

Chapter 4. Spanish Entry and Mission Dolores, 1769-1800

This chapter details the first encounters of the San Francisco Peninsula local tribes with Spanish explorers in the 1769-1776 period, followed by the missionization of those local tribes at Mission Dolores (San Francisco de Asís) between 1777 and 1800. The first Spanish expedition to the Peninsula was the Portola party of late 1769. The Rivera-Palou expedition followed in 1774, the Ayala naval exploration took place in 1775, and finally the Anza-Font expedition explored the Peninsula in the spring of 1776. Mission Dolores (Mission San Francisco de Asís) and the San Francisco Presidio were founded at the north end of the Peninsula in June of 1776. Local native people began to be baptized at the mission the following spring.

By the end of 1793 the northern and central Peninsula—the coast from the Golden Gate south to San Gregorio Creek and the bay shore south almost to San Francisquito Creek—was devoid of tribal villages. The eight local San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking local tribes of the area had been absorbed into Mission Dolores. Just to the south, three other local tribes were sending members to both Mission Dolores and the more southerly Mission Santa Clara, which had been founded in 1777. Their remaining members went to Mission Santa Clara in the winter of 1794-1795, swept up in a massive regional migration that brought scores of other San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers, and many Bay Miwok speakers, from the east side of San Francisco Bay to Mission Dolores.

The last San Francisco Peninsula person baptized at Mission Dolores was an old woman whose baptism was recorded in 1800, the year that Coast Miwok-speaking people began to cross the Golden Gate to Mission Dolores in large numbers. This chapter will discuss Peninsula and near East Bay tribal absorption at Mission Dolores and Mission Santa Clara up to 1800, with a primary focus on Mission Dolores, home mission of the local tribes of Peninsula GGNRA lands.

FIRST CONTACT FOR THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF THE PENINSULA

Local Tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula

At the time of Spanish entry, eight independent local tribes held lands entirely within the present counties of San Francisco and San Mateo, the area essentially equivalent to the San Francisco Peninsula. Four of the eight groups were from the San Francisco Bay shore and four were from the Pacific Coast. The bay shore groups were the Yelamu of San Francisco, Urebu of San Bruno, Ssalson of San Mateo, and Lamchin of Redwood City. The coastal groups were the Aramai of San Pedro Valley, Chiguan of Half Moon Bay, Cotegen of Purisima Creek, and Oljon of San Gregorio (Figure 12). The lands of these eight tribes are mapped in

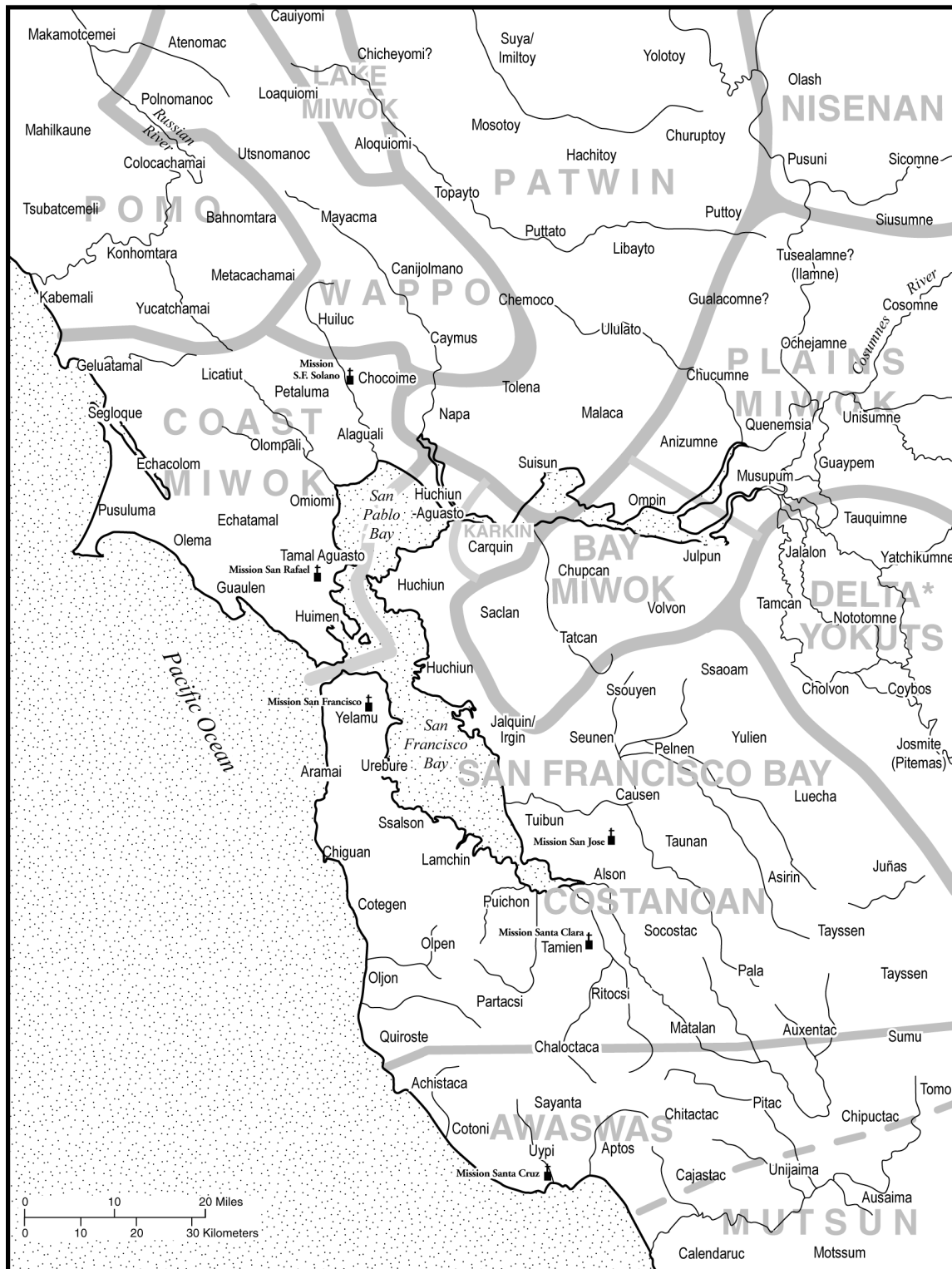


Figure 12. Map of Native Local Tribes and Language Areas Around San Francisco Bay at the Time of Spanish Entry.

classic ethnographies as belonging to speakers of the San Francisco (Kroeber 1925:Plate 1) or Ramaytush language (Levy 1978a:485) of the Costanoan language family. Ramaytush is now considered to be a dialect of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language.

Another three local tribes held lands that were partially in San Mateo County and partially in more southerly counties, lands that might be considered the geographic boundary zone between the Peninsula and the Santa Cruz Mountains/Santa Clara Valley. One of those groups, the Puichun, lived along the bayshore at San Francisquito Creek, where the Peninsula gives way to the open Santa Clara Valley. Another of the three groups, the Olpen (alias Guemelento), lived in the mountains at the headwaters of San Francisquito Creek, southwest of the Puichuns. The third border group, from the point of view of the San Francisco Peninsula study area, was the Quiroste, of the coast in the Point Año Nuevo area. Kroeber (1925:Plate 1) mapped Puichun and Olpen lands within the San Francisco [Ramaytush-ed.] language area and he mapped Quiroste lands within the Santa Cruz [Awaswas-ed.] language area, while Levy (1978a:485) placed the lands of all three groups within the Ramaytush language area, which, as we pointed out above, is now recognized as a dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan.

