant tribal population. None of its people were baptized in 1825. The main groups of Bodega Bay converts were baptized at San Rafael in 1826, 1827, and 1831 (Appendix A Table). Thirteen Bodega Bay people were baptized in 1826. Four were from “Lupualic near the Bodega” (SRA-B 1464-1467). Another was from Yoletamal, the first of three people at San Rafael said to be from that village on Bodega Harbor (SRA-B 1346). Jose Talio of “Bolego in the Tamals” and his wife Josefa Talia of “Geluatamal or Bodega” were baptized at San Rafael on April 27, 1826. Father Amoros wrote:

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<sup>5</sup> Gabriel Palachapaii is identified as the first Bodega Bay area convert through his 1825 marriage record at Mission San Francisco Solano, in which he was stated to be from “Bodega” (SFS-M 23).

In the Church of this Mission of San Rafael I baptized the following: First a man of about 40 years, called Moloccia, of Bolego in the Tamales: I gave him the name Jose Talio. He is married to Talia Unuttaa of Geluatamal or Bodega, a woman who many years before was married to a Kodiak who brought her to Sitka, where she was instructed in the knowledge of God and baptized by Father Malanoc, a Russian... Widowed, Talia returned to Bodega, and married said Moloccia, with whom she has the child Rafaela, of the subsequent entry. Also, said Talia has a child by the dead Kodiak, Andres Aulancoc, who was born at Fort Ross a short time after the widowed Talia returned from Sitka. The child is about 11 years old and was baptized at Fort Ross by a Russian instructress named Malascoya in the days when Commander Alexander Koscov was there (SRA-B 1343).

Another twelve Bodega Bay people were baptized in 1827. Then there was a three year pause, 1828-1830, during which time only Livancacayomi (Cakakmo?) Pomos from the northern Laguna de Santa Rosa (Trenton region) were baptized at San Rafael.

The largest group of Bodega Bay people to go to the Franciscan missions, 22 people from Lupualic, Hutchi, and Oyeyomi, were baptized at San Rafael on April 13 and April 30, 1831. The final four Bodega Bay converts were baptized in December of 1831 and the spring of 1832. Florencia Koscau was the last Bodega Bay person baptized at San Rafael before secularization of that mission (SRA-B 1808). The widow of a "Coriaca" husband who had died at Fort Ross, Florencia married widower Florencio Gualinpocus (SFR-B 5473) from "la Costa" on April 10, 1832, the day she was baptized (SRA-M 504).

Russian fur trader P. Kostromitonov wrote the following during the late 1830s about the disruption of tribal life at Bodega Bay:

Formerly there were large villages in the areas of the bays of the large and little Bodega, but since the founding of two missions on this side of the Bay of St. Francis these settlements have vanished. Many of the Indians were removed to the missions; the others either emigrated to Ross or were exterminated by the pestilences which raged during the years 1815-1822 (in Stross 1974:7).

This mention of pestilence during the 1815-1822 period does not have strong support in the Mission Dolores death registers.

*Location:* I map the Bodega Bay region to include the Pacific Coast from the Salmon Creek drainage on the north to the Estero Americano on the south, and inland to the Valley Ford on Americano Creek (Figure 1). Thus I do not follow Barrett's (1908a) mapping of the Pomo-Coast Miwok boundary along Salmon Creek. Instead, I follow most of the evidence in Barrett's text, placing the boundary between the mouth of Salmon Creek and Duncan Point. The area of the Bodega Bay region, as I mapped it, is approximately 51 square miles.

*Population:* Some 97 individuals were baptized at the missions from communities that I believe to have been in the Bodega Bay region, 67 adults and 30 children (Tables 1, 8). I think that some portion of the Bodega Bay population left the area to work for the Russians, and that others suffered from the typical diseases introduced into the west-central California population, so that the baptized adult population may have represented as little as 50% of the pre-Hispanic adult population. If that is the case, the pre-Hispanic adult population would have been about 134, and the pre-Hispanic total population of the region would have been about 268. Such a figure would indicate a regional population density of 5.3 persons per square mile (Table 8).

*Villages:* I include in the Bodega Bay region a number of small communities listed in the Mission San Rafael registers: Lupualic (30 baptisms), Guolea (15 baptisms), Hutchi (13 baptisms), Oyeyomi (8 baptisms), Geluatamal, alias Bodega (6 baptisms), Bolea (5 baptisms), Bolego (4 baptisms), Yoletamal (3 baptisms), Gueluxa (2 baptisms), and, less certainly, Luluoyomi (one baptism) and Logomi (one baptism). Seven people were stated to be from “Bodega” at baptism. Tom Smith identified Oyeyomi at Valley Ford on American Creek and Yoletamal on the east shore of Bodega Harbor (Collier and Thalman 1991:11). Of the many villages documented by Barrett (1908a) in the Bodega Bay area, only Oyeyomi (which he placed at Freestone) appears in the early mission records.

Of the two Bodega Bay region communities mentioned most often in the mission records, Guolea appeared earliest and Lupualic latest. Thus, I tentatively place them on the two largest streams in the region, Guolea on the coast at the mouth of American Creek, Lupualic at Bodega on Salmon Creek in the north. “Geluatamal” and “Bodega” may have been cover terms for Yoletamal, Tokau, Tiutuye, and other villages known from later ethnography to have been around Bodega Harbor (see Collier and Thalman 1991:4-15). This large number of named sites in one portion of the Bodega Bay region is probably not an indication of especially high population density at Spanish contact. Instead, the large number of named sites reflects that fact that consultants to Barrett and Kelly lived at Bodega Harbor. Prior to the arrival of the Russians, people utilized the entire region; many inland villagers probably came over to the harbor only seasonally.

