

# Chapter 1. Introduction

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This study responds to a complex historical and anthropological question posed by the staff of the National Park Service's Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA):

Analyze and synthesize sources identifying the Ohlone/Costanoan tribal groups that inhabited [federal] parklands in San Francisco and San Mateo Counties prior to Spanish colonization, and... document the cultural ties among these earlier native people and members of the present-day community of Ohlone/Costanoans (Scolari 2002:4).

Today's Ohlone/Costanoan people are the descendants of speakers of six related Costanoan languages that were spoken in west central California, from San Francisco Bay to Monterey Bay, when Spanish missionaries and settlers arrived in the 1770s. The San Francisco Peninsula lands of the Golden Gate Recreation Area (GGNRA) are within the territory of one of those six languages, San Francisco Bay Costanoan. In this study we describe the prehistoric and contact-period culture of the San Francisco Bay Costanoans and compare their culture to the cultures of surrounding language groups (other Costanoan language groups and non-Costanoan language groups of adjacent west-Central California areas). We then trace the Mission Period history and modern history of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan descendants, as well as of the descendants of the other Costanoan language speakers. Finally, we assess the degree of historic cultural affinity among today's separate descendant groups, people variously called Ohlone/Costanoans, Ohlones, or Costanoans.

In preparing our response to the GGNRA's research question, we found ourselves examining multiple study areas and utilizing the perspectives of numerous intellectual disciplines. This opening chapter provides an overview of those overlapping study areas and research approaches. The first section provides a capsule history of the people whose cultural relationships we are asked to consider. The next section describes six levels of study area that we have woven together in our response to the question. Then follows a section that describes our single most important data set for the historic period, the Franciscan mission registers. The last section of this opening chapter lays out our report organization and provides general information about its multiple research approaches.

## PAST AND PRESENT OHLONE/COSTANOANS

The San Francisco Peninsula is a 35 mile long spur of land, bordered on the west by the Pacific Coast, on the east by San Francisco Bay, and on the north by the

mouth of the bay at the Golden Gate (Figure 1). At its northern tip today is the seven-mile by seven-mile City and County of San Francisco. The remainder of the Peninsula to the south now falls within San Mateo county, California. Perhaps half of the area still retains its pre-urban mosaic of open coastal terraces and douglas fir covered mountainous areas, but urban spread and bayshore fill have obliterated most of its lowland oak savannahs and bayshore tule marshes.

When Spanish explorers first entered the San Francisco Peninsula in late 1769, they encountered territorial groups that spoke the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language. San Francisco Bay Costanoan was also spoken along the southern and eastern shores of San Francisco Bay. Other languages were spoken to the south of the San Francisco Bay Area and around San Pablo Bay, the northern arm of the San Francisco Bay estuary system. Some of those languages were closely related to San Francisco Bay Costanoan, while others were not. Irrespective of language differences, the local groups of west-central California shared similar hunting and gathering material cultures, similar political organizations, and similar world views.

The post-contact history of the specific native people of the San Francisco Peninsula begins as a robust one, then squeezes down to a single family. Spanish Franciscans founded Mission San Francisco de Asis (hereafter referred to by its colloquial name, Mission Dolores) on the north end of the Peninsula in 1776. By 1801 all of the native San Francisco Peninsula people had joined Mission Dolores. Over the next few years, speakers of other languages—Bay Miwoks from east of San Francisco Bay and Coast Miwoks, Patwins and Wappos from north of the bay—joined Mission Dolores, swelling its population to over 1,200 people. They intermarried with its San Francisco Bay Costanoan speakers and with one another. Although most of the northerners returned home when missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano were opened in the northern part of the San Francisco Bay Area, some remained at Mission Dolores. When the process of closing the missions began in 1834, the 190 members of the Mission Dolores Indian community included only 37 descendants of the original San Francisco Peninsula local groups.

Until recently, it was believed that the last known descendent of a native Peninsula group died in the 1920s. We have now learned that Jonathon Cordero, sociology professor at California Lutheran University, traces his family's roots back to Francisca Xavier, a San Francisco Bay Costanoan from the Aramai village of Timigtac, on the Pacific Coast just south of San Francisco.<sup>1</sup> From a wider perspective, hundreds of people are alive today who descend from local groups that spoke the same San Francisco Bay Costanoan language, but lived elsewhere around San Francisco Bay. Additionally, thousands of people trace their ancestry back to tribal speakers of Mutsun and Rumsen, two Monterey Bay Area languages of the same language family as San Francisco Bay Costanoan. The single-language family to which their ancestors all belonged has been labeled Costanoan since 1891, Olhonian (by a few) since the 1930s, Ohlone (by some) since 1978, and Ohlone/Costanoans (mainly by government agencies) since the early 1990s.

Today's Ohlone/Costanoans are not a single community in either the social sense or the political sense. They do not gather as a united body for holidays or traditional ceremonies. They do not recognize a single Ohlone/Costanoan leadership or corporate organization. And they do not all agree that all Costanoan language family descendants form a single ethnic group that should be called the Ohlone/Costanoan ethnic community. Instead, today's Ohlone/Costanoans are aggregated into a

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<sup>1</sup> Francisca Xaviera, Jonathon Cordero's ancestor, was baptized at Mission Dolores in 1779 (SFR-B 95). There she married Jose Ramos, a blacksmith from Mexico, in 1783 (SFR-M 65). Her line passes down to the Corderos through their son, Pablo Antonio, born in 1785 (SFR-B 410).

