

# Chapter 7. Ohlone/Costanoan Missions South of Mission Dolores, 1770-1834

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An understanding of the historic and cultural roots of the modern Ohlone/Costanoans must be based upon an understanding of the speakers of Costanoan languages who moved not only to Mission Dolores, but to six other Franciscan missions as well. Each mission had a unique history of establishment, outreach, and population growth. Appendix F:Table 1, to which we referred in chapters 4, 5, and 6 to track population changes over time at Mission Dolores, provides yearly population figures for all seven missions. From it, one sees that the populations of missions Soledad, Carmel, and Santa Cruz seldom climbed above 500, while those of missions San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, and San Jose were often above 1,100. Mission Dolores was similar in size to the latter missions in its most active years prior to 1824, then fell to become one of the smallest of the seven by 1834.

The seven missions came to have differing mixtures of native language groups due to their differing outreach areas, as Figure 2 illustrates. The total number of tribal converts from each major language group at each of the seven Costanoan language area missions is shown in Table 8. Note that Mission Santa Clara was by far the major center of Costanoan language family prosyletization; it took in more than twice the number of Costanoan speakers as Mission Dolores. Three of the missions, San Juan Bautista, Santa Cruz, and Santa Clara, came to have similar mixes of Yokuts and Costanoan speakers. Mission Carmel absorbed Rumsen Costanoan and Esselen speakers. Mission San Jose and Mission Dolores were similar to one another in having very diverse language communities; unlike Mission Dolores, Mission San Jose took in thousands of Plains Miwok speakers.

Mission Dolores itself was the second-largest Costanoan mission in terms of overall numbers of baptisms. Yet by 1834 it retained fewer Costanoan language family members than any of the other missions, with the possible exception of Mission Santa Cruz (see the concluding section of this chapter).

The varying histories of the six missions south of San Francisco will be discussed below in the chronological order of their founding, following a brief section recounting the first documented contacts between the Spaniards and Costanoan-speaking groups south of San Francisco Bay.

## FIRST CONTACTS IN COSTANOAN LANDS

The first documented interaction between Costanoan-speaking people and European explorers took place in 1603, when Sebastian Viscaïno landed at

Table 8. Language Representation of Tribal Converts at the Seven Missions that took in Costanoan-speaking Populations.

LANGUAGE GROUP	MISSION BAPTISMAL COUNTS <sup>a</sup>							TOTAL
	DOLOROS	SAN JOSE	SANTA CLARA	SANTA CRUZ	SAN JUAN BAUTISTA	CARMEL	SOLEDAD	
SF Bay Costanoan/Karkin <sup>b</sup>	1,772	1,316	4,452	0	0	0	0	7,540
Southern Costanoan <sup>c</sup>	0	0	0	1,154	1,504	1,062	791	4,511
Coast Miwok	1,696	390	0	0	0	0	0	2,086
Wappo	240	11	0	0	0	0	0	251
Patwin	747	387	1	0	0	0	0	1,135
Bay Miwok	479	380	0	0	0	0	0	859
Plains Miwok	1	2,492	0	0	0	0	0	2,493
Delta and North Valley Yokuts	2	1,181	1,463	539	1,209	38	582	5,014
Esselen	0	0	0	0	0	464	320	784
Other or Undocumented <sup>d</sup>	20	270	453	66	68	2	36	915
TOTAL <sup>e</sup>	4,957	6,427	6,369	1,759	2,781	1,566	1,729	25,588

Notes: <sup>a</sup> These counts go up to the year 1845, although only missions San Jose and Santa Clara took in large numbers of tribal people after the year 1835; <sup>b</sup> Karkin Costanoans were limited to members of the Carquin local tribe, baptized only at Mission Dolores; <sup>c</sup> Southern Costanoans in this row include the Awaswas, Mutsun, and Rumsen languages, all recognized as members of the southern branch of the Costanoan family, as well as Chalon, which some linguists include in the northern branch of the family (see Table 2); <sup>d</sup> The “Other or Undocumented” counts for Mission Dolores are late baptisms of people brought in by Spanish soldiers from many places along the mission frontier, while the counts for the other missions include some of those individuals as well as large numbers of people from the east side of the San Joaquin Valley who may have spoken either a Yokuts language or a Sierra Miwok dialect; <sup>e</sup> Three of the language groups listed here also had members baptized at Mission San Rafael (727 Coast Miwoks; 58 Wappos; 4 Patwins) and Mission San Francisco Solano (17 Coast Miwoks, 535 Wappos, 590 Patwins).

Monterey Bay. Pertinent excerpts from various diaries of the Viscaino expedition have been published by Broadbent (1972:47) and Culleton (1950:11-12). The entries suggest that the interaction was brief and without incident. For example:

The port is all surrounded with rancherias of affable Indians, good natives and well-disposed, who like to give what they have, here they brought us skins of bears and lions and deer. They use the bow and arrow and have their form of government. They were very pleased that we should have settled in their country. They go naked at this port (Ascención [1603] in Broadbent 1972:47).

After the 1603 visit, no documented interaction occurred between Costanoan speakers and Spaniards for another 166 years.

On September 29, 1769, the Spanish exploratory expedition of Gaspar de Portola passed north up the Salinas Valley from the lands of an Esselen-speaking local tribe in the present Soledad vicinity into the land of a Rumsen Costanoan-speaking group in the vicinity of the present town of Gonzales. There they surprised a large group of Ensens, the local tribe of the vicinity:

Coming to this spot, we heard a great deal of shouting and uproar in the woods on the river from a throng of heathens, all of whom had their bows and arrows with them, seemingly hunting. They were signaled to, to come over to the camp, but not one showed himself near by; instead all of them vanished at once (Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:533).

The Portola party was in search of Viscaino’s Monterey Bay. They camped that night near present Salinas and sent scouts to explore the Monterey Peninsula, without writing further about local Indian people.

When the Portola party arrived at Monterey Bay, they were uncertain whether or not they had found the location described by the early Spanish sea captains. They decided to continue north. On October 5, their scouts came to a village of the Calendaruc, a Rumsen or Mutsun-speaking local tribe on the Pajaro River:

These Indians had no notice of our coming to their lands, as was seen by the consternation and terror [the scouts'] presence caused among them: for some, amazed and confounded, scarce knowing what they did, ran to their weapons; others shouted and cried out; the women dissolved into tears. Our people did all they could to quiet them, and the sergeant of Loreto Presidio, who was in charge of the party, managed it with great difficulty by getting down from his mount and approaching them with signs of peace (Costansó [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:73).

The full Portolá party came up to that Calendaruc village three days later, on October 8. They found it abandoned, burned and surrounded by poles and arrows set in the ground. A large stuffed bird, a condor or eagle, hung from one set of the poles (Costansó [1769] in Stanger and Brown 1969:75; Crespi [1769] in Brown 2001:553). The Portola party next proceeded north to Point Año Nuevo and on up the coast, arriving at the San Pedro Valley on October 31, 1769.

Portola party interactions with San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers in early November were described in Chapter 5. Suffice to say that scouts of the party were the first Spaniards to see San Francisco Bay when they climbed Sweeney Ridge on November 1, 1769. After a short stay in the modern Palo Alto area, the Spaniards retraced their steps back to San Diego. They arrived back at the abandoned Calendaruc town on the Pajaro River by November 24, from whence they traveled to the Monterey Peninsula and explored until December 10. They arrived at San Diego, with the aid of food from Indians along the way, on January 24, 1770.