*Political Leaders:* During the earlier Spanish period, the unnamed “Captain of Bodega” was from the village of Geluatamal, which I tentatively place on Tomales Point in the North Tomales Bay region; his 22 year-old daughter, Alexandra, was baptized at San Rafael 1817, then married an Olema bachelor from Mission San Francisco named Januario Mellies in 1819 (SRA-B 217; SRA-M 51). The headman of the Bodega Bay communities during the Mexican period was Gualinela, identified by the Russians in 1818 as the new chief of the people at the village of Tiutuye at Bodega Head. He was said to be living at Bodega Harbor as a caretaker for the Russian properties in the early 1830s (Farris 1998). Jose Talio Moluccsia of Bolego, husband of the woman who had returned from Sitka, was listed as a “Tamales captain” in a document written by Mariano G. Vallejo in 1838.

*Exogamous Marriages:* The baptized tribal people from the Bodega Bay region had fourteen pre-mission outmarriages to people from communities in other regions (Table 6).

Seven of them were with neighbors in adjacent communities of the North Tomales Bay region: a Bolea-Guacaomi marriage (SRA-M 323), two Guolea-Segloque marriages (SRA-M 27, 165), two Hutchi-Calupetamal marriages (SRA-M 84,127), an Oyeyomi-Calupetamal marriage (SRA-M 497) and a Bolea-Cotpoloyomi marriage (SRA-M 142). One Bodega Bay outmarriage was to the South Tomales Bay region, a Guolea-Yuipa marriage (SRA-M 28). Two outmarriages were to the San Antonio Creek region, a Puscuy-Geluatamal union (SRA-M 35) and a Guolea-Olococha union (SRA-M 30). One atypically long-distance outmarriage involved a man from the probably Bodega Bay community of Gueluxa (SRA-B 130) and a woman from Eguali, guessed to be Ewu on Miller Creek in the San Rafael region (SRA-B 131). Two Bodega Bay region pre-mission outmarriages were with Pomo-speaking communities to the north, a Lupualic-Geluachocyomi (possibly Guerneville region Pomo) union documented in 1827 (SRA-M 415) and a Lupualic-Guasamolu (Big Russian Gulch region Pomo) union documented in 1831 (SRA-M 484).

## CHAPTER 11

### COAST MIWOK GROUPS OF INLAND SONOMA COUNTY

#### Chocuyen Community (Sonoma Valley)

*Proselytization:* One hundred and forty four Coast Miwok people from the Sonoma vicinity went to the missions between 1814 and 1824. They went to four different missions under variant spellings of the regional names “Choquoime” and “Chucuyen,” as well as the name of their headman, Sonoma. The first group from the region to be baptized consisted of six children; they were baptized under the name Chucuyen at Mission Dolores on December 9, 1814 with some Napa Patwin children. Another 33 Chucuyens were baptized at Mission Dolores through the spring of 1815. Then, in the early summer of 1815, the Chocuyens were redirected to Mission San Jose, where the majority of them (82 people) were baptized as Choquoimes between June 1, 1815 and January 9, 1816. Then, another six “Chocuiens” were baptized at Mission San Rafael, in 1818 (1), 1820 (1), and 1822 (4), the latter with some remnant Petalumas and some Oleyomis from the Cotati region.

Some Chocuyens moved back north to their Sonoma Valley homeland when Father José Altimira founded Mission San Francisco Solano in late 1823. Many, however, remained at Mission San Jose and married into the mixed-language community there. The final three Chocuyen converts were young women baptized with Mayacma and Huiluc Wappos at Mission San Francisco Solano in 1825; the missionary there identified them as “Sa-nomas” (SFS-B 170, 178, 179).

*Location:* Association with the name Sonoma provides evidence that the Chocuyens were centered along Sonoma Creek in the present area of Sonoma (Figure 1). That placement is supported by their time of baptism and their marriage networks with groups inferred to live in surrounding areas. I infer that their northern boundary, adjoining the Wappo-speaking Huilucs, ran eastward from Sonoma Mountain to Sonoma Creek about a mile north of Agua Caliente, then continued east to Hogback Mountain, thence south in the mountains separating Sonoma and Napa counties to upper Huichica Creek and Milliken Peak, and on south to the San Pablo Bay marsh edge in the Huichica Creek vicinity. The region, as I have mapped it, was approximately 59 square miles.

*Population:* The baptized Chocuyens numbered 144 people, including 108 adults and 36 children (Tables 1, 8). I infer that 108 baptized adults represent 73% portion of the pre-Hispanic adult population, which is predicted to have been 148 people. Doubling that adult population to reflect typical small-scale society age structure leads to a contact-period

Chocuyen population of 296. This inferred population total indicates a pre-Hispanic population density of 5.0 persons per square miles (Table 8). This fits with the relatively dry conditions of the region.

*Villages:* No specific Chocuyen villages are mentioned in any Franciscan mission registers. Barrett (1908a) mapped four village locations within territory that I ascribe to them: Wugiliwa at Agua Caliente, Hutci at Sonoma, Temblek on Carriger Creek in west Sonoma, and Tuli a little further up Carriger Creek to the west. It would not be surprising if the Chocuyen did have four contemporaneously occupied semi-permanent villages of 50 to 100 residents each prior to the Mission period.

*Political Leaders:* The first baptized Chocuyen was a young man named Ambrosio Satel, said to be the son of “Sonoma” at baptism in late 1814 (SFR-B 4900). His father, “Antonio Abad, commonly called Sonoma,” was baptized in April of 1815 (SFR-B 5047). According to Barrett (1908a:313), a man named Sonoma, alias Tolopo, was once the headman of the people in the Sonoma Valley. One Mission Dolores entry actually calls a group of new neophytes “*Chucuiens llamados tambien Sonomas*” (SFR-B 4986-4993).