It is also possible that the Puichun, Olpen, and Quiroste spoke the Tamyen dialect recorded at Mission Santa Clara. All three groups eventually sent members to both Mission Dolores and Mission Santa Clara. It is really impossible to determine where the Ramaytush dialect ended and the more southerly Tamyen dialect began, because the only Ramaytush sample ever recorded came from an Aramai man from the north, and the precise homelands of the individuals who supplied the information for surviving Tamyen vocabularies and texts have not been documented. It is likely that the Puichuns and Olpens spoke San Francisco Bay Costanoan dialects along a clinal path between Ramaytush and Tamyen, while the coastal Quirostes may have spoken a dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan influenced by the Awaswas language of the Santa Cruz region.

The Portolá Expedition, 1769

The first documented contact between Spanish explorers and people of the greater San Francisco Bay Area took place when the expedition of Gaspar de Portola arrived from the south at the Quiroste village of Mitenne, near Point Año Nuevo, on October 23, 1769. Portola, governor of Spanish Lower California, had just established a Presidio at San Diego in July of 1769. His party, including 49 Spanish citizens and 15 Baja California Indians, was probing up the coast in search of Monterey Bay, where he intended to establish a second presidio. The party first encountered Ohlone/Costanoans just south of Salinas on September 29, 1769; we discuss Portola's earlier encounters with southern Ohlone/Costanoans south of Point Año Nuevo in Chapter 6.

The Portola party arrived at Mitenne, the main Quiroste village, late in the day on October 23, 1769. Miguel Costanso, one of three expedition diarists, wrote of the encounter:

The heathens, who were warned by the scouts of our coming to their lands, received us with a great deal of affability and kindness, nor failed to make the usual present of seeds kneaded into thick dough-balls ... In the midst of the village was a great house of spherical shape, very roomy; while the other little houses, which were pyramidal construction and very small-sized, were built of pine [possibly redwood] splints (Costanso [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:87).

The friendly Quirostes showered the Spaniards with food and gifts.

They brought two or three bags of the (wild) tobacco they use, and our people took all they wanted of it. One (old) heathen man came up smoking upon a very large (and well-carven) Indian pipe made of hard stone. The Indians almost all carry tall red-colored staffs, some with many feathers; they presented four of these staffs to Sergeant Don Francisco Ortega (Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:579).

On October 24 some Quirotes accompanied the Spaniards north into the lands of the Oljon tribe in the Pescadero and San Gregorio creek drainages. "We came across empty villages, and the heathens who were with us said that they were living farther above," wrote diarist Father Juan Crespi in the Pescadero Creek vicinity. At San Gregorio Creek the Oljons gave a festive welcome to the Spaniards:

As soon as we had reached this place ... the whole of the big village here came over, all of them very well-behaved, fair, and well-bearded heathens, (who received us with much kindness and pleasure). The men all wore from neck to waist a kind of white tippet made of carded plants.... This was the whole of the clothes they wore, for the rest of their body was bare; indeed all the men hereabouts go wholly naked.... They brought us large shares of big dark-colored tamales they make from their grass-seeds, and the soldiers said they were very good and rich when used in atole-mush. They were with us during almost all the time we spent here, very happy and friendly, bringing a new lot of tamales again at every meal-time. Here the soldiers' pease ran out, leaving them with nothing but tortilla (Crespi [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:90-91).

The Portola party stayed with the Oljons for two days, over which time they were fed at each meal time. They continued up the coast from San Gregorio Creek on October 27, passing through Cotegen lands west of the GGNRA Phleger property without encountering any inhabited villages. On October 28 they arrived at the present site of the town of Half Moon Bay. Chiguan people moved their village down from Pillar Point to the vicinity of the Spanish camp on October 29. The Chiguans, too, fed the Spaniards.

On October 31, 1769, the northward-bound Portola party entered the territory of Aramai, whose people controlled the Sweeney Ridge lands now in the GGNRA. As the Spaniards topped the ridge at San Pedro Mountain, north of Montara Beach, they were greeted by 25 people who accompanied them down into San Pedro Valley (Portola [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:94). Reaching the valley floor, the Spaniards camped. According to Crespi ([1769] in Brown 2001:593), "A village of very fine, well-behaved heathens was hearabouts, and they came over at once to the camp, bringing a good many black pies made of their seeds."

Over the next two weeks the Portola party crossed to the east side of the San Francisco Peninsula at Sweeney ridge, at which time they are credited with the European discovery of San Francisco Bay. They traveled down the San Andreas rift valley to the San Francisquito Creek area (now Palo Alto), crossing the lands of the Ssalsons, Lamchins, and Puichons. They camped in the Palo Alto area and sent a scouting party around to the east side of San Francisco Bay. Rich descriptions of the local people and their acts of kindness, too numerous to repeat here, are described by the Portola party diarists (see Stanger and Brown 1969:97-108). At this time they were almost certainly visited by people from Lamchin villages on or near the Phleger Estate GGNRA parcel within the San Francisquito Creek watershed.

The Portola party began their return south to San Diego from San Francisquito Creek on November 12. They retraced their path north and crossed Sweeney ridge to the coast, arriving in San Pedro Valley on November 13, 1769. By November 19, they arrived back with the Quirotes, the southernmost Costanoan-speaking group to later send people to Mission Dolores. Continuing south, they explored the Monterey Peninsula lands of the Rumsen local tribe of Rumsen Costanoan-speakers from November 28 to December 11, 1769. On December 12 the Portola party passed from the lands of Costanoan speakers into Esselen lands in the Soledad vicinity on their way back south to San Diego.

Monterey Settlement and San Francisco Peninsula Exploration, 1770-1774

The Spaniards returned north from San Diego to establish the Presidio of Monterey and Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel), the first mission among Costanoan-speaking people, on May 24, 1770. An overview of the fate of the Rumsen Costanoans and their Esselen neighbors at Mission Carmel is provided in Chapter 7 of this report. Suffice to say here that the first Catholic baptism of any Costanoan-speaker occurred on December 26, 1770, when five-year-old Chinui, a boy of the Rumsen local tribe of the Carmel Valley, was baptized as Bernardino Jesus Fages.

The Spaniards at Monterey were interested in the new bay that Portola had discovered. Expeditions were sent north to the San Francisco Bay Area in 1770 and 1772, both under Pedro Fages. The first Fages party went into the Santa Clara Valley and along the east shore of San Francisco Bay in November of 1770 (Fages [1770] in Stanger and Brown 1969). The second Fages party, in March of 1772, again went up through the Santa Clara Valley and along the east shore of San Francisco Bay, thence eastward along San Pablo Bay, Carquinez Strait, and on to the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. It returned south through the valleys west of Mount Diablo. Neither party set foot on the San Francisco Peninsula.

The San Francisco Peninsula tribes were visited by Spaniards under Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada in the fall of 1774, five years after the Portola party had passed through. The new Spanish party intended to document the nature of San Francisco Bay and scout a location for a Spanish presidio and mission near its mouth. Passing through the Santa Clara Valley, the party arrived among the Puichons on San Francisquito Creek on November 28, 1774, where it was warmly received. Here Father Palou commented about similarities between the local language and that of the natives at Mission Carmel (see quote in Chapter 2).

Leaving San Francisquito Creek, the Rivera party moved northward up the San Andreas Valley in the lands of the Lamchins. They probably passed just to the east of the GGNRA Phleger property on West Union Creek. Moving up through the San Andreas Valley, the party passed five good-sized villages where no villages had been seen by Portola in early and mid-November of 1769 (see Palou quote in the village mobility section in Chapter 3). As the Spaniards went up the San Andreas Valley they passed from Lamchin lands into Ssalson lands, arriving eventually at the north end of the valley in the Sweeney Ridge vicinity (Ssalson, Aramai, Urebure boundary area) on November 30, 1774. Here they crossed the northernmost point of Portola's 1769 route and continued a short distance north to camp. Rivera's party remained in camp just below the crest of Sweeney ridge the next day, December 1. They were visited by local people "both from the village in the valley of San Andrés, and from those on the shore of the great estuary" (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:274). The visitors were probably Ssalsons.