The Spaniards returned north from San Diego in June of 1770 to found the Monterey Presidio and the initial Mission San Carlos Borromeo (Mission Carmel) location, their first settlements in Costanoan lands. (Mission Carmel was moved from Monterey a few miles south to Carmel in the summer of 1771.) The next Ohlone/Costanoan mission was Mission Dolores, founded in 1776. Mission Santa Clara followed shortly thereafter, in 1777. Then came four missions in the 1790s—Santa Cruz and Soledad in 1791, followed by San Juan Bautista and San Jose in 1797. The stories of those missions (excluding Mission Dolores) up through 1834 are presented below in order of their establishment.

## MISSION CARMEL, FOUNDED IN 1770

A total of 1,564 tribal Indian people were baptized at Mission San Carlos Borromeo, more commonly known as Mission Carmel (see Table 8). The majority of its converts came from surrounding local tribes that spoke the Rumsen Costanoan language (Figure 13).<sup>35</sup> Another significant portion of Mission Carmel converts came from nearby local tribes that spoke the Esselen language. A small number of people came from the local tribes of the interior Coast Ranges that spoke the Mutsun and Chalon Costanoan languages. In addition, a handful of Northern Valley Yokuts speakers from the San Joaquin Valley, brought in by soldiers after punitive raids, were baptized at Carmel. The intermarried descendants of the four language groups came to be known as the *Carmeleño* Indians.

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<sup>35</sup> The Rumsen language takes its name from that of one of its original local tribes, the Rumsens of Carmel Valley (see Levy 1978a). Although some descendants of people from local tribes that spoke the language prefer the spelling “Runsien,” others do not. We follow the spelling accepted in linguistic publications.

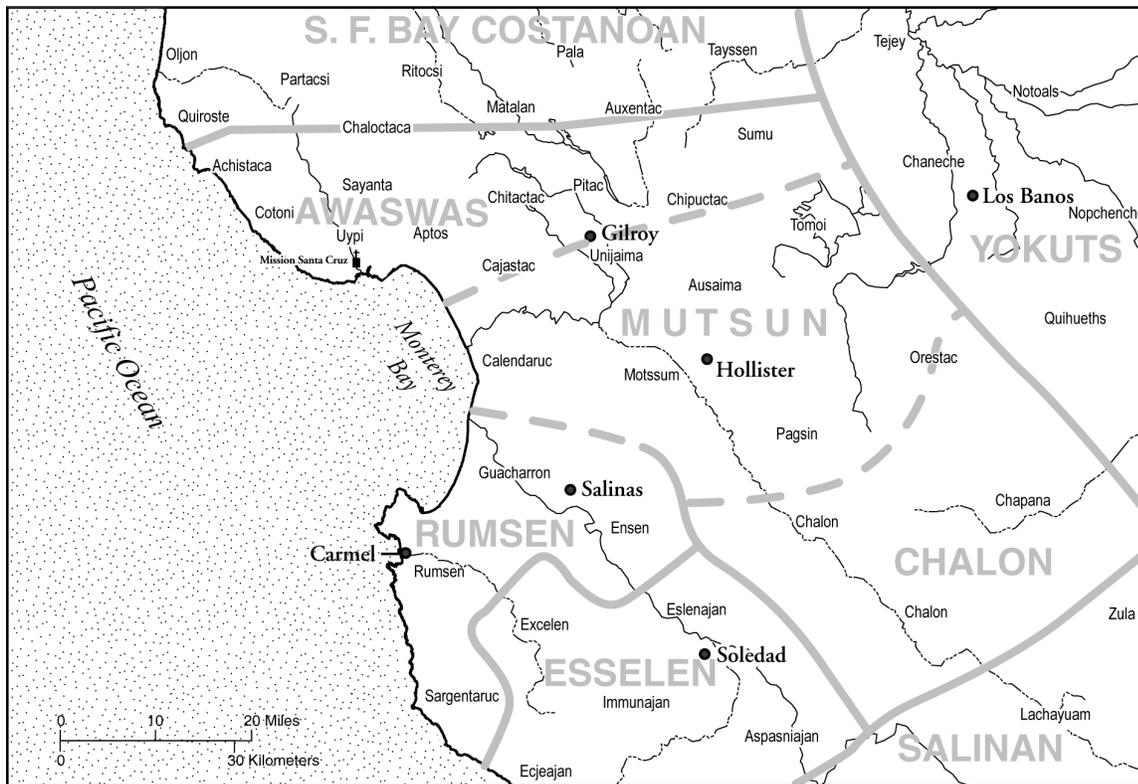


Figure 13. Map of Native Local Tribes and Language Areas of the Monterey Bay Area at the Time of Spanish Entry.

### Baptisms of Villagers of the Rumsen Local Tribe, 1770-1780

Father Junipero Serra founded Mission San Carlos Borromeo at a temporary location adjoining the Monterey Presidio in June of 1770. Early Spanish correspondence indicates that the native people were friendly and that their closest permanent villages were a few miles away in the Carmel River Valley. The first baptism of a Costanoan speaker occurred at the temporary mission site on December 26, 1770. The baptized person was a five-year old child whose father had recently died (SCA-B 1). The next day, December 27, two children whose mothers had recently died were baptized (SCA-B 2, 3). All three children were from Achasta, probably the nearest permanent village to the Presidio.

In August of 1771 Father Serra began construction of the present site of Mission Carmel overlooking the Carmel River. By that time 22 people had been baptized, all children from Carmel Valley villages of the Rumsen local tribe (Culleton 1950, Milliken 1987:15-16). Tribal baptisms proceeded slowly but steadily over 1772, 1773, and 1774. By November of 1774, when the Rivera-Palou expedition went north from Monterey to explore the San Francisco Peninsula for a possible mission site, 247 Rumsen speakers had been baptized and six Rumsen women had married newcomers (three married Baja California Indian men and three married Hispanic soldiers).

The Rumsen captain, Tathlun of Ichxenta, was baptized on September 10, 1775. The entry reads, "Captain of his own rancheria of Ichxenta, alias San Jose, and of the surrounding neighborhood of the Carmel River" (SCA-B 358). Most members of the Rumsen local tribe joined the mission over the next three years. By the end of 1778 the five Rumsen villages had been abandoned. In 1779 Baltazar, one of the *alcaldes* (native mayors), fled the mission and organized a limited opposition movement among the people of Sargentaruc on the Big Sur coast. Baltazar's death

was reported in the fall of 1780. Most of the members of his group trickled back into the mission over the next few years (Milliken 1987:28).

### **Rumsen-speaking and Esselen-speaking Local Tribes, 1782-1808**

By the end of the 1770s the missionaries were reaching out to the Excelens, Esselen-speaking people of the rugged upper Carmel River watershed. Only a few Excelens were baptized earlier than 1783. One of them, their headman, was baptized in his village, while sick, on May 9, 1775. In the baptismal entry, Father Serra wrote:

I privately baptized ... the Captain of the territory of Excelen and its villages, named Pach-hepis. He took the name of Miguel Gregorio. The rest of the pagans of the village, of both sexes, were present, giving us pleasure in seeing their Captain now a Christian, and giving us hope that they will imitate him" (SCA-B 350).

The first large group of Esselen speakers, 68 Excelen local tribe members, joined Mission Carmel in 1783. This was a year after 53 people from the Sargentaruc local tribe of the Big Sur coast went to the mission. The Sargentaruc local tribe seems to have spoken a dialect of the same language as the Rumsen local tribe of the Carmel Valley, the language now called Rumsen Costanoan (see Chapter 2).