*Exogamous Marriages:* Only eleven baptized Chocuyens had pre-mission marriages to people from other regions (Table 6). Of those that were to Coast Miwok-speaking neighbors, three were with Alagualis (Tolay Creek region), two were with Petalumas (Petaluma region), and one was with a Licatiut (Bloomfield/Cotati region). Three of their outmarriages were with Wappo speakers, including two with Mayacma Wappos from the Calistoga region and one with a Huiluc woman from the adjacent Kenwood region. Finally, two Chocuyens were married to Napa Patwins at the time of their baptisms.

### **Olompali Community (San Antonio Creek Region)**

*Proselytization:* A total of 349 people, representing six named groups, moved to the missions from San Antonio Creek and lower Petaluma River Valley between 1811 and 1822 (Table 1). The groups were Olompali (listed in 176 baptismal entries), Chocoayco (listed in 62 baptismal entries), Puscuy (listed in 35 baptismal entries), Choquinico (listed in 22 baptismal entries), Ocolom (listed in 7 baptismal entries), and Choctonai (listed in 4 baptismal entries). Olompali was clearly the dominant group in the area, and most people baptized from Puscuy, Choquinico, Ocolom and Choctonai have some nuclear family relatives identified as Olompalis. Of the groups that I here present as Olompali subcommunities, only the Chocoaycos may have been a completely separate group. But the Chocoaycos are pooled here with the others because they were baptized in mixed groups with the Olompali cluster and are heavily intermarried with them.

The first person baptized from the San Antonio Creek region was Regina Toelmaen, age 28, from “Pocuy to the north of Omiomi” (SFR-B 4299). At her baptism at Mission Dolores on May 2, 1811, she was said to be the aunt of an Omiomi neophyte named Tronco.

Seventeen months later two Choquinico children and a Chocoayco child were baptized at San Francisco. Twenty-two Chocoayco and Puscuy adults were baptized at San Francisco in January and February of 1813.

The first labeled Olompali to be baptized was Sinfronia Ochacamaen, age 20; she was baptized at San Francisco in April of 1814 (SFR-B 4820). A few more Olompalis, Puscuy, and Chocoaycos were baptized during the remainder of 1814 and 1815, all at San Francisco. The first large surge of migration occurred in the spring and summer of 1816, when scores of Olompalis were baptized at San Francisco with Alagualis and Petalumas. Olompalis first appeared for baptism at Mission San Jose in August of 1816. For the rest of 1816 and the first half of 1817, Olompalis and Chocoaycos were baptized at both San Francisco and Mission San Jose. Another 71 people from these groups were baptized at Mission San Rafael between December, 1817 and June, 1822.

The last large group, 22 individuals, was baptized at San Rafael on July 11, 1818. The group included people explicitly labeled Olompali, Puscuy, Choquinico and Chocoay (included among SRA-B 148-176). Seven people identified from Ocolom (actually 5 Ocolom and 2 Olomhicha) are tied to Olompali through the identification of some of their parents or children as Olompali or Puscuy (SFR-B 868 to SRA-B 137; SJO-B 3630 to SRA-B 636). Four of the last five people from these groups to be baptized (in April 1822) had been living among the Licatiuts (SRA-B 659, 662, 664, and 666), probably since the summer of 1818.

*Location:* The core area of the Olompali group seems to have been the San Antonio Creek drainage, to the north of Novato and the southwest of Petaluma (Figure 1). Father Payeras visited San Antonio Creek in 1819, calling it "Cañada de los Olompalis". Kroeber (1925:273-274) and Barrett (1908a:310) both considered the San Antonio Creek drainage to be the Olompali core area. I suggest that the entire San Antonio Creek drainage belonged to the Olompali regional community, including the open country at the headwaters of the creek (just east of Laguna Lake), as well as a five-mile stretch of the lower Petaluma River from the island about one mile above Lakeville downstream to just south of the Marin County airport. (I have mapped the mouth of the Petaluma River in the Novato region, home of the Omiomi community, but the mapping is tentative.) The San Antonio Creek region, as I mapped it, includes a great variety of microhabitats within a 63 square mile area.

*Population:* A total of 349 San Antonio Creek region people were baptized at the missions, 236 adults and 112 children (Tables 1, 8). I infer that the baptized adult population reflects only 72% of the pre-Hispanic adult population. I predict a pre-Hispanic adult population of about 329 people, and a pre-Hispanic total population of 658 people. Thus, I estimate that the region's 63 square miles of mixed riverine, marsh, oak woodland and grassland supported approximately 10.4 people per square mile. This region and the neighboring Novato region to the south seem to have been the most densely populated regions in the pre-Hispanic San Francisco Bay Area.

*Villages:* The Mission and Rancho period Rancho Olompali hacienda site lies on a small creek one mile east of the confluence of San Antonio Creek and the Petaluma River. The ranch house site, and associated historic period Indian village site, was probably at or very near the location of Puscuy, the first village or sub-community of Olompali to send numerous people to the missions. The Chocoayco community may have been centered at Lakeville on the east side of the lagoon of the Petaluma River. However, it may have been farther downstream at the mouth of the Petaluma River; Tanner (1971:47) notes that Father Amoros traveled “to the point of the estuaries, which is called Chocuay.” Ocolom seems to have been in the area of the headwaters of San Antonio Creek or at Laguna Lake (Tanner 1971:49, citing a manuscript of Father Amoros). It is possible that the terms Olompali and Choquinico both referred to the regional community, rather than specific villages.

*Political Leaders:* The headman of Olompali at the time the community went to the missions was a 50 year old man named Eymucce, who was baptized Nemenciano at Mission San Jose on February 3, 1817 (SJO-B 3470; Nemenciano Telemele of Choquinico at his second church marriage, SRA-M 31). Although he stood at the head of a group of Olompali adults at baptism, his status as headman is noted only in the baptismal entry of his daughter, Blasa Jobocsa, who had been baptized as “daughter of Telemele, Captain of Olompalico” at Mission Dolores nearly one year earlier (SFR-B 5231).