Rivera maintained his camp near Sweeney Ridge on December 2, but took a small group north far enough to make out the width of the Golden Gate. Upon his return in the afternoon, the Spanish camp was moved to the bay shore, probably at the mouth of Colma Creek in Urebure land, where they remained for two nights. Diarist Palou recorded visits by friendly villagers, probably the Urebure people from their bay shore village of Siplichiquin, on December 3:

About two in the afternoon twenty-four heathen came to visit us from villages other than the preceding, although they speak the same language and use many of the same words as those of Monterey. They brought us their present of large tamales, more than a span across and correspondingly thick, kneaded of a dough made of very black wild seeds, resembling tar ... I returned their gift with strings of beads, and the captain did the same (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:277).

On the morning of December 4, the local people returned and conducted the tobacco smoking ceremony that was described in a quote in the "Early Language Documentation" section of Chapter

2. Following the ceremony, the Rivera party moved north to explore the very northern tip of the Peninsula. They camped, after traveling two-and-one-half hours, to the northeast of the lake now called Lake Merced, in the present southwestern portion of the city of San Francisco. From that camp a small party went north to the Golden Gate. At Ocean Beach, on their return south to the camp, they encountered “the skeleton of a whale and a tule raft, of the sort used by the heathen for fishing, although we did not see in the stretch from the camp to the mouth of the estuary a single heathen or any tracks of them” (Palou ([1774] in Bolton 1926:3:284).

The Rivera-Palou party began their return south to Monterey, by way of the coast, on December 5, 1774. They arrived in the San Pedro Valley, where they camped for the night without mentioning the people or village of Pruristac. On December 6 they crossed Montara Mountain. They camped that night near a hamlet of Indian people in Chiguan territory (present Half Moon Bay).

The village is built in the arroyo itself, on a thick wall that it forms like an island, in such a manner that from the plain the arroyo is not visible, and still less the houses of the village... These Indians belong to another village in the Sierra [the adjacent Santa Cruz Mountains-ed.], so we understood, and are here only in passing. Their chief or head man told us that he had known our captain since the first expedition, when he had accompanied him for a day's march... I observed that these people here did not understand the language of Monterey... The men ate in the camp and I noticed that they were very fond of our food. I gave them a little tobacco and they at once began to smoke. I observed that they practiced the same ceremony as the rest, blowing the smoke to the four winds and pronouncing some words that I did not understand (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:288-289).

The “first expedition,” where the Chiguan headman had met Rivera, must have been the Portola expedition which had passed through Chiguan territory on both its northward and southward passes.

The Rivera party headed south from Half Moon Bay on December 8, with guides provided by the local people. In the afternoon they found themselves being guided inland up a rugged ridge that was taking them toward the crest of the mountains that divide the coast from the bay shore. Topping a ridge short of that crest, and a few miles west of the current GGNRA Phleger property, the Spaniards saw a cluster of people calling to them from the next ridge east, across a deep inland valley. Rivera turned away to the south, in order to return to the coastal route to the south. The tribal people became upset.

As soon as the heathen saw that we were taking another road they stopped, as though abashed, and those from the village came running, without any arms at all, and overtook us on the descent. One of them, who had a beard as long as the oldest hermit, made us a speech in which, by the signs, we understood that he was inviting us to his village, for having learned of our coming, they had prepared atole and pinole. We thanked him, but... took our leave of them, at which they seemed quite sad (Palou [1774] in Bolton 1926:3:292).

The bearded head man who invited Rivera to a gathering was a Lamchin captain, according to a note in the 1776 diary of Juan de Anza. The Rivera party was probably looking across Corte de la Madera Creek to the main ridge of the Peninsula, the Sierra Moreno, when they first saw the cluster of people across from them. Below the Sierra Moreno to the east, down Bear Gulch, was West Union Creek, the inland valley of the Lamchins, and the location of the GGNRA Phleger property.

First European Vessel on San Francisco Bay, 1775

The first documented entry into San Francisco Bay was made by the 58 foot long two-masted brig *San Carlos* on August 6, 1775. The ship maintained a number of anchorages off of the Marin

Peninsula and Angel Island during its 48 day stay, while ship's boats were sent out to chart San Francisco Bay and San Pablo bays. The remarkable notes maintained by the captain and chaplain of the *San Carlos* are rich with information about interaction with the Huimens of the southern Marin Peninsula and the Huchiuns of the Point Richmond vicinity in the East Bay (Galvin 1971, excerpted by Milliken 1995:40-51). None of the *San Carlos* diarists' notes concern the native San Francisco Peninsula people. But valuable ethnographic material pertaining to the Huchiuns, San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers who were intermarried with the Yelamus, is presented below.

Between August 7 and August 24 the Spaniards on the *San Carlos* interacted only with Huimens from nearby Marin Peninsula villages.²⁷ Then, on the morning of August 24, eight Huchiun men visited the *San Carlos* near Angel Island. The visitors, in two tule boats, presented themselves with a formal ritual of introduction:

One of them, who doubtless came to the bow of his boat for the purpose, began to make a long speech, giving us to understand that it was the head man of the ranchería who came, and that he was at our service. This visit was not a casual one, for all of them appeared to have got themselves up, each as best he could, for a festive occasion. Some had adorned their heads with a tuft of re-dyed feathers, and others with a garland of them mixed with black ones. Their chests were covered with a sort of woven jacket made with ash-coloured feathers; and the rest of their bodies, though bare, was all worked over with various designs in charcoal and red ochre, presenting a droll sight (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:61-63).

Upon boarding the ship, the Huchiun men orchestrated a formal ceremony which seems to have symbolized intergroup solidarity:

The chieftain of the ranchería had all his men, one after another, in the order of their importance, salute our captain; and when this ceremony was completed he begged us all to sit down, as the Indians also did, for distribution among us of their offering, which they brought to us in all tidiness. All being in their places in due order, the second chieftain, who was among the company, asked of another Indian a container made of reeds that he carried with him, in which were many pats or small cakes of pinole. It was given him, and having placed it beside him he indicated that he was to be listened to. With no lack of self-composure he spoke for quite a while, and then, opening the container, handed the pinole cakes to the first chieftain, who as soon as he received them handed them to our captain, making signs to him to distribute them among all the men of the ship, insisting, moreover, that he be the first to taste the pinole (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:63).

The ritual indicates that the Huchiun men considered the occasion to be a diplomatic contact between equals. The Franciscan chaplain of the brig, Vicente Santa María, showed them a Christian religious icon:

We gave them glass beads and other little gifts, which they put in their reed container. This done, I brought out a representation of our holy father St. Francis, most edifying, and upon my presenting it to the Indians to kiss they did so with so

²⁷ Diarists from the *San Carlos* recorded some Costanoan words spoken by Huimens, leading to modern scholarly consideration that the Huimens may have been native Costanoan speakers (Brown 1973a). Other evidence strongly suggests that the Huimens spoke a Coast Miwok dialect. They probably used Costanoan words, learned from their immediate neighbors, the Yelamus and Huchiuns, to speak with the sailors who had been learning Rumsen Costanoan at Monterey since 1770.

much veneration, to all appearances, and willingness, that they stole my heart and the hearts of all who observed them (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:63).