Large groups from all the surrounding local tribes went to Mission Carmel during the remainder of the 1780s and up through 1791, including Calendarucs from the present Castroville area, Ensens from the Salinas area, Sargentarucs from down the coast, Excelens from the mountains, and Eslenajans from the Soledad area down the Salinas River Valley. Both Excelen speakers and Rumsen Costanoan speakers were well represented. By the beginning of 1794, the mission language mix was approximately three-fourths Rumsen Costanoan and one fourth Esselen. The Indian population at the mission, 835, was greater than Mission Dolores (population 711), and only twenty percent smaller than Mission Santa Clara (population 1,062) at that time.

The Mission Carmel population reached its peak of 876 in 1795, surpassing the previous year mainly through baptisms of infants born to baptized parents. After 1795, baptisms of the few remaining people from adjacent local tribes slowed to a trickle, and the mission population began to fall (Culleton 1950:231). Mission Carmel was cut off from new tribal groups, first by Mission Soledad, which opened in 1792 to the southeast, and then, beginning in 1798, by Mission San Juan Bautista to the northeast (see Figure 2). By the end of 1803 the Mission Carmel population was down to 591.

A last short surge of tribal baptisms took place at Mission Carmel between 1804 and 1808. The 127 tribal converts over those years included the last Esselen speakers from the mountains, the last Sargentaruc people (Rumsen Costanoan) from the Big Sur coast, and the last Ensen and Calendaruc people (also Rumsen Costanoan) from the mouth of the Salinas River and the lower Salinas Valley. A measles epidemic struck Mission Carmel in 1806, as it did all the other central California missions. By the end of 1806 only 550 Indian people lived at Mission San Carlos, despite the new baptisms of the recent past. Two thirds of the population spoke Rumsen Costanoan, while the other third spoke Esselen. A large portion of the year-end 1806 Indian population, 160 people, was mission-born. Of that group, 11 were children of mixed Costanoan-Esselen marriages.

### **Carmel Mission as Administrative Center, 1809-1834**

Mission Carmel stopped receiving tribal converts after the 1804-1808 flurry. While large groups of Yokuts speakers moved to missions Soledad, Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, and San Jose during the 1809-1834 period, Mission Carmel's role became limited to that of administrative center for the California missions as a whole. Thus its Indian population fell every year from 1807 through 1833. During those years a few Yokuts-speaking individuals who had been brought to the Monterey Presidio after military actions in the San Joaquin Valley were baptized at the mission (SCA-B 2920. 2951,

2982, 3007). In addition, scores of descendants of Rumsen Costanoan women and Spanish men were integrated into the *gente de rason* community at Monterey and at surrounding ranches, among them people with surnames Altamirano, Butron, Espinosa, Garcia, Lugo, Higuera, Rodriguez, and Villela.

Only 188 Carmeleños were associated with Mission Carmel at the time of secularization. At that time, the end of 1834, there were still probably two Costanoan speakers to every one Esselen speaker in the mission community. Additionally, there were numerous bilingual Rumsen Costanoan/Esselen descendants. Due to the absence of intensive Yokuts migration, Carmel was the only mission in historic Costanoan-speaking territory to retain a predominately Costanoan-speaking population throughout its existence.

## MISSION SANTA CLARA, FOUNDED IN 1777

Mission Santa Clara, the third mission in the Costanoan language family area, was founded in 1777 in lands of people who spoke the Tamyen dialect of San Francisco Bay Costanoan (see discussion of dialects in Chapter 2). A total of 6,369 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission between 1777 and 1840, more than at any other Costanoan area mission (see Table 8). Over those years Northern Valley Yokuts (1,463 people) and Sierra Miwoks (453 people), as well as Tamyen Costanoans (4,452 people), were baptized. Over time the members of the various language groups intermarried and came to be known as the *Clareños*.

### Initial Santa Clara Valley Baptisms

Tamyen was the name of the local tribe in the portion of the Santa Clara Valley where Mission Santa Clara was founded. The group seems to have held the central and western portion of lands now within the cities of San Jose and Santa Clara. Its name has been applied as “Tamyen” to the language inferred to have been spoken by all of the Ohlone/Costanoan local tribes surrounding Mission Santa Clara (see discussion Chapter 2). The mission was founded in January of 1777, seven months after Mission Dolores. The first baptisms took place in the summer of 1777 among children in local villages who were sick and dying from an unknown disease (Milliken 1995:67-68).

The Mission Santa Clara population grew slowly in its first years. The first significant group of local adults was baptized in 1780, 29 people in all. Small groups of adults from all surrounding areas were baptized through 1789. Much of the mission’s growth in that era was due to unbaptized adults bringing their children to the mission for baptism. The resistance of local adults to baptism may reflect the presence of the Spanish settlement of San Jose nearby. Local villagers had an alternative to the mission for acquiring Hispanic items and skills (Milliken 2002a:48).

In 1790, 304 tribal people were baptized from surrounding areas, predominately from the south, labeled the San Carlos district by the missionaries, as far as the eventual Mission Santa Cruz area (82 people) and from the west, the San Bernardino district (119 people); 98 of the 1790 converts were adults, more than double any previous year. Mission Santa Clara surpassed Mission Carmel in 1789 to become the largest of the seven Costanoan area missions, and held that position until 1816, when Mission San Jose surpassed it.

### Mass Migration and Change at Santa Clara, 1794-1798

The year 1794 was a watershed period in the Indian history of Mission Santa Clara. At the end of 1793 villages in the Santa Clara Valley and Santa Cruz Mountains were still partially populated by tribal people. The Mission Santa Clara population stood at 1,062 people, all Tamyen Costanoan speakers and their children. In 1794 entire village groups of adults appeared for baptism, rather than the infants and occasional young people and elders of earlier years. The new converts arrived at Santa Clara from all four directions, the Santa Cruz Mountains and Point Año Nuevo areas to the west, the Fremont Plain to

the north, the foothills of the Coast Ranges to the east, and the Santa Clara Valley itself. During 1794 a total 382 adults were baptized and during 1795 another 160 adults were baptized. This was part of the same mass migration movement that had caused a major jump in the Mission Dolores population over the winter of 1794-1795. The Mission Santa Clara population jumped by nearly one half over the two years from the end of 1793 to the end of 1795, from 1,062 to 1,541 (Appendix F:Table 1).

The huge growth of the Mission Santa Clara adult population in 1794 and 1795 could only have been the result of a social movement. There is no evidence that Spanish soldiers marched the people into the mission, nor that drought drove them in. Whatever caused the movement, it broke the logjam of adult resistance to Franciscan religious authority that had kept many people away from the mission since its establishment 17 years earlier (Milliken 1995:129-134). By the end of the 1790s all of the Santa Cruz Mountains people south of the Pescadero Creek watershed had moved either to Mission Santa Clara or Mission Santa Cruz. Mission Santa Clara was competing with Santa Cruz for tribal recruits in the Morgan Hill vicinity of the southern Santa Clara Valley.

### **Eastern Hill Country Costanoan Baptisms, 1799-1810**

In 1799 Mission Santa Clara began to bring in people from the hill country east of the Santa Clara Valley and west of the San Joaquin Valley. The missionaries identified everyone from the hills east of the present San Jose locality into their arbitrary San Antonio district. Only 42 San Antonio district adults were baptized at Mission Santa Clara over 20 years between 1778 and 1798. It then took only three years, from 1799 through 1801, for the next 47 adults from the area to be baptized. Also between 1799 and 1801, hill people from southeast of Mission Santa Clara, east of the towns of Coyote and San Martin, went to Mission Santa Clara from the San Carlos district and to Mission Santa Cruz from the San Juan district.