*Exogamous Marriages:* San Antonio region people had 29 documented pre-mission outmarriages (Table 6). Nine of them were with Novato region people (Omiomis or Geluasibes). Five were with Bloomfield/Cotati region people to the north (mainly Geluayomis). Four outmarriages were with Petalumas to the northeast. Another four outmarriages were with South Tomales Bay region communities, predominately Echajuttis. Three outmarriages were with North Tomales Bay communities to their west and three more were with the Alagualis of the Tolay Creek region to their east. In sum, all of the Olompali community outmarriages were to people from directly adjacent regions.

### **Petaluma Community (Petaluma Region)**

*Proselytization:* The Petalumas sent people to all four of the missions that baptized Coast Miwoks. They went to Mission Dolores from 1814 through 1817, to Mission San Jose from 1816 to 1818, to Mission San Rafael from 1818 through 1822, and Mission San Francisco Solano in 1824 (Table 1). The first Petaluma convert, on December 9, 1814, was two-year old Bruna Joucos (SFR-B 4915), daughter of an unbaptized Petaluma father (Gualinsula) and a Choquoime mother.

The first large group of Petaluma adults was baptized at Mission San Jose in August of 1816, along with some Alaguali spouses (within SFR-B 3283-3302). Petalumas continued to appear for baptism at both Mission Dolores and Mission San Jose for the remainder of 1816 and 1817, suggesting that they may have been deliberately separated by the Spanish authorities for purposes of social control. At Mission San Jose, Father Fortuny differentiated

Petalumas from Tuleomis in baptismal entries of January and February 1817 (among SJO-B 3399-3529), but kinship links and later ethnographic evidence suggest that they were so closely related that they should be considered subgroups of a single community.

At least one third of the Petalumas were still in their villages when Mission San Rafael took over North Bay baptisms at the end of 1817. The first two people ever baptized at Mission San Rafael were Petalumas (SRA-1, 2). Petalumas continued to be baptized at San Rafael as individuals and in small groups through the summer of 1821. In July of 1821 the last large group of 30 Petaluma people was baptized at San Rafael. The Petaluma stragglers were baptized in April of 1824, five elders and a young man at San Francisco Solano (SFS-B 33-39), and 80 year old Hugolina Yotupa of “Petaluma and Licatiut” at San Rafael (SRA-B 1183).

*Location:* Barrett’s (1908a:310) early nineteenth century sources place the Petaluma community along Lynch Creek and at other locations near the present town of Petaluma. The group probably also held the lands around M. G. Vallejo’s Rancho Petaluma hacienda on Adobe Creek. All in all, I suggest that the Petaluma region included the middle stretch of the Petaluma River from Lynch Creek south to Adobe Creek, as well as the Willow Creek, Lynch Creek, and Adobe Creek watersheds. The Petaluma region is approximately 52 square miles.

*Population:* A total of 208 Petaluma and Tuleomi people of the Petaluma region were baptized at the missions, 142 adults and 66 children (Tables 1, 8). I infer that the baptized adult population of 142 people reflected 71% of a pre-Hispanic adult population of about 200 people. The overall pre-Hispanic Petaluma community population may have been about 408. Accepting these figures, the open, but well-watered Petaluma region carried a population of 7.7 people per square mile.

*Villages:* Petaluma was a specific village site on Lynch Creek about 3.5 miles northeast of modern downtown Petaluma, according to a Barrett informant (1908a:310-311). “According to one informant tulē’yome, the name applied to a creek near this village site, was also applied to the village itself in addition to the name petalū’ma” (Barrett 1908a:311). Barrett mapped other villages in the inferred Petaluma region, including Wotoki at the confluence of Adobe Creek and the Petaluma River, Etem at downtown Petaluma, Tutcaiyelin about a mile to the northwest. In December of 1821, San Rafael missionary Father Amoros baptized Anselmo Sule “in the community Typiyeluti Petaluma” (SRA-B 615), probably Barrett’s Tutcaiyelin. The missionaries seem to have used the word Petaluma as a regional community name.

*Political Leaders:* No Petaluma political leader was explicitly mentioned in the mission registers. The men at the head of the numerous Petaluma baptismal clusters were young, usually in their twenties. Future work may show that one of them had multiple wives, which would suggest a status of group leader. One important elder Petaluma couple was Anselmo Sule and Anselma Elamela (SRA-B 615-616). Baptized in December of 1821 at “Typiyeluti,” they were the parents of the wife of the Licatiut headman Toribio (SRA-387).

*Exogamous Marriages:* A total of 31 Petaluma adults were married to people from other regions at the time of baptism (Table 6). Petalumas and Alagualis (Tolay Creek) had eleven pre-mission marriage links, a very high number. Petalumas and Bloomfield/Cotati region people (primarily Licatiuts and Tamalsimelas) had nine marriages. Smaller numbers of Petaluma outmarriages are documented with the San Antonio Creek region Olompali community cluster (4 marriages), the Novato region Omiomis and Geluasibes (4 marriages), and the Sonoma region Chocuyens (2 marriages), all neighboring communities. Only one Petaluma is known to have been married to someone from a distant community at baptism. That was Pancrasio Gilmon, baptized at Mission Dolores in 1816 with his wife, Pancrasia Eyuntol “from the Coast” (SFR-M 1659, SFR-B 5449, 5458).

### **Licatiut, Geluayomi and Other Communities (Bloomfield/Cotati Region)**

*Proselytization:* The Bloomfield/Cotati region is the home area of four closely related communities who went to Mission San Rafael, Licatiut (56 baptisms), Geluayomi (30 baptisms), Tamalsimela (13 baptisms), and Yoleyomi (9 baptisms). The first person baptized from the region was a Geluayomi child, brought by her non-Christian parents to Mission San Rafael with some North Tomales Bay and Bodega Bay people in April of 1818 (SRA-B 82). It was more than a year later before a boy from “Geluayomi and Tamalsimela” and two other children from the area were baptized in August of 1818 (SRA-B 187-189). The first “Yoleyomi” person was baptized in October of 1818 (SRA-B 206). An infant from “Eloasyeyomi, a little farther than the Petalumas” was baptized as Rafaela in July of 1819 (SRA-B 228). The first baptized “Licatiut” was Conrado Guecgucepugel, an infant baptized at San Rafael on April 3, 1820 (SRA-B 1820).