During the afternoon of August 24, 1775, the eight Huchiun men sat on the beach at Angel Island with Santa María, sharing the sacred songs of the two cultures:

They all crowded around me and, sitting by me, began to sing, with an accompaniment of two rattles that they had brought with them. As they finished the song all of them were shedding tears, which I wondered at for not knowing the reason. When they were through singing they handed me the rattles and by signs asked me also to sing. I took the rattles and, to please them, began to sing to them the “Alabado” (although they would not understand it), to which they were most attentive and indicated that it pleased them (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:67).

On the following morning, August 25, the same group of Huchiun men came back on board the *San Carlos*. Santa María wrote that the ship’s crew spent some time learning their Costanoan words and writing them down. Santa María also wrote down the names of the men, “Their chieftain was called Sumu; the second chieftain, Jausos; the others, Supitacse (1); Tilacse (2); Mutuc (3); Logeacse (4); Guecpostole (5); Xacacse (6)” (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:67). Twenty years later, four of those men would move from their East Bay villages to Mission Dolores.

Santa María’s diary indicates that rivalry, even jealousy, existed between the local Huimens of the Marin Peninsula and the Huchiuns from the East Bay. While the Huchiuns were still on the ship, some of the Huimens came on board:

Soon after these Indians came to the ship there came eight others of our new friends, and at first it appeared that those of the one and the other ranchería did not look on each other with much friendliness, but our treating them all as equals made them friends and on speaking terms with one another (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:69).

With a truce in place, Santa María proceeded to teach the native men how to cross themselves. He remarked that “those under Sumu’s command were better disposed toward these pious observances” (Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:69). Individual variations in personality, differences in curiosity, and in a willingness to experiment, are bound to have an effect on the initial interactions between cultural groups.

The *San Carlos* remained at Ayala Cove until September 7. From August 24 onward, Indians in tule boats visited the ship every day, presumably from villages throughout the central San Francisco Bay region (Ayala [1775] in Galvin 1971:84; Santa María [1775] in Galvin 1971:61), but no more specific details were provided about the interactions. The *San Carlos* sailed south to Monterey on September 18, 1775.

The Anza Expedition, Early 1776

In March of 1776, a Spanish expedition went north from Monterey under leadership of Spanish Army Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza to make the final choice for the location of the Presidio and Mission of San Francisco de Asís. Anza’s party included Franciscan priest Pedro Font, eleven soldiers, and seven servants and muleteers. The party took the inland route up the Santa Clara Valley to the San Francisco Peninsula.

At a Lamchin village on Laurel Creek (in the present town of Belmont), diarist Font noted that the local people seemed to be at war with their northern neighbors. They showed the explorers an arrow wound on one man’s leg and warned the Spaniards against continuing north into the lands of their enemies, who could only have been the Ssalsons of the San Mateo vicinity. (This evidence of warfare between the Lamchins and Ssalsons was quoted in the “Boundary Maintenance and Conflict”

section of Chapter 3.) The twenty Spanish explorers did continue north, however. They passed a village on San Mateo Creek and camped about two-and-a-half miles further north, near another small village:

At sunset some Indians were sighted on a hill. Then others came out and the first ones ran and afterwards came to the camp, and according to the signs which they made with their bows and arrows it seems that they wished to tell us that the others were hostile, but that we need not be afraid because they had already chased them away. These Indians were very friendly with us, and it seemed to me that they were saying that we must stay there.... At nightfall we bid them all goodbye (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:329).

The local villagers by this point must have been Ssalsons. Thus the people on the hill were probably Lamchin raiders who had followed the Spaniards north. No further mention was made of the Lamchin-Ssalson antagonism in the Anza party diaries.

On the following day, March 27, Anza entered Yelamu territory and camped at Mountain Lake, just south of the Presidio and Golden Gate. They went out to the point of land where the Golden Gate Bridge is now anchored, seeing one Indian person in the distance. Later two local Yelamu men came to the Spanish camp. Chaplain Font wrote of their helpfulness:

They were attentive and obsequious and brought us firewood. They remained at camp a while, but when the commander gave them glass beads they departed. While we were on the cliff at the mouth, some Indians on the other side of the port yelled at us several times, according to what the soldiers said; but I did not see them or hear them (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:333).

The Spanish party explored the entire San Francisco vicinity, but they mentioned seeing only one structure, at the beach in the present Presidio/Marina area.

Here we found a little hut with four small children, and from this I judged that they must belong to the Indians who yesterday came to the camp. Today likewise four came and were very gentle and obliging (Font [1776] in Bolton 1930b:342).

The Anza party left the San Francisco area on March 29, heading back down the bay shore of the Peninsula. Over the next few days the Anza party retraced its steps south, rounded San Francisco Bay, and carried out an exploration eastward to the Carquinez Strait and on into the San Joaquin Valley. From the vicinity of the confluence of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers (the present Antioch area), they turned south along the east flank of the Diablo Range, then southwest through that range to the upper Santa Clara Valley, and on south to Monterey. The quotes of the expedition diarists regarding local Indian people along the way are of great interest, but are beyond the scope of this study (see Milliken 1995:53-57 for excerpts).

YELAMU RESISTANCE AND MISSIONIZATION, 1776-1787

Spanish Settlers at the Presidio and Mission Dolores, June 1776

In June of 1776, Spanish settlement was extended north to San Francisco Bay with the arrival of a party of 75 people on the Peninsula to found Mission Dolores and the Presidio of San Francisco. The party traveled over land from Monterey, arriving at the Presidio site on June 27. It consisted of 14 Spanish soldiers, seven settlers, wives and children of settlers and soldiers, missionary priests Francisco Palóu and Pedro Cambón, and a retinue of 13 young Indian servants to the missionaries (mainly Baja California natives, but also including a native of the Rumsen local tribe of Carmel Valley, a Rumsen Costanoan speaker, as an interpreter). The 75-person immigrant party was probably larger than any single Yelamu village aggregation.

The Spanish settler party also included a large mule train and a herd of 286 cattle. Francisco Palóu, the supervising Franciscan missionary, documented the surprise the caravan prompted from villagers along the trail:

We were well received by all the heathen whom we met on the road, who were surprised to see so many people of both sexes and all ages, for up to that time they had not seen more than some few soldiers, on the occasions when they went to make the explorations. And they were astonished at the cattle, which they had never seen before (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:119-120).

The Spaniards set up fifteen tents near a lagoon in Mission Valley, adjacent to the seasonal village of Chutchui:

As soon as the expedition halted, a great many of the pagans came in, making signs of friendship and expressing their pleasure at our arrival. Their good will was greatly increased when they saw with what courtesy we treated them, and when they received the little presents which we gave them of beads and trinkets to attract them, and also of our food. They continued to visit us frequently, bringing us presents of small value, principally shell-fish and grass seeds (Palóu [1786] in James 1913:203).

While the people of Sitlintac, Amuctac, and other nearby towns came to get acquainted with the missionaries, the soldiers and settlers began cutting timbers for a mission station and moving the cattle onto convenient pastures near springs.

On July 26, 1776, the larger part of the Spanish party moved three miles northwest to begin constructing shelters and a chapel for the presidio of San Francisco on the south shore of the Golden Gate channel. The two missionaries were left with their five servants, six soldiers with families, and one settler with family. Over the next two weeks the missionaries went out to the nearby villages, presumably Chutchui, Petlenuc, and one or two Visitation Valley villages. Palou ([1786] in James 1913:203) wrote:

The people showed themselves courteous by returning the visits, whole villages coming in to see us and bringing us their little presents, which we tried to return in better kind and so win their affection.