After a large number of San Carlos district (southern) people went to Santa Clara in 1802 (83 adults), a two year cooling off period ensued. Then, between 1805 and 1810, the last of the Costanoan speakers from the hill country went to Mission Santa Clara, including the Juñas of the San Antonio Valley (67 adults), the Luechas of Corral Hollow (72 adults) and the Tayssenes of a large area far to the southeast in the upper Coyote River and Orestimba Creek watersheds (194 adults). Mission Santa Clara reached its peak as a purely Costanoan mission in 1808, with a population of 1,410 people (Appendix F:Table 1).

### **Yokuts Migration to Santa Clara**

Mission Santa Clara was one of the three central California missions to bring in over 1,100 Yokuts speakers, along with missions San Jose and San Juan Bautista. Of the three, Santa Clara brought in the largest number of Yokuts speakers (1,462 people). So far, it has been impossible to identify the first Yokuts-speaking converts at Mission Santa Clara. They may have been the Bolbons, who were baptized with San Antonio district and Luecha people between 1806 and 1813 (74 adults). But the Bolbons may alternatively have been an east Coast Range Costanoan-speaking group. The first definite Yokuts speakers at Mission Santa Clara were the Lamam and Tugite local tribes of the San Joaquin River, west, respectively, of Turlock and Modesto in present Stanislaus county. This began a 14 year period, from 1811 to 1821, during which an average of 71 Yokuts speakers per year were baptized from homelands on the San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and Merced rivers in the San Joaquin Valley (Milliken 2002a:59). At the end of 1817 the Mission Santa Clara Indian population was 1,336, including 128 mission-born people. Of its 1,208 tribally-born inhabitants at the time, 816 (68%) were San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and 392 (32%) were Yokuts speakers.

By 1822 some people were appearing at Mission Santa Clara from a noteworthy set of local tribes that seem to have lived along a band of territory at the edge of the foothills in eastern Stanislaus county. They were the Chuguea, Sunomna, Tinelame, and Tonul, and they are

noteworthy because the women and girls had a mix of identifiable Yokuts and Sierra Miwok names. They came to the mission with people from pure Yokuts local tribes, such as the Laquisemnes of Ripon and the Tauhalamnes of Modesto. By the late 1820s, the Gualensemnes and Tototes, pure Sierra Miwok speakers from the lowest Sierra foothills, were appearing in the mission's baptismal records. Yokuts speakers from Mission Santa Clara fled to the San Joaquin Valley to join the ill-fated Estanislao revolt during 1828-1829 (see the Mission San Jose section below). Sierra Miwoks and Yokuts speakers continued to go to Mission Santa Clara in small numbers throughout the 1830s, both before and after the beginning of secularization in 1834.

In 1834, at the time of secularization, Yokuts speakers and their children predominated in the Mission Santa Clara community. Yokuts speakers represented 55% of the mission's 1,108 members. Bay Costanoans and their descendants represented 31% of the people, while Sierra Miwok migrants represented 11% of the population. Another 3% of the population was represented by 37 children of Costanoan-Yokuts intermarriages (Milliken 2002a:61). Many of the Yokuts speakers returned to the San Joaquin Valley after secularization, but others remained in the Santa Clara Valley. The Clareños of the mid-1830s were a mix of pure Costanoans, pure Yokuts, and individuals of mixed language background.

## MISSION NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SOLEDAD, FOUNDED IN 1791

Mission Soledad was founded in the Salinas River Valley in October of 1791. The date was 21 years after the founding of Mission Carmel 32 miles to the northwest, and 20 years after the founding of Mission San Antonio 28 miles to the south. A total of 1,729 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission between 1791 and 1840 (see Table 8 and Figure 2). Deriving from three language groups, Esselen (320 people), Chalon Costanoan (791 people), and Northern Valley Yokuts (582 people), they and their intermarried descendants came to be known as the *Soledaños*.

### Early Era of Esselen Predominance at Soledad

Mission Soledad was founded in the territory of the Esselen-speaking Eslenajan local tribe (cf. Kroeber 1925:465, 548). At the time it was founded in 1791, other missions had already reached into the area from the north and south. From the south, Mission San Antonio had taken in perhaps half of the members of the Esselen-speaking Tesmaymanil (alias Aspasniajan) local tribe from the Greenfield vicinity, just south of Soledad (see Figure 13). From the north, Mission Carmel had absorbed approximately 20% of the local Esselen-speaking Eslenajan people of the Soledad area. Those Carmeleño and Antoniano Esselen speakers appear as parents, god-parents, brides, grooms, and wedding witnesses in the early Mission Soledad ecclesiastical records.

Esselen speakers and Costanoan speakers seem to have been baptized in almost equal numbers at Mission Soledad through the 1790s, although we cannot give precise figures because it is hard to sort out the local tribe affiliations of the baptized individuals. The first missionaries at Mission Soledad did not record the multi-village local tribe homelands of their converts. Instead, they listed 74 separate home villages and hamlets for the first 391 converts at the mission, from 1791 through 1798. The Soledad vicinity is identified as the homeland of the Esselen-speaking Eslenajan local tribe through study of family ties between people baptized as Eslenajan at Mission Carmel and the earliest Mission Soledad converts (Milliken 1990).

### Short Period of Costanoan Predominance

Esselen speakers from Eslenajan and neighboring local tribes to the west (Ecgeajan and Ymunajan) and south (Aspasniajan) were baptized more often during the 1791-1797 period than Chalon Costanoan speakers from villages affiliated with the large "Chalon" district in the hills to the

east of the Salinas Valley. In 1798, however, the percentages changed in favor of the Costanoan speakers. Between 1798 and 1806, by far the greater number of converts were people from various small villages in the eastern hills, most in the direction of the region called Chalon or directly associated with the region called Chalon.

At the close of 1806, 775 Chalon Costanoan speakers and 318 Esselen speakers had been baptized at Mission Soledad. The last 35 Costanoans, from groups labeled Chapana and Chalon, were baptized between 1807 and 1815 in mixed groups with the earliest Yokuts speakers.

### **Era of Yokuts Migration to Soledad**

The first significant group of Yokuts speakers at Mission Soledad were baptized in 1806. They were merely identified as “Tulares” people, but their family links to people baptized elsewhere indicate that they were Quihueths (from the west side of the San Joaquin Valley just south of Los Banos) and Cutochos (from the plains due east of Soledad and west of Tranquility and Mendota).

From 1807 to 1817 small groups of Yokuts speakers went to Mission Soledad. Most were from the local tribes in the Mendota-Tranquility region, but a few were Tachis from Tulare Lake. Quite a few others were from Bear Creek to the northeast, indicating that Soledad’s outreach area extended north in those years into the expected outreach area of Mission San Juan Bautista. Yokuts baptisms at San Juan Bautista increased greatly from 1817 forward and Soledad baptisms tailed off until 1822. In that year 124 Yokuts speakers were baptized at Mission Soledad. Most were identified as Pitcaches and Cassous. The Pitcache homeland is documented in later ethnography as the San Joaquin Valley land just west of Fresno, while Cassous is probably equivalent to the ethnographic Gashou of lands within Fresno and east of Fresno (Kroeber 1925, Latta 1949).

Yokuts people were a significant portion of the Mission Soledad community from 1822 forward, but we cannot be sure just how significant because the death registers of Mission Soledad have yet to be cross-referenced to the baptismal registers. A lull in baptisms occurred during the late 1820s. Between 1830 and 1836 scores of Yokuts people were baptized at Mission Soledad from east of present day Fresno, including Oyimas, Dalinches and Tolteches.

At the end of 1834, the population of Mission Soledad was down to 350 people. Many of the most recently baptized Yokuts speakers from areas east of Tranquility probably returned to their tribal lands at the time of secularization. The long-time Soledañes who remained in the Coast Ranges (intermarried Esselens, Chalon Costanoans, and Yokuts) presumably went to work on Mexican ranchos in the Soledad, San Juan Bautista, and Monterey vicinities.