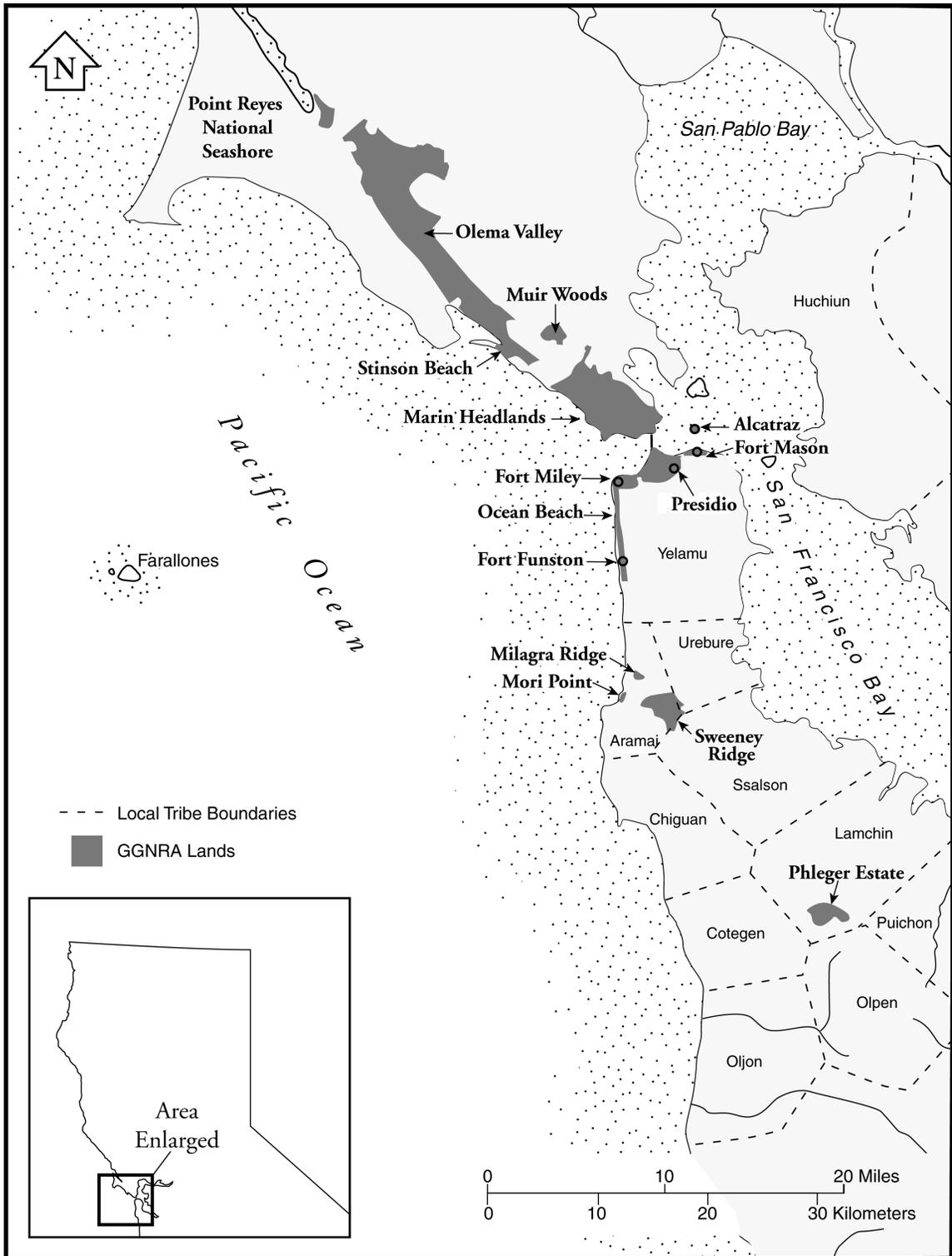


Figure 1. Map of the San Francisco Peninsula Study Area showing County Boundaries, Early Local Tribe Areas, and Key Golden Gate National Recreation Area Properties.

number of social, political, and family groups, each with a sense of community that their ancestors developed in the forges of experience at missions San Jose, San Juan Bautista, and Carmel.

At Spanish contact there was a strong cultural separation between the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language communities and the Monterey Bay Costanoan language communities. Furthermore, a strong experiential separation between their descendent communities has continued from that time until today. In the following chapters we will present linguistic, ethnographic, archaeological, and historic evidence that leads us to these conclusions.

## NESTED AND CROSS-CUTTING STUDY AREAS

In order to clarify the connection between the specific local groups that held GGNRA lands on the Peninsula and the scores of groups who supplied the ancestors of today's Ohlone/Costanoan people, our research approach makes use of six nested and cross-cutting study areas, as follows:

- The territories of local tribes that controlled GGNRA lands on the Peninsula
- The larger zones of social interaction within which the Peninsula local tribes participated.
- The combined home areas of all groups that moved to Mission Dolores to form a new social entity called the Doloreños.
- The full area where San Francisco Bay Costanoan, the language of the Peninsula local tribes, was spoken.
- The entire Costanoan language family area, from San Francisco Bay south to Monterey Bay and beyond.
- The combined homeland areas of all groups that moved to any of the seven Franciscan missions within the Costanoan language family area.

Because these six study area levels are key to this report, we discuss them separately in more detail below.

### Local Tribe Territories with Present SF Peninsula GGNRA Parcels

This study documents the local groups that utilized GGNRA lands on the San Francisco Peninsula. Peninsula GGNRA lands are scattered in a number of separate parcels in present San Francisco and San Mateo counties. The largest parcel is the San Francisco Presidio, a former Spanish, Mexican, and United States military base that now lies within the City and County of San Francisco. Small holdings are found along the western shore of the city at Fort Miley, Ocean Beach, and Fort Funston. Further south, small GGNRA parcels exist in San Mateo County, including Milagra Ridge and Mori Point on the Pacific Coast, as well as Sweeney ridge and the Phleger Estate in the interior (see Figure 1). As of the year 2007, other small San Mateo County parcels are in the process of being added to the GGNRA land base, among them Cattle Hill in Pacifica, nearby Pedro Point, and Rancho Corral de Tierra a little further down the Pacific Coast.

At the Spanish arrival, the scattered GGNRA parcels were controlled by three separate independent local groups—the Yelamu, Aramai, and Lamchin local tribes. The nature of central California local tribes and the evidence for their territorial distribution will be described in Chapter 3. Suffice to say that each had its own headman and each controlled its own fixed territory (see Figure 1). The territories of the three local tribes are briefly described here:

*Yelamu* – The Yelamus, about 200 people, held the north end of the Peninsula, the current City of San Francisco. They spent much of the year divided among four village clusters (Chutchui-Sitlintac, Tubsinte-Amuctac, Petlenuc, and Yelamu), each cluster moving between winter and summer

villages in its own sub-territory. Yelamu lands included the San Francisco Presidio, Fort Mason, Fort Miley, Ocean Beach, and Fort Funston portions of the GGNRA, and perhaps Alcatraz Island as well.