Yelamu Defeat by Ssalsons and Skirmishes with Spaniards

Daily life for the Yelamu people, certainly altered by the arrival of the Spaniards, was completely disrupted on the morning of August 12, 1776, six weeks after the Spanish arrival. That morning the Yelamu villages were attacked by their Ssalson neighbors further south on the Peninsula.

The heathens of the villages of San Mateo, who are their enemies, fell upon them at a large town about a league from this lagoon, in which there were many wounded and dead on both sides. Apparently the Indians of this vicinity were defeated, and so fearful were they of the others that they made tule rafts and all moved to the shore opposite the presidio, or to the mountains on the east side of the bay. We were unable to restrain them, even though we let them know by signs that they should have no fear, for the soldiers would defend them (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:135).

The Ssalsons burned not only Sitlintac, on the shore of Mission Creek, but also two other Yelamu villages (Palóu [1786] in James 1913:208). The timing of the Ssalson attack leaves many unanswered questions. The Ssalsons may have been trying to do the Spanish a favor by securing for them complete control of the Yelamu lands. They may have been removing an impediment to their own easy access to the Spaniards. On the other hand, the attack may have been the result of a local feud that had nothing at all to do with the Spanish settlement.

Most of the Yelamu survivors seem to have found shelter with the Huchiuns of the east shore of San Francisco Bay, with whom they were intermarried. In the autumn of 1776, some Yelamu men began to return to the Peninsula, ostensibly to hunt ducks. But they may also have come to watch the Spaniards and determine whether or not they could re-inhabit their old village sites. On some of their visits the local men presented ducks to the Spaniards and were given beads and food in return (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:136).

Relations between the displaced Yelamu people and the Spaniards turned for the worse in the late fall of 1776. A series of negative incidents have been reported from the Spanish point of view:

In the last visits which they made in early December they began to disgrace themselves, now by thefts, now by firing an arrow close to the corporal of the guard, and again by trying to kiss the wife of a soldier, as well as by threatening to fire an arrow at the neophyte from the mission of Carmelo who was at this mission (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:135).

A few days after the latter incident, the man who had made that threat visited the new mission with four companions. The Spanish sergeant ordered him arrested, dragged off to the guardhouse, and flogged. Two other local men heard his cries for help from the lagoon. They ran up to the guardhouse preparing to shoot arrows, but fled when muskets were fired into the air (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:136).

On the morning after the Yelamu man was flogged, the Spanish soldiers went down to the beach area at the foot of Mission Bay to find a group of native people, presumably returning Yelamus, camped at the beach. The soldiers demanded that the two men who had fired arrows at them the day before be turned over. The two were pointed out, denied responsibility, and fled, at which point others began firing arrows at the Spaniards, wounding a horse. The Spaniards shot back with their guns for the first time on the San Francisco Peninsula, killing one man.

The rest ran to take refuge among some isolated rocks not far away, whence they continued to shoot their arrows. The sergeant fired at them and at one shot the ball went through the leg of one of them and then pierced the rock, for they found the hole the next day, and signs that the Indians had taken out the ball, doubtless to see what it was that had made such havoc among them. As soon as the Indians among the isolated rocks saw one of their number dead and the other so badly wounded, they asked for peace, making the gesture of throwing their bows and arrows on the ground (Palóu [1776] in Bolton 1926:4:137-138).

The two Yelamu men accused of trying to free their friend were captured and whipped. The Spanish sergeant told them that he would kill them if they ever tried to attack the Spaniards again.

Yelamu People Join Mission Dolores, 1777-1787

Young Yelamu people overcame their fear of the Spaniards and began taking religious instruction from the missionaries during the spring of 1777. Three young men were baptized at Mission Dolores on June 24. The first was twenty-year-old Chamis, from the seasonal village of Chutchui within a few hundred yards of the mission (SFR-B 9). Chamis's father had died years earlier and his mother was living at Pruristac on the coast with another husband (SFR-B 313). Also baptized that day were Pilmo (SFR-B 10) and Taulvo (SFR-B 11), both said to be nine-year-olds from Sitlintac at the beach. Their fathers were also dead, perhaps killed in one of the two altercations of the recent past, either the Ssalson attack of the previous summer or the fight with the soldiers the previous December.

By the end of 1777, 32 local Indians belonged to the Christian community at Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Table 1). They were all young people, 23 males and 9 females. Of the group, 27 were from local Yelamu villages. Four others were from Urebure, just to the south. Only one of the new neophytes

baptized that year, 15-year-old Emptil of the Lamchin tribe, came from any great distance (Appendix F:Table 2).

The year 1778 began with the baptism of seven young people, among them three children of Yelamu headman Guimas (SFR-B 44, 46, 49). Altogether, 40 tribal people were baptized in 1778, of whom 38 were from the local Yelamu villages. When deaths and mission births are taken into account, 73 Indian people were neophytes at Mission Dolores at year's end, of whom 62 were from the Yelamu villages (Appendix F:Tables 1 and 2).

By 1780 most young Yelamu villagers under the age of twenty had joined the Mission Dolores community. By that year, five older Yelamu married couples had also joined the mission. Over the four year period from the beginning of 1780 to the end of 1783, another 27 Yelamu people joined the mission. During the same four years, 79 Urebure, Ssalson, Lamchin and Puichon people came up from their bay-facing villages to join Mission Dolores while 29 people from coastal Peninsula groups joined the mission (Appendix F:Table 2). By the end of 1783 the Mission Dolores Indian population was 221 (Appendix F:Table 1). Of that total, 73 were Yelamu tribal converts and 8 were mission-born Yelamu children. Most of the key Yelamu elders, however, had still not been baptized by the end of 1783.

Guimas, headman of the Sitlintac-Chutchui village group, and probably of all the Yelamu villages, was baptized with Huitenac, one of his three wives, on May 2, 1784 (SFR-B 365-366). Along with Guimas and Huitenac, eight other couples were baptized that day, including three other Yelamu couples, two Aramai couples, two Urebure couples, a Lamchin couple, and the first Miwok-speaking Huimen couple from north of the Golden Gate to be baptized (SFR-B 367-382). This was the largest single group of established families to join Mission Dolores up to that time.

It is probably no coincidence that Father Junípero Serra arrived from Mission Carmel two days later to perform confirmations. The date was seven years after the first local Yelamu boys had begun attending missionary catechism classes.

Yelamu power in their own lands receded from 1784 forward. The last 11 Yelamu people were baptized during 1785-1787, but in those same years dozens of Ssalsons from further south joined the mission, as did the first groups from the coastal Cotegen and Oljon groups south of Half Moon Bay (Appendix F:Table 2). Demographically, the Yelamu population was initially successful, swinging up and down between 100 and 86 individuals between 1784 and 1793, through mission births. After 1794 the Yelamu population began to plummet, dropping to only 46 individuals by the year 1800. As a fraction of the overall Mission Dolores population, Yelamu representation dropped from 37% in 1784 to just 7% in 1800, due to immigration of other groups from down the Peninsula and from the east side of San Francisco Bay (Appendix F:Table 3). The story of the continuing drop of Yelamu population from 1800 to 1817 will be taken up in the last section of Chapter 5.

PENINSULA GROUPS JOIN MISSION DOLORES, 1779-1793

Once the Yelamu people and their neighbors were brought under control in the early 1780s, Mission Dolores brought in more and more groups, from further and further down the San Francisco Peninsula, as well as from the east shore of San Francisco Bay. Further south, Mission Santa Clara was bringing in native people from the southern end of the Peninsula, and after 1791 Mission Santa Cruz was reaching up the coast toward the Quirostes at Point Año Nuevo.