## **MISSION SANTA CRUZ, FOUNDED IN 1791**

Mission Santa Cruz was founded in August of 1791, 14 years after Mission Santa Clara opened some 26 miles to the north, and 20 years after Mission Carmel was founded 30 miles to the south. The 1,759 tribal Indian people baptized at the mission between 1791 and 1840 represented three language groups, Awaswas Costanoan (1,154 people), Delta and Northern Valley Yokuts (539 people), and Sierra Miwok (38 people) (see Table 8 and Figure 2). They and their intermarried descendants came to be known as the *Cruzeños*.

### **Awaswas Costanoan Baptisms at Santa Cruz**

The coastal and mountain lands around Mission Santa Cruz were lightly populated when the Spanish settled in central California. Each small local band had a territory as large as a local tribe on San Francisco Bay, but a population the size of only one large Bay Area village (Milliken 2002b). They spoke a Costanoan dialect that has some structural affiliation to San Francisco Bay Costanoan and some affiliation to Mutsun Costanoan; Awaswas Costanoan continues to be considered a

separate language, but the degree to which it originally extended to the east of present Santa Cruz county is completely unknown (see Chapter 2).

Mission Santa Cruz was founded in the territory of the Uypi local tribe (or mobile band) of the lower San Lorenzo River and Soquel Creek. The first new neophyte baptized at Mission Santa Cruz was an eight-year-old girl who was not from Uypi. She was brought down to Santa Cruz by her parents from Achistaca, somewhere up the coast or up the San Lorenzo River. Four days later, on October 13, 1791, Uypi headman Suquer (probable namesake of Soquel) and his wife Rosuem became the second and third people baptized at Mission Santa Cruz (SCR-B 2,3). Their children had already been baptized at Santa Clara in early 1791 (SCL-B 1894,1907).

By the end of 1793 the mission had been in existence a little over two years and had reached a population of 233. The mission neophytes were from the small local coastal and Santa Cruz Mountains Costanoan-speaking groups, including Uypi, Apto, Chaloctaca, Sayanta, Cotoni, and Achistaca (see Figure 12 and Figure 13).<sup>36</sup> The mission was attacked in December of 1793 by Quirostes from the Point Año Nuevo area who were resisting attempts by the missionaries to force people to stay at the mission and keep their Christian wedding vows. Spanish soldiers, with help from local Indian auxiliaries staged counter-raids, captured the Quiroste leaders and jailed them (Milliken 1995:118-119). Awaswas baptisms peaked in 1795 at 235, when scores of Chitac and Pitac people from the Gilroy area joined people from the groups closer to the mission. The last local Santa Cruz vicinity people to move to the mission, the Aptos of Aptos Creek east of Santa Cruz, were baptized in 1796.

#### **East Coast Range Costanoans at Santa Cruz**

During the entire 1797-1808 period the outreach area of Mission Santa Cruz overlapped with that of Mission Santa Clara to the north and that of Mission San Juan Bautista to the south. Chitac people from the San Martin/Gilroy area continued to be baptized at Santa Cruz in 1797 and 1798. The Pitacs of Gilroy were probably the same people as the Unijaima who began to be baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in 1797. They probably spoke Mutsun Costanoan, rather than Awaswas Costanoan, but we do not know because no vocabularies are available today.

Between 1799 and 1805, small groups of people moved to Mission Santa Cruz from the Coast Range in the present Coyote Reservoir area and the upper Pacheco Creek drainage further east, in what is now far southeastern Santa Clara County. One of the groups baptized at this time, Chipuctac, had so many kinship links to the Ausaimas at Mission San Juan Bautista that they must be considered a single community. These southeastern Santa Clara county Costanoans may have spoken dialects intermediate between the Tamyen dialect of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language and the Mutsun Costanoan language, rather than Awaswas Costanoan.

Mission Santa Cruz outreach in the 1806-1808 period was east of the Coast Range crest in the San Luis Creek watershed. The main group from that area was Tomoi, a Costanoan group that also appeared in small numbers at Mission Santa Clara at that time. Another group baptized in the 1806-1808 period, called Locobo, seems to have been from the valley lands on San Luis Creek; they were probably Yokuts speakers (Milliken 1994).

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<sup>36</sup> Levy (2002) argued that scores of children were taken from their tribal parents in these villages and brought to Mission Santa Cruz, but that the parents were never baptized. This conclusion is incorrect. The parents were baptized, usually two or three weeks later, following their catechism training. The incorrect conclusion was reached because the missionary scribes at Santa Cruz did not explicitly cross-refer parents to children. The parents are identifiable by their personal names, recorded in the children's baptismal entries and their own.

## Yokuts of the San Joaquin Valley at Santa Cruz

The year 1810 saw the largest wave of tribal baptisms at Mission Santa Cruz since 1795. The baptized people were Yokuts-speakers, Tejeys (alias Mayems) from the Gustine vicinity and Yeuratas (alias Chaneches) from the Los Banos area. These two groups also sent some members to other missions, Mayems to Santa Clara, and Chaneches to San Juan Bautista and Soledad. All baptisms slowed down during 1811-1816, due to hostility between the Spaniards and some unidentified San Joaquin River local tribes (Milliken 1993).

Fairly large groups of Yokuts speakers moved to Mission Santa Cruz between 1817 and 1821. They represented local tribes along the San Joaquin River, from the Merced River south to Fresno River. During the same years, Mission Santa Clara was also recruiting on the Merced River, while Mission San Juan Bautista was bringing in people from the more southerly portion of that area. Some of the Yokuts groups from this wide overlap area were labeled by completely different tribal names in the Mission Santa Cruz registers than in the registers of the other missions. Group name synonymy is recognized only by kinship linkages for people who later moved from one mission to another.

Mission Santa Cruz Yokuts baptisms reached their second peak in 1820. Of 93 tribal baptisms that year, the majority were from the lower Merced River Huocons (alias Apelamene at Santa Clara). Another group, Hupnis, seems to be a splinter group, but its alias at other missions has not been established. Remnant Mayems and Chaneches were also baptized that year, along with a few Sagims (alias and location unknown). Another 78 tribal Yokuts speakers were baptized in 1821, the last year of significant conversions at Mission Santa Cruz.

The Indian population of Mission Santa Cruz slowly shrank from 479 at the end of 1821 to 152 at the end of the year secularization was initiated, 1834. We cannot report the ratio of Costanoan-speaking survivors to Yokuts-speaking survivors among those 152 people, because Mission Santa Cruz death records have only been cross-referenced to baptismal records up through the end of 1825. By the end of 1825, tribally-born Yokuts speakers already outnumbered tribally-born Costanoan speakers by 234 to 161. Of the 161 tribally-born Costanoan speakers, 118 were males and 43 were females. Many Costanoan men were married to Yokuts women. Thus, the Cruzeño population at secularization was a mixed Costanoan-Yokuts group, similar to San Juan Bautista to the southeast and Santa Clara to the north.

## MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, FOUNDED IN 1797

Mission San Juan Bautista was founded in 1797 in the territory of the Motssum, the local tribe from which the name of the Mutsun Costanoan language derives. Between 1797 and 1840, a total of 2,781 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission (see Table 8 and Figure 2). The tribal people who went to the mission represented three language groups, predominately Mutsun Costanoan (1,504 people) and Northern Valley Yokuts (1,209 people), with a small number of Sierra Miwok (33 people) and people not identifiable to language (35 people). The members of these language families intermarried at the mission and came to be known as the *Juaneños*.