The first 34 neophytes baptized from the region all came in as marginal members of larger groups from other communities, most commonly Petalumas and Olompalis. The first significant cohesive group of Bloomfield/Cotati region adults were baptized on July 28, 1821, 11 Geluayomis and Yoleyomis (among SRA-B 581-607). The largest portion of the Bloomfield/Cotati region people joined Mission San Rafael between April 30 and June 22, 1822 (among SRA-B 651-675, 684-691, 732-736). With them were large numbers of Huilic Wappos from the upper Sonoma Valley.

A small remnant group of Bloomfield/Cotati region people was baptized at Mission San Francisco Solano in April of 1824 (SFS-B 22-32). The three oldest people from the region, all 70 year old Geluayomis, were baptized at San Rafael in September of 1824 (SRA-B 1154, 1156, 1157). I think they were the last true people from the region baptized at any mission. Four women with Southern Pomo personal names (Sutsamen, Tomosomen, Yomojomen, Cucnupamen) were listed as “Licatiut” by Father Amoros in San Rafael baptisms of June 9, 1825 (SRA-B 1245-1247). Finally, the child of a fugitive Licatiut woman was baptized in May of 1831 with some Pomos from the Russian River vicinity (SRA-B 1704).

*Location:* The Bloomfield/Cotati region reached from the present Bloomfield vicinity in the American Creek watershed eastward to the present Cotati area on the rise separating the Laguna de Santa Rosa from the Petaluma River watershed, and on eastward to Sonoma Mountain. It is an arbitrary region, containing the four local communities of Licatiut, Tamalsimela, Yoleyomi, and Geluayomi (Figure 1). I present specific information justifying the extent of the region in the “Villages” discussion below. The area, as I have mapped it, includes 54 square miles, all relatively dry headwater lands of the Americano Creek, Laguna de Santa Rosa, and Petaluma River watersheds.

*Population:* For the combined Licatiuts, Geluayomis, Tamalsimelas, and Oleyomis I identify 118 people in the mission registers, 86 adults and 32 children (Tables 1, 8). I infer that historic diseases had reduced the baptized adult population to 67% of that of the contact period, so that the contact-period population would have been approximately 128 adults, and 256 people in total. The population density of this driest of Coast Miwok regions is inferred to have been 4.7 people per square mile.

*Villages:* The populations of the four communities of the Bloomfield/Cotati region were each less than 60, with Licatiut the largest at 56. This suggests that each of the four communities was a village group or mobile band. Barrett (1908a:311-312, folded map) documented four village locations within the area I map as the Bloomfield/Cotati region: Ulíyomi, about four miles west of Cotati; Payinétca, about 3.5 miles west-southwest of Cotati, Kotáti just north of Cotati; and Lumentákala in the hills on the northwest slope of Sonoma Mountain. I tentatively place the Geluayomis in the Bloomfield vicinity because of their marriage ties to North Tomales Bay, Bodega Bay, Lupuyomi Pomos and Livantolomi Pomos. Oleyome was probably Barrett’s Ulíyome, west of Cotati. The Licatiuts, who had numerous Santa Rosa Plains Pomo links as well as Petaluma links, were probably originally associated with the remembered village of Kotati. Tamalsimela links were with Petaluma and Olompali, suggesting that they held the small valleys southwest of Penngrove (Figure 1).

In 1905 C. Hart Merriam learned that the main village of the “Lek-ka-te—wut-ko” tribe prior to 1884 had been Po-tow’-wah-yo-me at Freestone on upper Salmon Creek, further west even than Bloomfield. He further learned that they had once extended from a village called “Lek-kah’-te-wut, about a mile north of Petaluma, westerly to Po-tow’-wah at Freestone” (Merriam 1905). Freestone, I believe, lies in the old border lands between Bodega Bay Coast Miwok communities and Sebastopol region Southern Pomos. A key Licatiut village there in the mid-nineteenth century would have been a post-mission historic phenomenon.

*Political Leaders:* A Licatiut headman was explicitly noted in the Mission San Rafael Baptismal Register. Toribio “Pixpixuecus, captain of the Leccatiut community beyond the Petalumas” was baptized on May 13, 1820 (SRA-B 386). At the time of his baptism he had children by two women, including a Petaluma (SRA-B 387) and a Tsoilikawai Pomo (Windsor Creek region) woman (see SRA-B 383, 1232). The Petaluma wife, Toribia Leluppi

(SRA-B 387), whom he married at Mission San Rafael, was the daughter of the Petaluma elder and possible headman, Anselmo Sule (SRA-B 615).

*Exogamous Marriages:* The Cotati region communities had 29 documented pre-mission outmarriages, all recorded at Mission San Rafael (Table 6). Twenty of those outmarriages were to other Coast Miwok regions, including nine with Petalumas, five with Olompalis (or other members of the San Antonio Creek community cluster), four with North Tomales Bay communities, and one each were with the Chocuyens of Sonoma Valley and the Omiomis of Novato Creek. The other nine Bloomfield/Cotati outmarriages were to people from neighboring language communities, reflecting their borderland status. They had four outmarriages with Gualomi [Bitakomtara] Pomos of the Santa Rosa region (SRA-M 199, 243, 289, 290), two with Chaquauloyomi [possibly Tsoliikawi] Pomos of the Windsor region (SRA-M 347, 357), one with Livantolomi [Konhomtara] Pomos of the Sebastopal region, one with the Livancacayomi [possibly Cakakmo] Pomos of the Trenton region, and one with the Huiluc Wappos of the Kenwood region in the upper Sonoma Creek watershed (SRA-M 206).