*Aramai* – The Aramai people were an exceptionally small San Francisco Bay Costanoan group, probably no more than 50 people. They had two villages along the Pacific coast in the present areas of Rockaway Beach (Timigtac) and Pacifica (Pruristac). The Milagra Ridge, Mori Point, and Sweeney Ridge GGNRA parcels were within their territory.

*Lamchin* – The Lamchins were the largest of the three groups, probably about 350 people. Their lands in the south-central part of the Peninsula included the present cities of Redwood City and Woodside, as well as the Phleger Estate portion of the GGNRA. Their known villages, Cachanigtac, Guloisnistac, Oromstac, and Supichom, cannot be precisely located.

The Yelamu, Aramai, and Lamchin people were independent groups. They were called “tribelets” by anthropologist A. L. Kroeber (1932). We refer to them as “local tribes” throughout this report.<sup>2</sup> The implications of local tribe organization for community and culture will be discussed in Chapter 3.

### **Peninsula Social Interaction Spheres**

Each San Francisco Peninsula local tribe was intermarried with its immediate neighbors, due to the fact that group populations were so low that they had to reach out to neighboring groups to find marriage partners for their young adults. The smaller the group, the greater the amount of outmarriage. We estimate that at least half of the married adults of the Yelamu people had been born and raised in neighboring group territories. The fraction born elsewhere was even higher for the tiny Aramai group of the Pacific Coast, while it was somewhat lower for the larger Lamchin group of the Woodside-Redwood City area. Inter-marriage ties meant that each local tribe really had a strong degree of face-to-face “community” with its immediate neighbors.

We infer that the sphere of intermarriage of a group is equivalent to its “social interaction sphere.” The social interaction spheres of any region overlapped, since they existed from the points of view of each of the small adjacent groups. The Yelamu social interaction sphere reached across San Francisco Bay to the present Oakland-Richmond area. The Aramai social interaction sphere included all their central and northern Peninsula neighbors, including the Yelamu. The social interaction sphere of the more southerly Lamchins included the central Peninsula and areas south to present Mountain View and San Gregorio.

### **Mission Dolores Outreach Zone**

The histories of the San Francisco Peninsula people after Spanish contact became intertwined with the histories of a much wider group of neighbors than just the people of their original social interaction spheres. During the 1790-1822 period native people moved to Mission Dolores from as far north as Point Reyes and the Petaluma River on the Marin Peninsula, from the Sonoma and Napa valleys, and from the Vacaville vicinity of the western Sacramento Valley. Others went to Mission Dolores from the shores of the East Bay and the interior Diablo Valley further east. The migrants came from local tribes that spoke the Coast Miwok, Wappo, Patwin, Bay Miwok, and

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<sup>2</sup> The term “tribe” has many different meanings to historians, sociologists, lawyers, European social anthropologists, and American cultural anthropologists, and thus has lost its value for technical studies (Colson 1986; Fried 1975). Kroeber’s (1932) term “tribelets” is considered a pejorative by many California Indian people, because its diminutive structure suggests weakness or unimportance to some. Thus we call the independent polities “local tribes” in this report.

Karkin Costanoan languages, as well as a few who spoke the same San Francisco Bay Costanoan language as the San Francisco Peninsula people (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

At Mission Dolores the native people formed a new kind of community. Local tribes of diverse dialects and completely separate languages intermarried in patterns that would never have occurred prior to mission times. Members of the new mixed-language Mission Dolores community came to be known as the Doloreños, in contrast to the Clareños of Mission Santa Clara, the Chocheños of Mission San Jose, and the other mission-based groups farther south in California. For purposes of understanding the history of the Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula as they became part of the Doloreños, we devote attention in chapters 4 and 5 to the outreach area of Mission Dolores to the north and east of the San Francisco Peninsula (Figure 2).

### **San Francisco Bay Costanoan Language Area**

San Francisco Bay Costanoan is a language represented by three dialects—Ramaytush, Chochenyo, and Tamyen—that were considered to have been separate languages until recently. The precise pre-mission distribution of the dialects can only be guessed, because existing language samples were gathered after the native people moved to the missions. The Ramaytush dialect may have reached down the Peninsula from the Golden Gate to Point Año Nuevo. The Chochenyo dialect was spoken along the southeast shore of San Pablo Bay, on the east shore of San Francisco Bay, and in the interior Livermore Valley of the East Bay. The Tamyen dialect was spoken in the Santa Clara Valley and in the surrounding hills.

### **Overall Costanoan Language Family Area**

When we think of the Ohlone/Costanoans, we think of the people who once controlled all the lands from San Francisco Bay south to Monterey Bay, the Big Sur coast and the San Benito River drainage. In point of fact, those were the lands where six different Costanoan languages were spoken, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. In this report we will examine the cultures and histories of all of the Ohlone/Costanoans of that larger study area, although our primary focus will be upon the San Francisco Bay Costanoans.

Our eastern boundary for this Costanoan language family area is significantly different from the boundary portrayed in the standard references. Kroeber (1925) and Levy (1978a) placed the eastern boundary of the Chochenyo, Tamyen, Mutsun, and Chalon dialects and languages along the central crest of the South Coast ranges, giving Yokuts-language groups the watersheds that drained east into the San Joaquin Valley. We follow the results of the senior author's personal name distribution study that showed that the eastern Coast Range groups were probably Costanoan speakers (Milliken 1994). The history of language territory mapping, which has always been based upon very small amounts of data, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

### **Central California Comparative Culture Study Area**

Some San Francisco Bay Costanoan-speaking local tribes had overlapping social and marriage networks with neighboring Coast Miwok, Bay Miwok, and Delta Yokuts-speaking groups, and thus shared genetic relationships with them, and probably some cultural relationships as well. Farther south, the easternmost Mutsun and Chalon-speaking groups had traditional marriage and cultural ties with Yokuts-speaking neighbors, while the westernmost Chalons and the southernmost Rumsen speakers were intermarried with speakers of the Esselen language.

Many of today's Ohlone/Costanoans are also descendants of people from Esselen, Yokuts, Miwok, Patwin, or Wappo language communities, through intensified inter-group marriage that would not have taken place prior to the Mission Period. The nature of the language mixes and outreach areas varied from north to south at the missions that took in Costanoan language family members.