In this section, in order to follow some thematic developments, we present the initial portion of the story of eighteenth-century missionization along the San Francisco Bay shore, followed by the stories of missionization along the coast of the Peninsula and the near East Bay, then return to the last part of Peninsula bay shore missionization. The reader is reminded, however, that the events documented in separate sub-sections below were occurring concurrently.

Yelamu-Ssalson Reconciliation and Bay Shore Peninsula Conversions, 1777-1793

A total of 542 people were gathered into Mission Dolores from Peninsula bay shore local tribes south of San Francisco, all but one by the end of 1794. They came in to the mission in three waves, one from 1777 to 1786, a second in 1790, and a third in 1793-94. The Urebure people were all baptized in the first wave, most by 1783. The Ssalsons were baptized over a long period from 1778 to 1794, with the largest single segment of them baptized at the end of the first wave, in 1786. Lamchin and Puichon patterns of baptism were nearly identical to each other, with the largest numbers of baptisms occurring in the second and third waves, 1790 and 1793 (Appendix F:Table 2).

The first bay shore convert from south of present San Francisco was Sebastian Emptil, a 15-year-old from the Lamchin. He was the thirteenth Indian baptized at the mission. Small numbers of young people from bay shore groups, Urebure, Ssalson, and Lamchin, were baptized later in 1777, in 1778 and in 1779. A large number of unmarried young Ssalsons were baptized in 1780; they comprised 17 of 41 new neophytes that year. Again in 1781 children came up to Mission Dolores from the south, some from as far as the Puichon villages on San Francisquito Creek, a bit closer to Mission Santa Clara than to Mission Dolores. Despite these baptisms of young Peninsula people, no adult married couples from any group south of the Yelamu had joined Mission Dolores by the end of 1781.

The absence of married people from bay shore local tribes at Mission Dolores prior to 1782 may be understood in the light of the Ssalson attack on Yelamu villages in August, 1776. Reconciliation between the Ssalson and Yelamu people occurred at the end of 1781, when two marriages took place between young people from the two areas. The importance of those marriages was underscored in a year-end report by Mission Dolores priests two years later:

Some people from those villages [Ssalson] have come to be baptized and to live at this mission. They have married among those of this place.... With these conversions the continuous warfare in which they lived has ceased, with which both nations show themselves to be well pleased (Palóu and Cambón 1783).

The first of those Yelamu-Ssalson weddings took place on December 19, 1781, when María Francisca of Chutchui, sister of the first neophyte at the mission, married Mariano, son of Guascan, a Ssalson widow (SFR-M 27). A week later Mariano's Ssalson sister, María de los Remedios, married Jacome de la Marca, son of the head man of the Yelamu village of Petlenuc (SFR-M 28).

Over the years 1782-1785 bay shore people of all ages from the Urebure, Ssalson, and Lamchin groups joined Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Table 2). All of the Urebure people were baptized by the end of 1785. The years 1786 and 1787—the last years Yelamu people were baptized—were the first years in which large groups of people from the Peninsula bay shore local tribes were baptized at Mission Dolores, 54 Ssalsons, 13 Lamchins, 11 Puichons, and 6 Olpens were baptized at the mission. Among the Ssalsons was head man Kequecég (SFR-B 517). (The years 1786 and 1787 also saw baptisms of small numbers of people from across the bay, 21 San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and 2 Bay Miwok speakers from the east shore of the bay, and 13 Coast Miwok speakers from the north side of the bay; they will be discussed in some detail in a subsequent subsection.) Very few people from any direction were baptized at Mission Dolores in 1788 and 1789.

In 1790, after a three year lull, significant numbers of bay shore Peninsula people were baptized at the main Mission Dolores location in mixed groups, including 53 Lamchins, 23 Puichons, and 27 Ssalsons. By the end of 1790, 62% of the eventual 542 people ever baptized at Mission Dolores from the bay shore south of San Francisco (including Portola Valley Olpens) were part of the mission community (Appendix F:Table 2). In 1791, Spanish attention turned to the Pacific coast in what is now San Mateo County.

The final wave of Peninsula bay shore conversions at Mission Dolores occurred in 1793. Over a five month period—January through May—the last 20 Ssalsons were baptized in mixed

groups with 40 Lamchins, 36 Puichons, and 36 Olpens. At Mission Santa Clara during the same months, 41 people were baptized from their district of San Bernardino (from Stevens Creek to the coast), including some Puichons and Olpens. During these months Spanish soldiers were going into the mountains in search of a resistance leader named the Charquin; he was arrested in May (see discussion in the next subsection). Another 38 San Bernardino district people went to Mission Santa Clara during the latter part of 1793.

Coastal Peninsula Conversions and Resistance, 1779-1793

The Pacific coast of San Mateo county was much more lightly populated than the San Francisco Bay shore at the beginning of the Mission Period. A total of 297 tribal people from the Pacific Coast south of San Francisco joined Mission Dolores, all between 1779 and 1793. Although the Pacific Coast people were seldom baptized in groups limited to members of a single local tribe, the predominant local tribe representation in specific baptismal groups switched steadily southward over time. First to be absorbed were the Aramai people of Pruristac and Timigtac villages in the present Pacifica area; most of them were baptized between 1779 and 1784. Most of the Chiguans of Half Moon Bay were baptized between 1783 and 1787, the Cotegens of Purisima Creek between 1786 and 1791, and the Oljons between 1786 and 1793. Quirostes from further south at Point Año Nuevo dispersed in three directions during the early 1790s, north to Mission Dolores, east to Mission Santa Clara, and south to Mission Santa Cruz.

The first coastal Peninsula head man to become a neophyte was Mossués, also known as Yagueche, of Pruristac. At the time of his baptism, June 7, 1783, he was said to be 70 years old and was an important figure on the northern Peninsula (SFR-B 319). His son-in-law was the Urebure head man Xoyecsse, who had been baptized a few months earlier (SFR-B 306). His younger brother was Camsegmne, head man of the Chiguans of Half Moon Bay (SFR-B 345). Mossués joined Mission Dolores one year before Yelamu head man Guimas did so. The fact that 28 Pruristac/Timigtac people, including the head family, had joined the mission by the end of 1783 may have contributed to Guimas's decision to be baptized. Chiguan head man Camsegmne (SFR-B 345) joined the mission in February of 1784. Although 12 Chiguans were baptized in 1784 and 1785, most of them were not baptized until 1786 and 1787 (Appendix F:Table 2).

In 1786, the missionaries at Mission Dolores began some plantings and construction in San Pedro Valley, now the southern portion of Pacifica, 12 miles south of the mission. The site was located at the Aramai village of Pruristac and was known as the Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo. The outstation eventually consisted of a full quadrangle, with chapel, granary, and work and living rooms. Its purpose was to reduce the crowded conditions at San Francisco and raise critically needed supplemental crops for the mission, as well as provide a base of mission outreach to the coastal villages further south (Cambón and García 1787, Milliken 1979).²⁸

Most San Mateo coast people went through the ritual of baptism at Mission Dolores itself. But 99 of them were baptized at the short-lived chapel of San Pedro and San Pablo in the San Pedro Valley between mid-1787 and early 1792. By the time the first baptisms were conducted at the San Pedro and San Pablo chapel, on June 30, 1787, 116 of the eventual 297 coastal neophytes had already been baptized up at Mission Dolores. The first converts at the coastal chapel were Cotegens and Oljons, along with a few bay shore Lamchins and interior Olpens. The Oljon head man, 30-year-old Ysúu, was baptized at the Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo in March of 1789 (SFR-B 734). Quirostes from

²⁸ The Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo eventually became the headquarters of Mexican Period Rancho San Pedro. The site is now the Sanchez Adobe County Park in Pacifica, California.