## CHAPTER 12

### OTHER LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES AT MISSION SAN RAFAEL

The current effort to reconstruct mission-contact Coast Miwok ethnogeography must account for all groups that appear in the pertinent mission registers as representatives of some language group and some location. This section documents the many Pomo-speaking groups and the Wappo-speaking groups that appeared at Mission San Rafael with Coast Miwok community names, people who were intermarried with the northernmost Coast Miwok communities.

A total of 784 Pomo-speaking tribal people were baptized at Mission San Rafael between 1820 and the end of 1839. (Another 33 Pomo speakers were baptized at Mission San Francisco Solano during those years.) While 13 Pomo regional communities were represented at the northern missions, only seven of them sent large groups (76 to 131 people) for baptism (Table 4). Two Wappo regional communities (Huiluc and Mayacma) sent significant portions of their populations to Mission San Rafael. Only a few individual Patwin and Ohlone speakers, on the other hand, ever lived at Mission San Rafael.

#### Well-Represented Pomo Communities at Mission San Rafael

Figure 1 shows inferred locations of the ten Pomo-speaking communities that were most highly represented at Mission San Rafael. Four are mapped with great confidence. One of them, the Bitakomtara community, reported under its Miwok name Gualomi, is well documented at Santa Rosa. Another, the Kabemali (Lupuyomi) community, is known to have controlled Duncan Point on the coast. The third, Kataictemi at Healdsburg, is clearly the same community as the Potiyomi of mission records. The fourth, Konhomtara at Sebastopol, is equated to Livantolomi because the Laguna de Santa Rosa was called Laguna de Livantolomi on early land grant maps. The other Pomo communities are mapped in Figure 1 on the basis of their marriage relations to the well-located communities and to each other (Table 7).

*Gualomi (Bitakomtara).* Gualomi sent 109 people to Mission San Rafael between 1821 and 1831 (Table 4). They were the first large Pomo group to be absorbed by Mission San Rafael. I map them on Santa Rosa Creek on Figure 1 because three San Rafael Mission baptismal entries equate them with the rancheria “Santa Rosa de Lima” (SRA-B 1148, 1387, and 1785). A Pomo name for the community in the Santa Rosa vicinity was Bitakomtara (Stewart 1943:53).

*Livantolomi (Konhomtara)*. Most Livantolomi people were baptized at Mission San Rafael between 1820 and 1831; two others were baptized at San Francisco Solano in 1837 (Table 4). I place them along the southern portion of the Laguna de Santa Rosa in the Sebastopal area (Figure 1). During the Mexican Period the Laguna de Santa Rosa was called “Laguna de Livantuhyumi,” clearly referring to the same group, but under a variant spelling that did not occur in the Mission San Rafael registers (Bancroft Library, Land Case Map B-128; see Merriam 1977:70 for numerous other references). I include with Livantolomi the “Yucatchamai,” a small group baptized at San Rafael in 1822. Yucatchamai, whose people had consistent nuclear family links to Livantolomi, was probably a Pomo name for the Livantolomi. Together, the Livantolomi and Yucatchamai were the most highly represented Pomo group at the missions. I map the Pomo name for the Livantolomi as Konhomtara, on the basis of Stewart’s (1943:54) research.

*Lupuyomi (Kabemali)*. Lupuyomi people, 73 total, went to Mission San Rafael between 1822 and 1827 (Table 4). Barrett (1908a:232) documented the group under both Pomo and Miwok names and located it at Duncan Point on the coast. He found no descendants of the group, and found the evidence regarding their language as ambiguous, but concluded, “It has seemed advisable to consider the territory lying between Russian river and Salmon creek as Pomo, which places this village site as Pomo.” Kroeber (1925:356), with no more information, resolved the ambiguity by splitting the territory, mapping the portion north of Duncan Point as Pomo, that to the south as Coast Miwok. I suggest that lower Salmon Creek was the territory of Lupualic Coast Miwok at Spanish and Russian contact, while all the small drainages further north (north of Irish Hill) to the mouth of the Russian River were within Lupuyomi (Kabemali) Pomo territory.

*Jauyomi (Tohmakau?)*. Seven young people appeared at Mission San Rafael in February of 1820 “from the rancheria or nation Jauhioimi, they are people of a distinct idiom” (SRA-B 366). Those children were baptized earlier than any Livantolomis or Gualomis, groups I place nearer to San Rafael. Most Jauyomi adults, on the other hand, were baptized later than most Livantolomis and Gualomis adults (Table 4). The adult baptism pattern and the Jauyomi marriage ties suggest that they lived north of the Gualomis and south of the Potiyomis. The land grant *diseño* map for Rancho Llano de Santa Rosa shows them on Mark West Creek in the present Fulton vicinity (Bancroft Library, Land Case Map B-128). None of the ethnographers provide a Pomo regional name for a group on Mark West Creek. I have tentatively assigned them the name Tohmakau, a village that Barrett (1908a:222, folded map) placed on Mark West Creek just north of Fulton.

*Chaqualoyomi (Tsoliiikawi?)*. Chaqualoyomi sent 94 people for baptism, mainly to San Rafael, between 1825 and 1831 (Table 4). Marriage ties suggest that Chaqualoyomi was located north of Livancacayomi, but south of Potiyomi. Thus, by inference alone, I place them on the Russian River and Windsor Creek in the Windsor vicinity. A Pomo man from a neighboring area told Stewart (1943:53) “there was a separate tribe in the vicinity of Windsor (Tsoliiikawi, “in blackbird field”—H).” I therefore mapped Tsoiiikawi as the Pomo name of

the Chaqualoyomi on Figure 1. But I am so uncertain that the Chaqualoyomi are accurately mapped that I cannot be certain they were the same people as the Tsoliikawi Pomo.