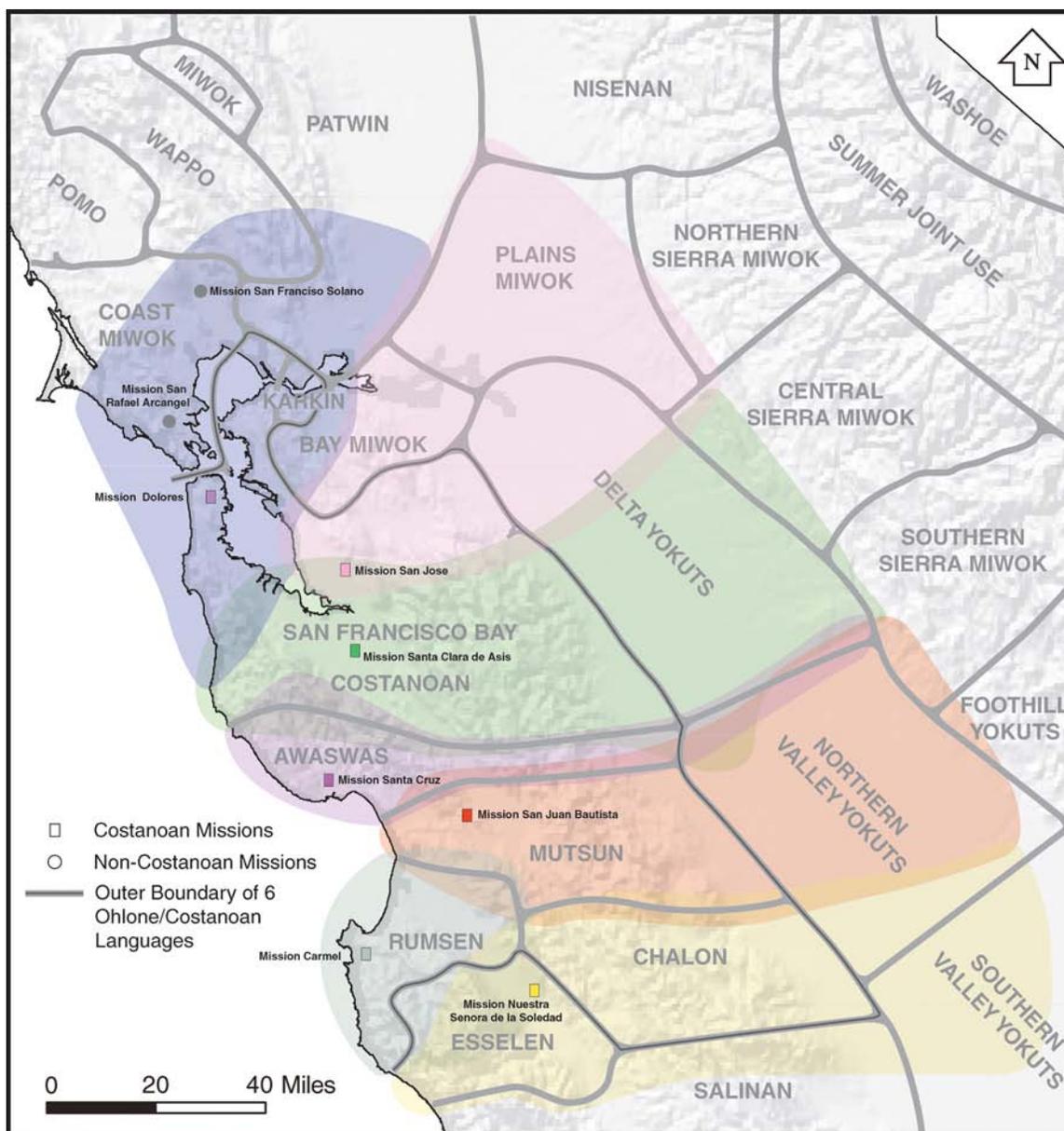


Figure 2. Map of the Outreach Areas of the Seven Missions that took in Costanoan-Speaking Populations.