### Years of Ohlone/Costanoan Proselytization

The local Motssum people were familiar with Spaniards by 1797. Mission Carmel had been in existence for 27 years some 28 miles to the south. Mission Santa Clara had been in place for 20 years 42 miles to the north and Mission Santa Cruz had been in place since 1791 some 27 miles to the west. Spanish post-riders often spent the night at Carnadero (near modern Gilroy) on their passage between the pueblo of San Jose and the Monterey Presidio. Spanish soldiers quelled a near-uprising along the Pajaro River, caused by the high pressure proselytizing of missionary Manuel Fernandez of Mission Santa Cruz, by making a few arrests in local villages in May of 1796. A few Motssums left their home

area and joined Mission Carmel between 1791 and 1797, as did some Pagsins and Ausaimas (see Figure 13). Most of them returned to help found San Juan Bautista, where they appear in the records as parents, godparents, spouses, and wedding witnesses (Milliken 1993:68-73).

Mission San Juan Bautista was established adjacent to the Mutsun town of Xisca in June of 1797. Large numbers of people were baptized during the mission's first six months, including 48 Motssums, 19 Ausaimas, 12 Pagsins, 12 Unijaimas, one Calendaruc and one Guacharron. The mission population grew steadily until September of 1798, when some Orestac men from the east side of the Coast Ranges killed a Christian Indian. A month later they killed some inhabitants of a non-Christian village near San Juan Bautista. Spanish troops raided the Orestac village in November, arresting some and killing the Orestac headman. New baptisms continued without pause over the remainder of 1798 and through 1799 (Milliken 1993:74).

The year 1800 witnessed the conversion of more Mutsun Costanoan speakers at Mission San Juan Bautista than any other year, 275 people. Among them were the last large groups of local Motssums, a very large segment of the Ausaimas just to the east, and the first large group of Pagsins to the south. In 1801 the direction of mission outreach changed to the west. Calendarucs from the Castroville and Moss Landing areas to the west, 88 strong, went to Mission San Juan Bautista. In 1802, with the non-Christian populations of local villages greatly reduced, the mission turned its attention to people east of the Coast Range crest, the Orestacs, Tamarox, and Ochentacs.

Kroeber (1925) mapped the hills east of the Coast Range crest as Yokuts territory, as did Latta (1949), and Chester King (1973). More recently Milliken (1994) has shown that all of the hill people east of Mission San Juan Bautista, as far as the edge of the San Joaquin Valley, were Costanoan speakers. They were the Orestacs, Tamarox, and Ochentacs of the Mission San Juan Bautista baptismal register, and the Chabant (also spelled Chapana) people who went to both San Juan Bautista and Soledad missions. Mission San Juan Bautista reached its first peak population in 1805, at which time it had 1,112 inhabitants (Appendix F:Table 1).

### **Measles Epidemic and Period of Falling Population**

Measles struck the mission in 1806, but it was not as deadly at Mission San Juan Bautista as it was at the Bay Area missions. The reported population dropped to 1,068 by the end of that year (Appendix F:Table 1). That figure might be inflated because many deaths during the year were not recorded. By the end of 1807, ten years after Mission San Juan Bautista's founding, all tribal villages as far as the edge of the San Joaquin Valley were empty. At the time, Mission San Juan Bautista was a Mutsun Costanoan and Spanish-speaking community (Milliken 1993, 1994).

The Mission San Juan Bautista population continued to drop steadily between 1808 and 1816 due to endemic high death rates and lack of immigration, to a low of 575 people (Appendix A:Table 1). During those years many Yokuts people from the San Joaquin River were moving to missions in Costanoan language family territory. Cholvon and Tamcan Yokuts were moving to Mission San Jose. Lamames and Tugites Yokuts were moving to Mission Santa Clara. Chaneches (Yeuratas) and Mayemas Yokuts were moving to Mission Santa Cruz. Chanech, Quihueth, and the unlocated Yesuas Yokuts were moving to Mission Soledad. Yet only a few Nupchenche and Chanech Yokuts appeared for baptism at San Juan Bautista between 1808 and 1816.

### **Era of Yokuts Population Predominance at San Juan Bautista**

The migration of Yokuts speakers to Mission San Juan Bautista, which would involve many hundreds of people in later years, began in 1817. In that year 29 Yokuts speakers were baptized, most from the Eyulahua group of the Firebaugh vicinity in present Fresno County. Only seven tribal people, all from the Eyulalua, were baptized in 1818. Among them was their headman, Bartolome Thregiae (SJB-B 2225). At the close of 1818 the reported Indian population of San Juan Bautista was

582, the great majority still being Mutsun Costanoans from the Pajaro River watershed and valleys of the inner Coast Ranges.

Really large groups of Yokuts speakers finally began arriving at Mission San Juan Bautista in the summer of 1819. Nopchenches from the heart of the marshlands east of Lost Banos predominated, but more Eyulahuas also came in, together with their southern neighbors the Copchas from Mendota, some Pitcaches and some Huechis. By the end of 1819 there were 110 new Yokuts members of the San Juan Bautista community. Another 176 were baptized in 1820, 299 in 1821, and 209 in 1822. The Yokuts people baptized over the 1819-1822 period came from a wide swath of San Joaquin Valley lands, from the Merced River on the north to the Fresno River on the south, and eastward all the way to the beginning of the Sierra foothills. Valley floor Yokuts-speaking villages in that vicinity were empty by the end of 1822, and the Mission San Juan Bautista population was 1,222 (Appendix F:Table 1).

Some people from the Sierra foothills in present Madera and Mariposa counties were baptized at Mission San Juan Bautista in the summer of 1823. They included Chequisinthre (Chukchanci Yokuts), Potoyanthre, Nutunsthro, Sutununthro, and Thrayapthre. The latter four groups are unknown to later ethnography; their women and girls had Sierra Miwok personal name endings. One member of the Thrayapthres, Sexto Huoniths, later became the “interpreter of the third language” at San Juan Bautista, presumably Southern Sierra Miwok (SJB-B 3352, 3597). Small numbers of people from the foothill Yokuts and Miwok groups continued to go to the mission through the year 1828.

The Oyima were the last group to send significant numbers of people to Mission San Juan Bautista. They were Yokuts speakers from the Herndon area of the San Joaquin River, at the break of the foothills southeast of Madera. Including some unmarried people from neighboring groups, among them Chausila (Chowchillas), the Oyima sent over 50 people for baptism in 1828, 12 in 1829, 20 in 1830, and 19 in 1832.

At the beginning of secularization, the end of 1834, the population of living people at the mission who had been born in tribal villages included 463 Yokuts speakers, 354 Mutsun Costanoan speakers, and 9 Sierra Miwok speakers. No local Indian people had married any *gente de razon*. The parental languages of mission-born children at San Juan Bautista that year have not yet been identified. It is certain, however, that there were large numbers of multi-lingual Mutsun Costanoan/Yokuts young people among the Juaneños when the mission was secularized.

## MISSION SAN JOSE, FOUNDED IN 1797

Mission San Jose was founded in June of 1797 a few miles inland from the southeast shore of San Francisco Bay, 12 miles north of Mission Santa Clara, and 35 miles southeast of Mission Dolores. A total of 6,427 tribal Indian people were baptized at the mission between 1797 and 1840; they represented nine language groups, predominately Plains Miwok (2,492 people), San Francisco Bay Costanoans (1,316 people) and Northern Valley Yokuts (1,181 people), and smaller numbers of Coast Miwoks, Bay Miwoks, Patwins, Wappos, and Nisenans (see Table 8; see Figure 2). The Mission San Jose Indians and their early descendants came to be known colloquially as *Chocheños*.