*Livancacayomi (Cakakmo?)*. Livancacayomi sent 117 people to the missions between 1824 and 1839, 113 to San Rafael and 4 to San Francisco Solano (Table 4). Barrett (1908a:222) documented the Pomo town of “Cakákmō, on the western shore of the Laguna de Santa Rosa at a point about three miles from its northern extremity.” This is the Vine Hill Road vicinity, from Graton north to Trenton, and it fits well as the Livancacayomi area on the basis of time of baptism and marriage ties.

*Potiyomi (Kataictemi)*. The Potiyomi group appeared at Mission San Rafael between 1824 and 1839 (97 people, including one person baptized in 1840), and at Mission San Francisco Solano (21 people listed as “Potriqui-yomi”) in 1837 (Table 4). This group was also known to the San Rafael missionaries as “Col-locachama,” certainly a Pomo name for themselves (SRA-B 1645-1661). They were the last large Pomo group to go to the missions. I identify them as the people of the Healdsburg vicinity who were documented in a number of early references as having had battles with their Wappo neighbors, and having then withdrawn from their village of “Ko-lo-ko” at Jimtown in Alexander Valley (Kroeber 1925:233; Merriam 1977:69). Barrett wrote that Koloko was just southeast of Healdsburg, yet he mapped it twice, at Jimtown northeast of Healdsburg and at the place two miles southeast of Healdsburg (1908a:218, folded map). Barrett (1908a:218-219) and Kroeber (1925:233) learned from consultants that an early chief of the village of Wotokkaton at Healdsburg had been named Santiago. Earlier, M. G. Vallejo had named Santiago, alias Soto, as chief of a group north of Santa Rosa (see Merriam 1977 for references). I infer that he was the same person as Jose Santiago Ipui, alias Mulau, baptized at San Rafael in February of 1831 as a Potiyomi (SRA-B 1645). I map Potiyomi with the Pomo community name of Kataictemi, following Stewart’s (1943:53) consultants (Figure 1).

### **Lightly Represented Pomo Communities at Mission San Rafael**

Five Pomo regional communities were very lightly represented at the missions. Another name for Pomos in the late mission records, Caynomero, may have been a cover term for all Pomo people north of Santa Rosa, as seen in military correspondence of the 1830s (see various references cited in Merriam 1977:62). Only five people were ever baptized at the missions as Caynameros (Table 4). Father Quijas baptized all of them between 1838 and 1840 (SFS-B 1472; SRA-B 1901, 1902, 1904, 1930; SFS-B 1472).

I tentatively mapped three lightly missionized Pomo regional communities, Alauayayomi, Guasamolu, and Sosoyomi, as groups on a peripheral arc north and west of the Santa Rosa Plains (Figure 1). I did not map the other two lightly represented groups, Limeyomi and Geluachocyomi, for lack of any good evidence regarding their locations.

*Alauayayomi (Hiwalhmu?)*. Only 14 Alauayayomi people were ever baptized, all at San Rafael between 1828 and 1831 (Table 4). The late time of baptisms and northern marriage ties suggest that Alauayayomi is the Coast Miwok name for the Pomo people of the open hill country along the Big Austin Creek/Gualala River/Dry Creek divide. Their main village may have been “Hiwalhmu,” which Barrett (1908a:226) placed at the confluence of the Middle Fork of the Gualala River and House Creek. Pomo descendants, after examining the personal names of the baptized Alauayayomi, may be able to validate or refute this inference.

*Geluachocyomi (Ciyolé?)*. Only 10 Geluachocyomis were baptized, all at Mission San Rafael (Table 4). They had four marriage ties to Lupuyomi, one to Gualomi, and one to Licatiut Miwoks (Table 4). This suggests that their name may be an alias for Lupuyomi, or that they were a very small group that lived in the redwood lands near Lupuyomi. Barrett (1908a: folding map) shows only one Pomo village, Ciyolé, in the heart of the redwoods between Duncan Point and the Santa Rosa Plain. I did not map this group on Figure 1 because they were so poorly represented at the missions and the evidence for their location is negligible.

*Guasamolu, alias Sucuigueyomi (Tsubatcemeli?)*. The Guasamolus were baptized at Mission San Rafael between 1827 and 1839. The first 13 Guasamolus, baptized by Father Amoros on June 20, 1827, were said to be “from the rancheria Sucuigueayomi which is at the mouth and marshes of the River of Bodega” (SRA-B 1478-1490). Over ensuing years, five of those 13 young people appeared in the Mission San Rafael Death register, four as people from Guasamolu (SRA-D 478, 484,501,518,548) and one without attribution of homeland (SRA-D 441). Also in ensuing years, their relatives were baptized as Guasamolus. I identify them with the Big Russian Gulch area, north of the mouth of the Russian River, but south of Fort Ross, on the basis of Merriam’s (1977:59) evidence: “Was’-sam-mo-loo. Hoo’koo-e-ko and Olamentko name for band of Kah-chi’ah Pomo at mouth of Russian River.” I presume that Father Amoros, in his 1827 reference to Sucuigueayomi on the “River of Bodega,” meant the Russian River. Barrett (1908a:231-232) documented numerous villages along Big Russian Gulch, and he noted that they shared the marshes of the mouth of the Russian River with their southern Pomo-speaking neighbors, the Lupuyomi (Kabemali). None of the ethnographers identified a Pomo regional community name for this area, so I have tentatively applied the Pomo village name Tsubatcemeli, from Barrett (1908a:232), to the entire community area.

*Limeyomi (Pomo equivalence unknown)*. Nine Limeyomis were baptized, all at Mission San Rafael between 1823 and 1826. More research is needed to even tentatively identify whether the place name is a synonym for some other Pomo community, or the Coast Miwok name of some distant Pomo community. I have not attempted to map this group.