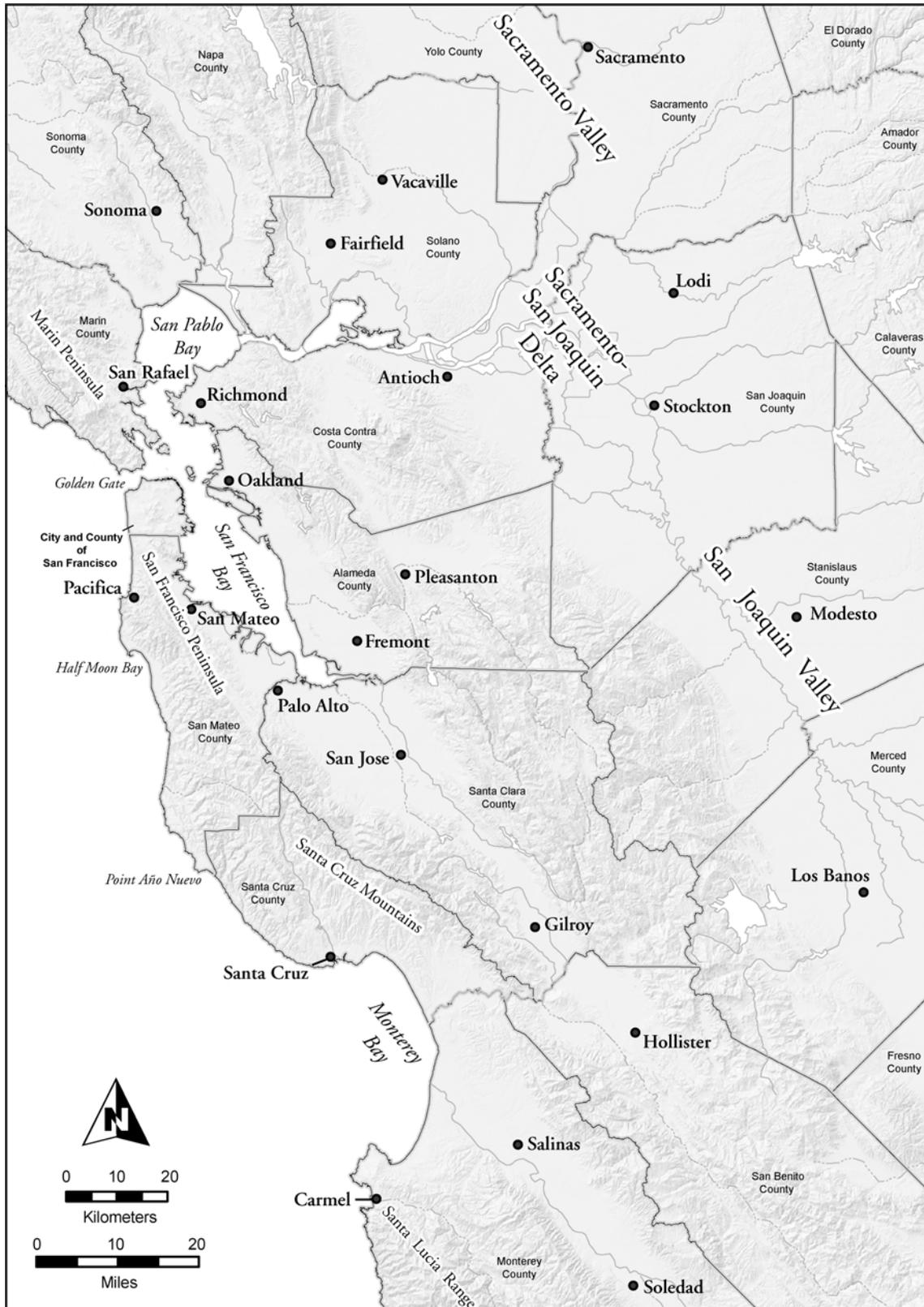


Figure 3. Map of the Present-Day Counties, Cities, and Landscape Features of the Maximal Study Area.

- At Mission Dolores, some San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Wappos, Patwins, and Bay Miwoks mixed together to become a new social entity, the Doloreños, by the 1830s.
- At Mission San Jose some San Francisco Bay Costanoans, Coast Miwoks, Patwins, Plains Miwoks, and Delta Yokuts intermarried to become the Chocheños.
- At Mission Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and San Juan Bautista various Costanoan language groups mixed with Yokuts groups to become the Clareños, Cruzeños, and Juaneños, respectively.
- At Mission Carmel, Rumsen Costanoans and Esselens became the Carmeleños.
- At Mission Soledad other Esselens mixed with Chalon Costanoans and Yokuts to become the Soledañes.

Thus, for purposes of cultural, genetic, and historic analysis, our maximal study area includes the lands of all native people who moved to any mission in Ohlone/Costanoan lands (see Figure 2 and Figure 3).

## MISSION REGISTERS AND ORAL INTERVIEWS: KEY PRIMARY SOURCES

Wherever possible, the facts about Ohlone/Costanoan prehistory, ethnography and history presented in this report derive from primary sources.<sup>3</sup> The conclusions reached emerge from interpretation of those facts. The primary sources include traveler’s diaries, ethnographer’s field notes, newspaper articles, census documents, Franciscan mission registers, and oral interviews with living Ohlone/Costanoans. The latter two sources—mission registers and oral interviews—are especially important and deserving of special introductory discussion here.

### Mission Registers for Ethnogeography and Family History

The Franciscan missionaries of early historic California tracked all of the Indian people they baptized, all the marriages they performed, and all the deaths of Christians attached to their communities in their register books. Those mission ecclesiastical register books are key historic archival sources for this report. The registers contain the only comprehensive evidence for:

- reconstructing the geographical distribution of native local tribes,
- tracking the mission history of tribal groups, and
- documenting the native genealogies of modern Ohlone/Costanoans.

The mission registers followed standard formats. Each entry was dated and given a unique sequential identification number. For baptisms, the missionaries entered the Spanish name and age of each baptized person, whether that person was a tribal Indian adult, a mission-born Indian child, or the child of a Spanish soldier. Beyond basic date, “serial number,” name, and age, individual missionaries varied in what they wrote about baptized individuals. Luckily for the study of ethnogeography and family genealogy, most missionaries included the name of the *ranchería* (community) of any Indian person they baptized, and the names of the parents of infants and youths.

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<sup>3</sup> Primary and secondary sources regarding the Ohlone/Costanoans published prior to 1997 are described in *The Costanoan/Ohlone Indians of the San Francisco and Monterey Bay Area: A Research Guide* (Teixeira 1997). Many of those sources are cited in this report, as are numerous sources published since 1996.

Studies using mission registers fall into two classes, aggregative studies and family reconstitution studies. Aggregative studies build summary counts of population changes for identifiable groups of people over time, to track the general history of a mission and the tribes that surrounded it. Sherburne Cook was the first scholar to use “aggregative” statistics from the mission records in studies of central California Indian history. He introduced systematic study of demographic trends, derived from mission registers, together with analysis of Spanish and Mexican period military reports, to detail the decline in native populations and the negative aspects of communal life in the California missions (Cook 1940, 1943a). Cook carried out only one study focusing in detail on a portion of the San Francisco Bay Area; it was entitled “The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Counties, California” (Cook 1956). More recently Robert Jackson has carried out aggregative demographic studies of Indian populations at some missions in Ohlone/Costanoan territory (Jackson 1983, 1984, 1994, 2002; Jackson and Castillo 1995).

Recent family reconstitution studies yield more detailed information about early local tribes and individuals than can be garnered through aggregative statistics. The family reconstitution approach links together references about individuals, their parents, and their children scattered in numerous mission ecclesiastical registers, in order to document individuals’ lengths of life, numbers of marriages, numbers of children, and ages at baptism, marriages, and death.<sup>4</sup> Demographic patterns are then constructed from the data about individuals. Family reconstitution was first applied to California mission data sets by Chester King in the early 1970s. Working with the Mission Santa Clara registers, he carefully catalogued and cross-referred information about all individuals from a number of local rancheria districts to reconstruct the geographical locations of the districts within the northern Santa Clara Valley (King 1974, 1977, 1978a). In 1981 the senior author of this report completed a study of inter-village relations for the Rumsen local group of the Carmel Valley, also utilizing kinship chart reconstruction (Milliken 1981). In 1983 Milliken documented the locations and intermarriage patterns of local tribes of the San Francisco Peninsula using the family reconstitution method together with kinship charting (Milliken 1983).