### Coast Range Baptisms and Anti-Mission Sentiment, 1797-1809

The first mission church at Mission San Jose was dedicated on June 11, 1797. It was founded at the location of Oroysom in the territory of the Alson local tribe of San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers (see Figure 12). Most of the Alsons had already moved to Mission Santa Clara between 1786 and 1796. Individuals from other nearby local tribes had also moved to Mission Santa Clara prior to the founding of Mission San Jose, including some Tuibuns of the Coyote Hills and some Causens of the Sunol region further inland. Most of these previously baptized individuals were

brought back north from Santa Clara to help found the new mission in their homeland (Milliken 1995:153, 235).

The distance between Mission San Jose and pre-existing Mission Santa Clara, at only 12 miles, was much shorter than the typical distance between Franciscan California missions. In 1797 Mission San Jose could not be built further north, say on San Leandro Creek or further inland in the Livermore Valley, because of the threat from the Saclan Bay Miwoks who had fled Mission Dolores in 1795 (see the “Migrations from Across the Bay” section of Chapter 4). In fact, no tribal people were baptized at Mission San Jose until the end of the summer, after a Spanish party attacked and overran the Saclan villages in July of 1797.

The first convert at Mission San Jose was Josefa Gilpae from the Jalquin/Irgins, the bilingual Bay Costanoan/Bay Miwok group on San Leandro Creek. They had supplied fighters on the side of the Saclans in 1795. Josefa, baptized on September 2, 1797, immediately married a re-assigned Mission Santa Clara man from the present east San Jose area. It is possible that she was sent to the mission by the head families of the Jalquin/Irgins to signify their submission to the Spaniards. Be that as it may, another 32 tribal people were baptized before the end of 1797, including children and young adult Tuibuns, Souyens, Causens, and remnant Alsons.

The Mission San Jose population reached 460 by the end of 1801 (Appendix F:Table 1). The great majority of those first converts were local Tuibuns from the Fremont Plain/Coyote Hills and Jalquin/Irgins. Speakers of San Francisco Bay Costanoan from the interior Livermore Valley—Pelnans, Ssaoams, Souyens, and Taunans—made up most of the converts in 1802-1804. The mission population continued to grow through early 1806, as most of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan Ssaoams moved there, along with those Bay Miwok Volvons and Chupcans who did not go to Mission Dolores (see Figure 12).

In early 1805 another resistance to Spanish outreach was initiated in the East Bay, this time by the Luechas, San Francisco Costanoan speakers of the Corral Hollow area on the east side of the Coast Ranges. On January 14 some Luechas encountered a small Spanish party, ostensibly lost in the deep fog, in their territory. They attacked, killing Mission San Jose mayordomo Ygnacio Higuera and three Christian Indians, as well as wounding missionary Father Cueva. Higuera, one of only a handful of Hispanics married to a local Indian woman at the time, also became the first of the *gente de razon* to be killed by tribal people in the San Francisco Bay Area. The Luecha attack was countered by another Spanish military raid; the Luechas were attacked and crushed in the summer of 1805 (Milliken 1995:185-191).

Measles struck Mission San Jose in the spring of 1806, just as the first groups of Yokuts-speaking Cholbons were arriving from the San Joaquin River Delta area. The Cholbons fled and no new tribal people were baptized for the remainder of the year. Due to the epidemic, the 1806 year end population was almost 150 people lower than a year before (Appendix F:Table 1). Because only a few remaining elders from East Bay villages were baptized over the next few years, the Mission San Jose population continued to fall, dropping to 545 at the end of 1810. But Cholbon Yokuts again began coming for baptism in 1809, this time with their neighbors the Tamcan Yokuts.

### **Shift to Yokuts, Patwin, and Coast Miwok Baptisms, 1810-1822**

In 1810 tribal people went to Mission San Jose from two directions. Cholbon, Tamcan, and Josmite Yokuts arrived from the San Joaquin River, and Chupcan, Julpun, and Ompin Bay Miwok speakers came down to Mission San Jose from the Diablo Valley and the western Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. Another new language group, Plains Miwok, appeared with the arrival of the Anizumne of the lower Sacramento River in 1812. Meanwhile, the original San Francisco Bay Costanoan population at the mission was shrinking. The mixed-language Mission San Jose population

topped 1,000 in 1812, reaching 1,172 by the end of the year. Also by the end of 1812, Delta Yokuts had surpassed San Francisco Bay Costanoan as the most common native language at the mission.

Small numbers of Yokuts speakers were baptized in 1813. Then, in an atypical pattern of mission outreach, in 1814 and 1815 people began to appear for baptism at Mission San Jose from local tribes north of San Pablo Bay. They were Chocoime (alias Sonoma) and Alaguali Coast Miwoks of the lower Sonoma Valley, as well as Napa Patwins of the lower Napa Valley. People from all three groups also appeared at Mission Dolores in the same time period. This unexpected split of Coast Miwoks and Patwins between Mission San Jose and Mission Dolores continued during 1816 and 1817, with Petaluma and Olompali Coast Miwoks, as well as Napa and Tolenas Patwins, moving to both missions. Also in 1816 and 1817, Anizumne and Chucumne Plains Miwoks moved to Mission San Jose from the Sacramento River to the northeast, and Nototomne and Padasime Delta Yokuts arrived at the mission in large numbers from the San Joaquin River to the east.

The ethnic population of Mission San Jose rapidly changed during the 1815-1822 period, driven not only by immigration of new groups, but also by the continuous high mission death rate among infants and young women. At the close of 1817, the Mission San Jose population was 1,576. Of the native language speakers, 29% spoke Yokuts, 23% spoke Coast Miwok, 23% spoke Costanoan, 11% spoke Patwin, 11% spoke Plains Miwok, and 10% spoke Bay Miwok. With so many people amalgamated at Mission San Jose, the landscape was empty north as far as the Suisun Plain, northeast as far as Rio Vista, and east to the San Joaquin River. From 1818 through 1822, Mission San Jose outreach efforts were directed solely to the Yokuts groups in the present Stockton and Manteca areas. Among the Yokuts converts of 1821 was Estanislao Cucunuchi, age 28, of the Laquisemnes (SJO-B 4471), a man who would lead the next overt resistance to Hispanic control of central California. The Mission San Jose population at the end of 1822 was over 50% Yokuts.

### **Plains Miwok Predominance and Estanislao Revolt, 1823-1829**

Mission San Jose switched its attention back to the Plains Miwok local tribes along the Sacramento River in 1823. During the very months that Father Altimira was setting up Mission San Francisco Solano in the North Bay, November of 1823 to August of 1824, nearly 400 Chucumne, Quenemsia, and Musupum Plains Miwoks were baptized at Mission San Jose (see Figure 12). A good portion of Mission San Jose's Coast Miwok and Patwin neophytes were transferred north to newly opened Mission San Francisco Solano in 1824. However, many Napas, Tolenas, Ululatos, Petalumas, Alagualis, Olompalis, and Choquoimes remained at Mission San Jose, where they show up in marriage and death records through the 1840s and beyond.

By the end of 1824, Mission San Jose had reached its peak population for the 1820s, at 1,806. The Delta Yokuts and Plains Miwok languages predominated, but significant numbers of Bay Costanoan, Bay Miwok, Coast Miwok, and Patwin speakers were also present in the mixed language pool at the mission. At about this time, Mission San Jose stopped taking in remaining Yokuts speakers from the Stanislaus River area directly to the east, giving over that responsibility to Mission Santa Clara. Mission San Jose concentrated instead on the Plains Miwok groups, bringing in Quenemsias, Guaypems, Cosomnes, and Chilamnes from the northern Delta and the upper Calaveras River in 1825-1828.