Point Año Nuevo were also baptized at the chapel, often in mixed groups with Oljons and Olpens.²⁹ All in all, 99 coastal people were baptized at the San Pedro and San Pablo chapel) from 1787 through early 1792, along with 19 people from the Peninsula bay shore (including 13 Lamchins).

The first active resistance to Spanish power in the San Francisco Bay Area began along the Pacific Coast and in the adjoining Santa Cruz mountains in the winter of 1791-1792. It was led by a Quiroste named Charquin. He was the first in line among a group of mixed Quirostes and Oljons baptized in mid-November of 1791 at the San Pedro chapel (SFR-B 1002-1015). Within a few days of his baptism, Charquin fled into the rugged country behind Point Año Nuevo, land equidistant from the San Pedro chapel, Mission Santa Clara, and newly opened Mission Santa Cruz. From there Charquin invited dissatisfied neophytes to join him (Milliken 1995:116-120).

Perhaps in response to Charquin's activities, in February of 1792 the missionaries stopped conducting baptisms at the San Pedro outstation chapel and withdrew most of its resident neophytes up to Mission Dolores. (The San Pedro outstation did continue as a mission farm for the remainder of the mission era, up through 1834). Oljons and Quirostes continued to come north to join Mission Dolores in 1792, and some people from both those groups were baptized at Mission Santa Clara during that year. Charquin was captured by a Spanish patrol and sent away for imprisonment to the Presidio of San Diego in May of 1793. The final groups of coastal Oljons and Quirostes from the southern San Mateo coast to go to Mission Dolores were baptized between October of 1792 and May of 1793. The last large group of Quirostes, 89 people (by inferential analysis of "San Bernardino" district baptisms), were baptized at Mission Santa Clara in 1794 (Appendix F:Table 2).

Neophytes from the San Mateo County coast never became as large a component of the Mission Dolores population as the bay shore Peninsula people, but they did surpass the Yelamu people as a percentage of the mission population by the end of 1787. The coastal proportion of the mission community reached a peak in 1793, with 197 (28%) of 711 mission inhabitants (Appendix F:Table 8). However, death rates at the mission from 1792 through 1795 were very high, so that by the end of 1795 their mission population was reduced to 128, including mission births. By 1800 their population was down to 81. The further decline of the missionized San Mateo coast people up through 1817, and their status in 1834, will be examined in Chapter 5.

MIGRATIONS FROM ACROSS THE BAY, 1779-1800

Prior to 1800, Indian people moved to Mission Dolores from the east side of San Francisco Bay and from the Marin Peninsula to the north of the Golden Gate, albeit in smaller numbers than those from the San Francisco Peninula. The pattern of migration from the east and north over the 1779-1793 period was very different than the pattern of migration in the subsequent 1794-1799 period.

The first subsection below will discuss the light migration to Mission Dolores from north and east of the Peninsula during the 1779-1793 period. The next three subsections will describe the mass 1794-1795 migrations from the east and (to a lesser degree) from the north, as well following events up to the year 1800.

²⁹ The reader may wonder why the Oljons and many Quirostes moved north to be baptized by Mission Dolores priests, when Mission Santa Clara was actually closer. The answer may have to do with the setting of the Outstation of San Pedro and San Pablo as a more attractive landscape to coastal local tribes than the hot interior Santa Clara Valley.

Initial Tribal Converts from the East and North, 1778-1793

Between 1778 and 1793, 94 East Bay people, mainly Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans, and 31 Marin Peninsula people, mainly Huimen Coast Miwoks, were baptized at Mission Dolores (Appendix F:Tables 3 and 4). The Huchiuns lived directly across San Francisco Bay to the east of Mission Dolores. As we have mentioned before, they spoke the same San Francisco Bay Costanoan language as the Yelamu of San Francisco, and they had many marriage ties with the Yelamus. We think that all but three of the 94 East Bay people who moved to Mission Dolores between 1779 and 1793 were Huchiuns, but we cannot be certain because the earliest East Bay people were identified in the Mission Dolores baptismal register by their home village, not by the name of their multi-village local tribe. For example, a girl baptized in 1780 came from “the other side of the southeastern estuary, from the ranchería called Thenau” (SFR-B 194); family reconstitution evidence shows that Thenau (also spelled Genau), was a Huchiun village (Milliken 1983). Some early East Bay converts were said to be from Yacomui, probably a directional label for “east.” For instance, a young boy was from “Yacomui, of the ranchería called Genau” (SFR-B 188). The label “Huchiun” first appeared in a 1787 baptism for a five month old “native of the other shore of the vicinity that they call Juncháque and the Nation Huchiun” (SFR-B 581).

Only three of the 94 East Bay converts baptized before 1794 can be identified with any other group than the Huchiuns. They include one Huchiun-Aguasto, one Carquin, and one possible Chupcan (see Figure 12 for group locations). Insights are gained regarding long-distance family relations through study of the mission register information on those three exceptional individuals.

- On July 28, 1779 an infant was baptized who had been “born in the place called Yupucantche on the other side of the estuary or arm of the sea, where her gentile parents were ... who gave their consent [for the baptism], saying now they would not remove themselves from the mission” (SFR-B 119). Yupucantche was almost certainly equivalent to Chupcan, a Bay Miwok-speaking local tribe from the Concord area, 26 miles inland from Mission Dolores across San Francisco Bay (see Figure 12). The father, Coronon, was never baptized. The mother, Tirium FR 401, was from Sitlintac. She had another daughter born in 1773 at Potrero Hill, adjacent to Mission Dolores. It is possible that these parents were Yelamus who had been living with the Chupcans for a few years, maybe since the 1776 Ssalson-Yelamu war.
- On July 28, 1787 Nazaria, age 27, was baptized. She was “native of the other shore at the place called Jùris, of the Carquin family [familia]. She was, as a gentile, the wife of the Christian Homobono, with whom she renewed the contract of marriage” (SFR-B 658). Homobono, her husband, had been baptized in March of 1786; he was from the Huchiun village of Ocquizara (SFR-B 504).
- On August 24, 1788 Blandina, age 17, was baptized from “the village of Ssogoreate in the port of *La Assunta* near the mouth of the great river of Our Patron Saint Francis, daughter of gentile parents, now deceased ... of the Aguasa-Juchiun family” (SFR-B 708). Her group, more commonly called Huchiun-Aguastos, can be located along the western portion of Carquinez Strait from the mapping of the port of *La Assunta* on the Canizares bay chart of 1775 (see Galvin 1971). On the day after Blandina was baptized she married Blandino Maiam, a Huchiun bachelor from Thenau who had been baptized in 1780.

By the end of 1786, 29 East Bay people were living at Mission Dolores. Another 11 East Bay people were baptized at the mission in 1787. Only two East Bay people were baptized over the years 1788-1790. Small groups of Huchiuns again arrived at Mission Dolores in 1791 and 1792 (Appendix F:Table 3). By the end of 1793, San Francisco Bay Costanoans from the east shore of San Francisco Bay represented 12% of the Mission Dolores population.

The first Marin Peninsula Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores were baptized in the spring of 1783. They were two children of a couple from Livaneglua (at present Sausalito), the main town of the Huimen local tribe on Richardson Bay (SFR-B 305, 325). The parents, Juluio and Olomojoia, either stayed on at the mission or returned in February of 1784. They were baptized on March 5, 1784 in the mainly Peninsula group of couples that included Yelamu captain Guimas. A few more Huimens were baptized between 1786 and 1791 (Appendix F:Table 4). At the end of 1793, however, Coast Miwoks made up less than 4% of the Mission Dolores population.