### **Mission Studies Using Computer Databases**

By the mid-1980s, computer databases were becoming key tools for family reconstitution studies that cross-refer thousands of bits of information scattered through separate mission registers. Milliken used computer punch card sets to process information about the first 800 baptisms at Mission Carmel for his Rumsen study (Milliken 1981). Milliken (1983) also made punch cards for the first 1,800 baptisms at Mission Dolores and used the data in *The Spatial Organization of Human Population on Central California’s San Francisco Peninsula at the Spanish Arrival*, a master’s thesis at Sonoma State University. Milliken moved his Mission Carmel and Mission Dolores data from punch cards to a dBASE database format on a desktop computer in the early 1980s as well. He continued to expand the Mission Dolores database in the late 1980s to include information on over 5,000 individuals. He also developed separate databases for Mission San Jose, Mission Santa Clara, Mission San Juan Bautista, and Mission Santa Cruz during the late 1980s.<sup>5</sup> The expanded Mission Carmel database was used to construct kinship charts for people from rancherias whose members went to

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<sup>4</sup> The family reconstitution technique was developed in the 1960s by the French social historian Louis Henry (1980) and English historical demographer S. A. Wrigley (1966).

<sup>5</sup> Also during the 1980s, John Johnson (1982, 1988) moved Gary Coombs’ punch card data from Chumash area mission registers onto an electronic database, then expanded it into a single database for the six Chumash missions. He used that database to apply quantitative techniques to the examination of inter-village social relationships among Chumash of the Santa Barbara Channel (Johnson 1988:248-280).

Mission Carmel from Esselen-speaking areas in the northern Santa Lucia Range and the Salinas River Valley (Milliken 1990).

For his 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, Milliken used the San Francisco Bay Area databases to document San Francisco Bay Area local tribe locations. The ethnogeographic reconstruction relied upon indirect methods, since very few groups were explicitly located in mission record entries. Groups were located using “domino” inferences about distance from missions and analysis of intermarriage patterns to identify contiguous groups, following principles of ethnogeography first elucidated by James Bennyhoff (1961). Milliken’s 1991 dissertation also detailed the history of local group migration to missions Dolores, Santa Clara, and San Jose between 1777 and 1810 (Milliken 1991). It was subsequently published as *A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810* (Milliken 1995). During the same time period, Chester King (1994) applied family reconstitution methods to a computer database of Mission Santa Cruz register data to examine inter-group marriage patterns in the Santa Cruz mountains.

No study, prior to the current one, has used mission register information to follow the histories of any west-central California Indian people from Spanish-contact times to today. The only study to do so anywhere in California was recently completed for the Santa Barbara and Ventura County area by Sally McLendon and John Johnson. McLendon and Johnson (1999) worked with a six-mission database that included information on all baptized Indian people from Chumash territories between missions San Fernando and San Luis Obispo to document the genealogical relationships between the Spanish-contact Chumash and the Chumash people of the late twentieth century in a report to the National Park Service entitled *Cultural Affiliation and Lineal Descent of Chumash Peoples in the Channel Islands and the Santa Monica Mountains*.

### **Enhanced Mission Register Databases for this GGNRA Study**

The current study relies upon two consolidated computer databases, one for areas from Santa Cruz south to San Miguel on the central Coast, the other for areas from Santa Clara north to Sonoma, including all of the San Francisco Bay Area. Together, the two databases incorporate the mission register information from all missions that took in speakers of any Costanoan language (see Figure 2). They maximize access to aggregative and family reconstitution data about Indian people in their areas, from the time of Spanish contact through 1850. After 1850 it becomes very difficult to track most Indian families, because some started attending a variety of newly founded Catholic churches, some stopped attending church entirely, and some moved to other areas in California.

Among the many useful analyses rendered feasible by the consolidated computer databases, the following are most important for this study:

- Determination of home villages and local tribes for people whose villages were not listed in their baptismal records. Their home groups are discovered through the reconstruction of their family links, because the home village was almost always listed for the first baptized member of a family.
- Determination of survival rates of descendants of various local groups from one generation to the next, through linkage between baptismal records and death records.
- Documentation of the changing intermarriage rates of people from ever more distant local tribes at the missions, by matching marriage records that often lack home tribe information to baptismal records that usually do list that information.

Much of the data entry for the computer database used in this study had been carried out between 1978 and 1994. However, the following additional steps were undertaken as part of the current project:

- Upgrading existing Mission Dolores baptism/death database and marriage database for the period 1776-1852, through correction of mistaken and incomplete records.
- Additional data entry for two missions in Ohlone/Costanoan lands—Santa Cruz and San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel)—to bring them up to the year 1827, and initiation of a Soledad database with all baptisms and marriages entered up to 1830.
- Initiation of databases for two missions in lands just north of the Ohlone/Costanoan area—Missions San Rafael and San Francisco Solano (Sonoma)—in order to improve understanding of Mission Period movement of Indian people back and forth among all the missions around San Francisco Bay. Baptisms, marriages, and deaths for the two missions were entered up through 1840.
- Completing cross-links for Indian people who transferred from one mission San Francisco Bay Area mission to another, up through 1840. These cross-links include death-to-baptism links, marriage-to-baptism links, and parent-to-child links.

Computerized indices are now available for the 25,500 tribal individuals who were baptized at Franciscan missions established in Ohlone/Costanoan lands. Of those 25,500 individuals, approximately 12,000 spoke one or another Costanoan language. The other 13,500 individuals, speakers of non-Costanoan languages, migrated to the missions from more distant areas.

Specific entries from central California mission registers are cited in the text of this report in a three part format that includes letters standing for a specific mission, a letter standing for the type of register, and the unique sequential number supplied in the register in question for the specific entry. Letter codes for specific mission registers are listed in Table 1. An example of a citation that will occur in this report is SFR-B 365, the Mission San Francisco (Dolores) baptismal entry in 1784 for Romualdo Guimas, the headman of the Yelamu people of the northern San Francisco Peninsula. Another example is SFR-D 3516, the Mission Dolores death register entry in the year 1814 for Romualdo Guimas' wife, Viridiana Huitenac, a Huchiun from the east side of San Francisco Bay.