The Estanislao revolt began in November of 1828, when the Laquisemnes of the lower Stanislaus River failed to return to Mission San Jose from their holiday trip to their homeland. The Laquisemnes, led by Estanislao Cucunuchi, were joined that winter by Christian Indian people from a number of other Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and San Joaquin River Delta Yokuts groups, fugitives from both Mission San Jose and Mission Santa Clara. Quickly branded rebels, they repulsed initial attempts of the Mexican military to force them back to the missions. The revolt ended in June of 1829 with a significant Mexican military victory on the Stanislaus River by Mariano Guadalupe

Vallejo (Cook 1962:168-180; Phillips 1993). Tribal baptisms in 1829 were limited to small numbers of Chilamne, Unisumne, and Guaypem Plains Miwoks.

### **Plains and Sierra Miwok Baptisms at Mission San Jose, 1830-1834**

Plains Miwok migration to Mission San Jose continued from 1830 right up through the beginning of secularization and beyond, to the year 1840. In 1830 and early 1831 the largest of all the Plains Miwok groups, the Ochejamnes from north of Walnut Grove on the Sacramento, were baptized at Mission San Jose, 385 people in all (see Figure 12). The Ochejamnes had resisted the expansion of mission control throughout the 1820s. Because they harbored fugitive Christian Indians, Mexican soldiers attacked them in July of 1830 and defeated them with the aid of some neighboring tribes and American soldiers (Cook 1962:187). It was four months after that defeat that they began to be baptized in such large numbers at Mission San Jose.

Few tribal people were baptized at Mission San Jose in 1831 or 1832. A small, but diverse cohort of 37 tribal individuals were baptized in the summer of 1833; they were from a number of groups on the Sacramento River south of the American River, and the plains to its west. By the end of 1833 only one major valley group south of the American River remained intact, the Muquelemnes of the Lodi region. Spanish authorities had identified them as horse thieves and adversaries since 1819 (Cook 1960:280).

The next large wave of tribal baptisms at Mission San Jose began in the fall of 1834 and continued into 1835. The first mixed groups included remnant Ochejamnes and their Unisumne neighbors from the Sacramento River, as well as Seuamnes, Chilamnes, and Tihuechemnes from the Calaveras River vicinity. But the largest local tribe represented in the 1834-1835 wave of baptisms was the Muquelemne of the present Lodi region on the lower Mokelumne River. All in all, 163 Muquelemnes were baptized in late 1834 and early 1835.

Mission San Jose was largely a Plains Miwok mission at the end of 1834. Of a year-end population of 1,795, 59% spoke Plains Miwok. Another 18% spoke Delta Yokuts and 7% spoke San Francisco Bay Costanoan. Smaller percentages spoke Patwin (5%), Coast Miwok (4%), Bay Miwok (3%), and Sierra Miwok (3%).<sup>37</sup> However, of children at the mission with parents from two different language groups, by far the greatest number had one San Francisco Bay Costanoan parent (35 people); 15 were children of Costanoan-Yokuts marriages, 12 were children of Costanoan-Bay Miwok parents, and 8 were children of Costanoan-Coast Miwok marriages. Only 21 children of all other language mixes were alive at the end of 1834.

### **SUMMARY: SEVEN PART-COSTANOAN COMMUNITIES IN 1834**

This chapter has presented brief histories of six out of the seven missions that recruited speakers of Costanoan languages, their times of establishment, their population changes, and their native language make-up at the time of secularization. (Earlier chapters 5 and 6 provided more detailed information about the establishment of Mission Dolores, its San Francisco Peninsula

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<sup>37</sup> The language representation at Mission San Jose reported here for the end of 1834 was determined using a subset of individuals in the missions database filtered to include all people baptized at Mission San Jose before the end of 1834 who could not be shown to have died or moved to another mission by the end of 1834, together with people shown to be living at Mission San Jose at the end of 1834 who had been baptized at missions Santa Clara (26 people), San Francisco (34 people), San Francisco Solano (2 people), or San Rafael (2 people). The filter resulted in a total of 1,886 people, 91 more than the official year-end report of 1,795.

converts, and its subsequent rapidly changing language makeup.) Comparative points about the size and language mixes of the six populations, and that of Mission Dolores, in 1834 are reiterated here. The missions are discussed in geographic order, from north to south.

- Mission Dolores reported a tiny population of 136 in 1834. Its language mix was approximately 46% San Francisco Bay Costanoan (n = 63), 25% Coast Miwok, 12% Bay Miwok, 9% Patwin, 2% Wappo, and 1% Southern Pomo. Its native language diversity was second only to Mission San Jose.
- Mission San Jose reported a very large population of 1,795 in 1834, but its Costanoan-speaking subgroup was not large. Its language mix, based on a slightly larger population that included transfers from other missions, was approximately 59% Plains Miwok, 18% Delta Yokuts, 7% San Francisco Bay Costanoan (139 people), 5% Pawin, 4% Coast Miwok, 3% Bay Miwok, and 3% Sierra Miwok. This was the most diverse language mix of any mission community in our study area in 1834.
- Mission Santa Clara reported a large population of 1,108 in 1834, including the largest surviving Costanoan-speaking population. Its language mix was 55% Yokuts, 31% San Francisco Bay Costanoan (343 people), 11% Sierra Miwok, and 3% mixed Yokuts-San Francisco Bay Costanoan.
- Mission Santa Cruz reported a tiny population of 152 in 1834. Its language mix was approximately 60% Yokuts and 39% Awawas Costanoan (58 people). Yokuts-Costanoan intermarriage was high, but specific figures have not been developed.
- Mission San Juan Bautista reported a mid-size population of 875 in 1834. Its language mix was approximately 58% Yokuts, 39% Mutsun Costanoan (about 340 people), 1% Sierra Miwok, and 2% mixed Yokuts-Mutsun Costanoan (18 people). The Costanoan-speaking segment was second only to that of Mission Santa Clara.
- Mission Carmel (San Carlos Borromeo) reported a tiny population of 188 in 1834. Its language mix at the time has yet to be quantified. Excluding a small number of Yokuts youths who seem to have been living with Hispanic families (14 people), the language mix was approximately 74% Rumsen Costanoan (140 people) and 26% Esselen.
- Mission Soledad reported a small population of 350 in 1834. The mission's 1834 language mix cannot be precisely reconstructed because its burial register is lost. Yokuts speakers, the most recent migrants, may have made up 50% of the population, while the earlier converted Chalon Costanoans may have made up about 37% (about 130 people), and the still-earlier baptized Esselens 13% of the population.

Missions Santa Clara and San Juan Bautista had the largest number of Costanoan language family speakers alive in 1834, in the neighborhood of 360 people each (if part-Costanoan offspring are included). The smallest Costanoan language family populations, on the other hand, were at missions Dolores and Santa Cruz; each had about 60 Costanoan speakers and descendents.

By 1834 the native Indian people of west-central California had developed a mission-based identity. The Doloreños of Mission Dolores were the product of a fusion of local San Francisco Bay Costanoans with large numbers of Bay Miwoks and Coast Miwoks, as well as smaller numbers of Karkin Costanoans and Patwins. This made them a somewhat different kind of people than the Chocheños of Mission San Jose, who were predominately Plains Miwoks intermarried with old San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Patwins and Delta Yokuts. Further south, each mission group in 1834 represented a distinct language mix. And each mission group had an identity built around its unique local mission experience (see also Lightfoot 2005:202).