Mass Migration of East Bay Costanoans and Bay Miwoks, 1794-1795

By the beginning of 1794 most of the tribal villages on the central and northern San Francisco Peninsula were empty, their people having moved to Mission Dolores. Of 713 native people in the Mission Dolores community, 603 (85%) were from Peninsula local tribes. Another 84 (12%) were San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers from the east side of San Francisco Bay, while 24 (3%) were Coast Miwok speakers from the north, and 2 (>1%) were Bay Miwok speakers from the interior East Bay.

During the summer of 1794 the Spanish priests at Mission Dolores turned their attention to the intact villages on the east side of San Francisco Bay. In the fall, a mass migration of tribal people took place unlike anything that had occurred over the previous 18 years. Between the end of October of 1794 and the beginning May of 1795, the Mission Dolores population jumped from 628 to 1,095, a 75% increase. Entire village populations of East Bay Huchiuns and Saclans moved, via tule boat, across the bay to Mission Dolores. A similar mass migration took place at Mission Santa Clara as well, from villages throughout the Santa Clara Valley and surrounding hills. Milliken (1995:136) has described this new phase of mission outreach and local tribe disintegration around the bay as a religious conversion/psychological disintegration movement.

As has been discussed in an earlier sub-section, approximately 94 Huchiuns had joined Mission Dolores over a 15 year period from 1779 through 1793. Another 187 Huchiuns were baptized over a two week period between November 14 and November 29. Among the new Huchiun converts were three of the men that had visited the exploring vessel *San Carlos* 19 years earlier, in August, 1775. They were Supitaxe, now age 50 (SFR-B 1509), Guilicse, also age 50 (SFR-B 1505), and Mutacxe, age 40 (SFR-B 1508). The mission's 1794 year-end Huchiun population was 260 (28% of 917 people), making them the largest local tribe in the Mission Dolores community.

The first Saclan Bay Miwoks at Mission Dolores were baptized in mid-December of 1794. Seventeen Saclan children were baptized on December 15 (SFR-B 1531-1547) and 42 adults were baptized on December 18. Scores more Saclans were baptized in January and February of 1795. Mixed in with the Saclans were nine Tatcan Bay Miwoks and two Chupcan Bay Miwoks (Appendix F:Table 3). In that winter of 1794-95, Bay Miwok representation among the baptized Mission Dolores population jumped from a negligible portion to 15% (Appendix F:Table 10).

The first large groups of Coast Miwoks at Mission Dolores were also baptized as part of the mass migration of 1794-95. Prior to that winter, 26 Huimens had been baptized, all in small groups between 1784 and 1791. In late 1794 and early 1795, 46 Huimens, 13 Tamal Aguastos from San Rafael, and 1 Gualen from Bolinas Bay were baptized (Appendix F:Table 4). Some of them were mixed in with groups of their Huchiun neighbors, while others were baptized in small pure Coast Miwok groups. Coast Miwoks represented 8% of the Mission Dolores population by the end of 1795 (Appendix F:Table 12).

Saclan and Huchiun Resistance, 1795-1796

A severe epidemic struck the newly enlarged Indian population at Mission Dolores in March of 1795. At the end of the month some of the newly converted Saclans were allowed to leave the

mission on *paseo* (a sanctioned vacation to their homeland). When the Saclans did not return to the mission in late April, the missionaries sent a group of fourteen Mission Indian men to bring the resisting Saclan back. In the early afternoon of April 29, the Mission Dolores posse found them at a village recorded as that of the Chimenes, probably a Caymus Wappo village at the present city of Napa. A fight ensued and the mission posse was routed, with seven men killed (see Milliken 1995:131-142 for details).

The Saclan victory encouraged a mass flight of Indian people from Mission Dolores during the summer of 1795, including the return of many Huchiuns to their East Bay villages. Mission baptisms of tribal people came to a complete halt. By late 1797 most Christian Saclans remained, from the point of view of the missionaries, fugitives in the East Bay interior. The Spanish military felt itself too weak to try to round them up during 1795 and 1796.

Mission San Jose Founded and Resistance Defeated, 1797-1800

Mission San Jose was founded on the east side of San Francisco Bay in the early summer of 1797, within the context of the Huchiun and Saclan hostility in the East Bay. Work began in May to prepare the new mission site in the present city of Fremont. A temporary chapel was dedicated at the site on June 11, 1797 (McCarthy 1958:49). At the end of the month the missionaries and Spanish authorities received more news of Indian resistance in the East Bay. Another party of Mission Indians, led by Baja California native Raymundo Morante, had been driven out of Huchiun territory, where they had gone to try to force baptized Huchiuns to return to Mission Dolores.

By early July it was clear to the Spanish military leaders that they must act against the fugitive Saclan Bay Miwoks and Huchiun San Francisco Bay Costanoans, if they were to have any success with their new Mission San Jose in the East Bay area. In mid-July of 1797 a Spanish expedition attacked and defeated the Saclan Bay Miwoks in the present Lafayette area, then raided a number of Huchiun villages in the present Richmond area. They forced most of the fugitives from the two local tribes to rejoin Mission Dolores, but took the men they believed to have been resistance leaders to the San Francisco Presidio for trail and punishment (Milliken 1995:157-162).

In 1798 more Saclans and Huchiuns turned themselves in at their missions. Spanish troops conducted a six-day sortie from April 7 to April 12 of 1800 to tribal villages north and east of Mission San Jose. The last Saclan resisters returned to Mission Dolores in January and February of 1802, at which time some of their children were baptized with the children of their Jalquin allies (Milliken 1995:164, 167-168).

FINAL BAPTISMS OF PENINSULA TRIBAL PEOPLE

To close this chapter, we return to the local tribes of the Peninsula. At the end of 1793, only 29 bay shore Peninsula natives and 1 San Mateo coast native remained who would ever be baptized at Mission Dolores (13 Olpens, 9 Lamchins, 5 Puichons, and 1 Ssalson). Their numbers, and evidence from the Mission Santa Clara registers, suggest that two or three tribal villages were still intact at the south end of the Peninsula, probably along San Francisquito Creek and its tributaries, at the end of 1793. A total of 86 tribal Puichons and 83 tribal Olpens would be baptized at Mission Santa Clara between 1794 and 1804 (Appendix F:Table 2).

At the end of 1793, San Francisco Peninsula people represented 85% of the Mission Dolores Indian community of 711 people. By the end of 1795, after the Saclan and Huchiun migrations, Peninsula representation was down to 49.5% of the Mission Dolores population. That percentage stabilized for the next few years, so that by the beginning of 1800, San Francisco Peninsula people still represented 49% of the Mission Dolores population.

The last Peninsula person baptized at Mission Dolores was an old woman who may have been living at the mission for a number of years before her baptism. Father Ramon Abella baptized her as Matea on June 19, 1800:

During the Feast of the Body of Christ in 1800, the baptism of pagans on this side of the estuaries has come to a conclusion (to the great honor and glory of God), as today the last person was baptized, a woman of sixty years age, known by the name *La Comadre* ["Midwife" or "Gossip"] among enlightened people and Indians alike (SFR-B 2073 [Abella, June 19, 1800]).

Matea's local tribe affiliation was not listed. Given her christened name, and the fact that one of the major Ssalson villages was called *San Mateo*, she was probably a Ssalson. Subsequently, between 1801 and 1804, the last eight Puichons of the Palo Alto area and the last two Olpens of Portola Valley, were baptized at Mission Santa Clara. Just prior to their baptisms they may have been living at a Mission Santa Clara outstation, such as San Bernardino on San Francisquito Creek, with their Clareño relatives.