*Sosoyomi (Mahilkaune?)*. Only 33 Sosoyomi Pomos (occasionally entered “Sosoloyomi”) were baptized, all at Mission San Rafael between 1824 and 1832. I have tentatively identified them as the Dry Creek Pomo people, or Mahilkaune, because they, along with Alauayayomi, are one of two Pomo groups without coastal connections who went to San Rafael as late as the larger Potiyomi group of Healdsburg. Their only large group was

baptized with a group of Alauayayomi in May, 1831. Their personal names, possible location, and possible equivalence to Mahilkaune should be studied by Pomo descendants.

### **Wappo, Patwin, and Ohlone Speakers at Mission San Rafael**

A total of 58 Wappo-speakers were baptized at Mission San Rafael prior to secularization, in addition to the hundreds of Coast Miwoks and Pomos baptized there. For sake of completion in discussing early Mission San Rafael, I write a few words below about the Wappos and the very few Ohlone and Patwin speakers who appear in the Mission San Rafael records.

*Wappos at Mission San Rafael.* Most of the Wappo speakers who went to missions were baptized at either San Francisco de Asís (Mission Dolores) (before 1823) or at San Francisco Solano. However, a total of 59 Wappo speakers from two regional communities were baptized at Mission San Rafael. Most were Huilucs from the Kenwood region of the upper Sonoma Valley; 51 of them were baptized at San Rafael between 1821 and 1825. The other 8 were Mayacmas, probably from the Calistoga region of upper Napa Valley, who were baptized amongst the Huilucs during 1822 and 1823. cursory study of death records and baptisms of infants at Mission San Francisco Solano suggests that most, if not all, of the Mission San Rafael Wappo speakers were re-aggregated to Mission San Francisco Solano during the mid-1820s.

*Patwins at Mission San Rafael.* Only eight tribal Patwin speakers appear in the early Mission San Rafael records. Four were Napas, including three men who were baptized at other missions, but who married Coast Miwok women at San Rafael (SFR-B 4969; SJO-B 2828; SJO-B 3220), and one man baptized at San Rafael in 1822 with his Huiluc Wappo wife (SRA-B 702, 703). Three lone Patwins were baptized at San Rafael, a man from “Leus on the Sacramento River [unknown region, perhaps Plains Miwok]” in 1826 (SRA-B 1380), a man from “Yucal of the Suisun Nation [Nicolas region, possibly Nisenan]” in 1837 (SRA-B 1880), and a girl from Churup [Woodland region] in 1839 (SRA-B 1910). Finally, a young Puttoy [Davis region] Patwin woman married the mission-born son of an old Coast Miwok Christian family at Mission San Rafael in 1838 (SFS-B 1106; SRA-M x551).

*Ohlones at Mission San Rafael.* Three Ohlone-speaking men from Mission Dolores spent a good amount of time at Mission San Rafael. One, a Huchiun-Aguasto Chochenyo Ohlone named Peonio, was variously the fiscal and head gardener at San Rafael; he married a young Tamalsimela Coast Miwok [Bloomfield/Cotati region] woman (SRA-B 349) at San Rafael in 1819 and died at San Rafael in 1822 (SFR-B 3205, SRA-D 520). Another Ohlone was Pascasio, an early Huchiun Chochenyo convert at San Francisco who married a Tuleomi [Petaluma region] Coast Miwok widow at San Rafael in 1818 and died at Rancho San Pablo in 1822 (SFR-B 611, SRA-M 17, SFR-D 4936). The last was Cesario, a Mission Dolores Karkin Ohlone man who had been listed as “Carquin or Napa” in the 1818 San Francisco

Padron, and who had been involved in the Saclan revolt as a youth back in 1795 (Milliken 1995:137-146). After his Alaguali Coast Miwok wife died at San Rafael, Cesario married a young Huiluc Wappo woman (SRA-679) there in 1822; they moved to Mission San Francisco Solano, where she died in the epidemic of the fall of 1833 (SFS-D 572). I have no subsequent information about Cesario. It can safely be inferred that all three Ohlone speakers mentioned above moved to Mission San Rafael from Mission Dolores as assistants to the missionaries.

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San Francisco (Dolores)	SFR-B _____	SFR-M _____	SFR-D _____
San Jose	SJO-B _____	SJO-M _____	SJO-D _____
San Rafael	SRA-B _____	SRA-M _____	SRA-D _____
San Francisco Solano	SFS-B _____	SFS-M _____	SFS-D _____

- SFR-B Mission San Francisco de Asis (Dolores) *Libro de Bautismos, 1776-1870* (2 vols.). Archives of the Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California.
- SFR-M Mission San Francisco de Asis (Dolores) *Libro de Casamientos, 1777-1859* (1 vol.). Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California.
- SFR-D Mission San Francisco de Asis (Dolores) *Libro de Difuntos, 1776-1856* (2 vols.). Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California.
- SFS-B Mission San Francisco Solano *Libro de Bautismos, 1824-1839*. Banc Mss C-C 40, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
- SFS-M Mission San Francisco Solano *Libro de Casamientos, 1824-1839*. Banc Mss C-C 4, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
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- SJO-D Mission San Jose *Libro de Difuntos, 1797-1837* (1 vol.). Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California.
- SRA-B Mission San Rafael Arcangel *Libro de Bautismos, 1817-1839*. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California.

- SRA-M Mission San Rafael Arcangel *Libro de Matrimonios, 1818-1839*. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Mountain View, California.
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**APPENDIX A**

**TRIBAL COAST MIWOK BAPTISMS  
AT MISSIONS DELORES, SAN JOSE, SAN RAFAEL,  
AND SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO**



**APPENDIX B**

**MISSION-BORN COAST MIWOKS  
WHO MAY HAVE BEEN ALIVE IN 1840**