Table 1. Citation Codes for Mission Register References.

| MISSION                      | BAPTISMS   | MARRIAGES  | DEATHS     |
|------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|
| San Carlos Borromeo (Carmel) | SCA-B ____ | SCA-M ____ | SCA-D ____ |
| Santa Clara                  | SCL-B ____ | SCL-M ____ | SCL-D ____ |
| Santa Cruz                   | SCR-B ____ | SCR-M ____ | SCR-D ____ |
| San Francisco (Dolores)      | SFR-B ____ | SFR-M ____ | SFR-D ____ |
| San Francisco Solano         | SFS-B ____ | SFS-M ____ | SFS-D ____ |
| San Jose                     | SJO-B ____ | SJO-M ____ | SJO-D ____ |
| San Juan Bautista            | SJB-B ____ | SJB-M ____ | SJB-D ____ |
| San Luis Obispo              | SLO-B ____ | SLO-M ____ | SLO-D ____ |
| San Rafael                   | SRA-B ____ | SRA-M ____ | SRA-D ____ |
| Soledad                      | SOL-B ____ | SOL-M ____ |            |

### Project Oral Interviews

We carried out a series of oral interviews during 2002 through 2004 with Ohlone/Costanoans who have worked with the GGNRA staff regarding planning and interpretive issues and with other publically active Ohlone/Costanoans. The interviews were designed to expand the voice of the Ohlone/Costanoan community in regard to the ideas that we grapple with in this report:

1. Whether and how Ohlone/Costanoans utilize, or would like to utilize, GGNRA park lands for traditional and contemporary cultural purposes;

2. What kind of responsibility Ohlone/Costanoans feel for the San Francisco Peninsula lands and how that sense of responsibility evolved in their life; and
3. Ohlone/Costanoan attitudes in the debate between a “coalesced pan-Ohlone” and a “locally-oriented regional groups” approach to contemporary Ohlone/Costanoan political and cultural life.

Where permission was granted by the participants, tapes and transcriptions of the interviews have been placed with the archives of the GGNRA. The interviews provide a link between today’s interviewees and the people of the future. Also, illustrative statements from the interviews have been woven into our discussion of contemporary Ohlone/Costanoan experiences and attitudes in Chapter 10.

## **REPORT AUTHORSHIP, ORGANIZATION, AND RESEARCH APPROACHES**

The three authors, Randall Milliken, Laurence H. Shoup, and Beverly R. Ortiz, each contributed their specific expertise to the development and production of this report. Chapters 1-8, dealing with report organization and research themes prior to the year 1846, were researched and written by Randall Milliken. Chapter 9, addressing the 1847-1927 period, was researched and written by Shoup, then edited to the standard format by Milliken. Chapter 10, documenting the Ohlone/Costanoans from 1928 until today, was researched and written by Beverly Ortiz, with text input from Shoup and editorial input from Milliken. Concluding Chapter 11 was written by Randall Milliken in consultation with Shoup and Ortiz.

The National Park Service asked us four related research questions that elaborate on the overarching question quoted at the outset of this chapter. The four questions deal with different time periods and call for different mixes of source materials and research approaches. Thus they are addressed in different parts of the report. In subsections below we repeat the four questions and point to the specific chapters and appendices that address them.

### **Chapters 2-3: Native Languages and Cultures**

The National Park Service’s first scoping question relates to the nature of pre-Western native culture. It reads:

Evaluate relevant published, unpublished, and archival material (archeological, linguistic, anthropological, ethnographic, historical, archival, etc.) describing the presence of American Indian cultures in the San Francisco Bay Area, and the emergence of the Ohlone/Costanoan culture.

To characterize the native cultures at Spanish contact, and to evaluate the degree to which there ever was a single Ohlone/Costanoan culture, we bring together in chapters 2 and 3 research work in the disciplines of cultural anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology. We also bring in evidence gathered through the methods of ethnohistory and historical demography, hybrid disciplines that ask anthropological and demographic questions of archival data normally studied by historians.

Chapter 2 examines the native languages and language families of west-central California. It documents how linguistic evidence was gleaned by Spanish explorers and missionaries, by early world travelers, and by field linguists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (The work of one of the field linguists, J. P. Harrington, is especially important for the study of San Francisco Bay Area linguistics; Appendix A includes excerpts about those linguistic relationships from his field notes.) Chapter 2 illustrates how anthropologist A. L. Kroeber provisionally linked the areas of outreach of specific missions to the poorly documented boundaries between different Costanoan languages. The chapter then summarizes research by linguists since 1960 that has resulted in a differentiation of six Costanoan languages as different from one another as Spanish and Italian. Chapter 2 ends with a

detailed discussion of the history of language naming, with specific reference to the terms Costanoan, Ohlonean, and Ohlone.

Chapter 3 reviews the cultural patterns that were in place at the time of Western intrusion into central California. The chapter relies upon the methods of ethnohistory, historical demography, archaeology, and historical linguistics. A section on material and social culture is based on passing comments by Spanish explorers and early missionaries, interpreted within the context of field ethnographic material from other parts of California. (Field ethnographic notes are not a key component of this study because there were no practicing field ethnographers in the period when the small-scale gatherer-based cultures were transformed into state-controlled agricultural cultures by the mission system.) We next address cultural geography, the distribution of local tribes, their population densities, and their intermarriage patterns, using data supplied from mission register analysis. With the Spanish-contact culture considered, we turn to evidence from archaeological and linguistic prehistory to study the prehistoric developments that led to the linguistic and cultural variation in place at Spanish contact. We end Chapter 3 with a summary section highlighting significant cultural differences between the Ohlone/Costanoans of the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Areas.

#### **Chapters 4-7: Transforming Effects of the Mission System**

The National Park Service's second scoping question relates to history and culture during the Mission Period.

Evaluate sources that document the presence of Ohlone tribal groups on GGNRA lands in San Francisco and San Mateo counties and the consequences of Spanish colonialism and the mission system on these tribes.

Chapters 4-6 document the Mission Period histories of the local tribes of San Francisco and San Mateo counties and the people with whom they mixed at Mission Dolores.

- Chapter 4 describes the first contacts of tribal people with the Spaniards (between 1769 and 1775), and the first years of Mission Dolores (1776-1800). It concludes with an overview of the rapid cultural changes already in place by the year 1800. (Data about each specific Peninsula local tribe, mainly from mission register sources, is set aside in Appendix B because the detailed material impedes the historic story line of the chapter.)
- Chapter 5 focuses on Mission Dolores between 1801 and 1817, as the San Francisco Bay Costanoan population shrank and large numbers of people from other language groups, predominately Coast Miwoks, moved to the mission.
- Chapter 6 covers the period from 1817 until secularization (the closing of the mission as a Franciscan-run Indian community) in 1834, a time during which the Mission Dolores population and language mix underwent rapid changes, caused by new migrations from north of San Francisco Bay and by transfers to two new missions in that northern area.
- Chapter 7 turns to a larger study area; it summarizes the histories of Indian people at the six other missions in the overall Ohlone/Costanoan territory through 1834.

History and ethnohistory are the main research approaches of chapters 4-6 and the Franciscan mission registers are the key sources. Both aggregative and family reconstitution-based mission register studies are used to track the histories of specific local tribes and the emergence of their descendants into the mixed-language mission-based social groups. The mission register information in the chapters is augmented by information from Spanish explorer and missionary diaries, missionary annual reports, and reports from world travelers during the Mission Period. By 1834, the data show, the pre-contact local tribes had been transformed into new social and cultural entities, the Doloreños of Mission Dolores, the Clareños of Mission Santa Clara, and the similarly named mixed-language groups at the more southerly Ohlone/Costanoan missions.

## Chapters 8-10: Ohlone/Costanoans from the 1830s to Today

The third National Park Service scoping question asks us to track the history of Ohlone/Costanoan people from the close of the Mission Period to the present time

Evaluate relevant published, unpublished, and archival material that documents the persistence of Ohlone populations in the San Francisco Bay Area after the demise of the missions, from about the 1830s-present, as well as the blending or assimilation of Ohlone populations with the ever-increasing non-native population of the San Francisco Bay Area during this period.

Our documentation of Ohlone/Costanoan history since the Mission Period is divided into three chapters that detail the sequential Mexican Rancho (Chapter 8), Early American (Chapter 9), and Recent American (Chapter 10) periods.

Chapter 8 examines the history of Indian people during the Mexican Rancho Period from 1834 to 1846. The methods of history and ethnohistory guide our research approach to this short period. Numerous memoirs and diaries of visitors to California during this period mention the local Indian population, but generally as part of the background, the ubiquitous labor force that supported Rancho life and commerce. The quality of the mission records deteriorated during this period, but mission records still supply our most accurate information about the few surviving descendants of the San Francisco Peninsula tribes and the other Indian families that continued to attend Catholic church after the missions were closed in the 1830s. Primary attention in Chapter 8 is given to the people of the San Francisco Bay Costanoan language area, but overview material is included for Ohlone/Costanoan history in the Monterey Bay Area as well.

Chapter 9 describes the situation for Ohlone/Costanoans during the early American Period, from 1847 until 1928. (Appendix D provides contextual information about the treatment of Indians across California during the 1847-1880 period.) Late nineteenth-century documentation is poor. The American military took over central California in the summer of 1846. Catholic Church record-keeping and church attendance was disrupted for the remainder of the 1840s, obscuring patterns of baptism, marriage, and death for the local Indians. The Gold Rush brought hordes of new settlers, predominately Anglo-Americans, into central California in 1848 and succeeding years. They pushed the local Indian population to the margin of society. The few American civil records of the late nineteenth century were not careful in recording information about Indians. For example, many census takers in 1852 and 1860 counted Indians by the group, rather than listing them individually by name. Nevertheless, historian Laurence H. Shoup carefully examined all nineteenth-century census records for Bay Area counties for information about local Indian people. Shoup also examined early newspapers for accounts about San Francisco Bay Area Indians during the late nineteenth century, retrieving useful data.

The quality of historic information improves at the beginning of the twentieth century, when the parents of living Ohlone/Costanoans were alive. The history of the Indian people from 1900 to 1928 was reconstructed from family oral histories augmented by census records, more newspaper accounts, and notes of anthropologists who visited intact Indian communities in rural areas around the margins of the San Francisco Bay and Monterey Bay Areas. The interview material of J. P. Harrington not only provides information about the Indian people of the 1900-1928 period, but also about the middle and late nineteenth century, when most of Harrington's consultants had been young people.

Chapter 10 describes the recent history of Ohlone/Costanoans from 1928 until today. This is the period of the lifespan of elders who are alive today. For this time period we refer to published sources about Indian struggles for land reparations, to family and group histories published by Indian people themselves, and to information Indian people shared with Ortiz and Milliken during oral

interviews conducted for this report. We frame the beginning of the period with summary information on self-recognized Indian adults alive in 1928, as recorded in a 1928-1930 Bureau of Indian Affairs census of Indians who had ancestors from San Francisco, Contra Costa, Alameda, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, and Monterey counties. It concludes with descriptions of post-1982 Ohlone/Costanoan activities in the political and cultural arenas. (Appendix E details the current federal recognition petition status of eight Ohlone/Costanoan groups.)

### **Chapter 11: Ohlone/Costanoan Historic Cultural Affinity**

The fourth and final specific National Park Service scoping question reiterates the general question quoted at the outset of this chapter.

Document and describe the cultural ties (e.g., geographical, kinship, biological, archeological, linguistic, anthropological, folkloric, historical, oral tradition, or other relevant connections) among pre-European Ohlone populations who lived on present-day parklands in San Francisco and San Mateo counties and members of the present-day community of Ohlone.

Chapter 11 summarizes the evidence for cultural grouping and sub-grouping among all descendants of Costanoan speakers that emerged in the earlier chapters. It discusses the elements that come to play in the emergence of ethnic community and cultural identity within modern mass society. Further, it describes the conflicting and sometimes ambivalent points of view of modern Ohlone/Costanoan individuals regarding the complex question of Ohlone/Costanoan cultural history and identity.

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In the pages to come, we point to archaeological, ethnographic, historical, and contemporary divisions between the Ohlone/Costanoan groups of the San Francisco Bay Area and those of the Monterey Bay Area. Be that as it may, there is no simple answer to the GGNRA question regarding the cultural affinity between today's various Ohlone/Costanoan groups and the early San Francisco Peninsula local tribes. We hope that the totality of this report presents the material in a way that allows National Park Service personnel to reach their own reasoned conclusions.