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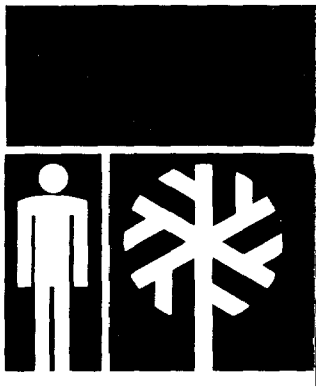

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HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

A CIVIL HISTORY

of

Golden Gate National Recreation Area

and

Point Reyes National Seashore

California

Volume I

by

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VOLUME I

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Abbreviations

NA	National Archives
FARC	Federal Archives and Record Center
CHS	California Historical Society
SCP	Society of California Pioneers
RG	Record Group
SFPL	San Francisco Public Library
SFMM	San Francisco Maritime Museum
SFMSHP	San Francisco Maritime State Historical Park
BL	Bancroft Library

PREFACE

This historic resource study on the non-military history of Golden Gate National Recreation Area and Point Reyes National Seashore follows the terms of an unapproved task directive and the standards and regulations governing historic preservation in the National Park Service. The same task directive covers this study as well as those studies on military historic resources prepared by Historian Erwin N. Thompson. Originally Mr. Thompson was assigned to complete the entire study, but the enormous number of military historic resources alone made the project too cumbersome, and I was called in to undertake a history of the non-military resources.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While enjoying my lunch break on the office lawn one sunny day nearly three years ago, my associate, Historian Erwin Thomson, joined me and and enthusiastically described his complex new project at Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA) and Point Reyes National Seashore. So numerous and varied were the historic resources of the areas that Erwin was compelled to seek some assistance in his research. At his request, I was assigned to complete a historic resource study on the non-military history within the park.

Never before had I tackled such an enormous project. Despite the numerous long research trips which put a crimp on my home life, the project provided me with the best and most enjoyable learning experience in my National Park Service career. Working with Erwin was a big part of my education. Not only did he make his voluminous research notes and record copies available to me, but he also gave unstintingly of his time to discuss and advise me on the numerous problems or questions which arose during the research and writing of this report. In addition, Erwin's deep personal involvement in this project as well as his unwavering support of me as his associate on the project, carried me through many times of doubt and uncertainty, when the report seemed to be an impossible task to complete. Finally, I wish to thank Erwin for being such a fine historian, associate, and friend.

Other National Park Service historians assisted me in the course of my research. Ed Bearss opened my eyes to valuable records on the Life-Saving Service in the National Archives, as did Ross Holland for lighthouse records. Diana Skiles, historian at Point Reyes National Seashore, compiled considerable information on the park's history which she generously shared with me. She also

escorted me to several historic sites within the park and helped me make contact with residents, past and present, of Point Reyes peninsula. Gordon Chappell, Western Regional Historian in San Francisco, shared with me pertinent research materials he had collected on GGNRA and Point Reyes history. John Martini, historian for GGNRA, cheerfully guided me around many historic sites and provided me with several useful sources from his own research on local history. John Luzader, my supervisor in the Denver Service Center, provided me with dependable advice and support when additional research called for his approval. To all these associates and friends I extend my sincere appreciation.

Harold LaFleur, the historical architect on this project, visited many of the areas' historic sites with me and offered his professional evaluations on the structures. His thorough completion of the List of Classified Structures, his constant vigilance over the project funding, and his unshakeable good spirits have cleared and brightened the path of progress for this report on numerous occasions.

Tom Mulhern, Chief, Division of Cultural Resource Management, Western Region, frequently kept me posted on matters relating to the historic resources and always took a sincere interest in the problems and issues of this research.

While all the staff that I met at the two areas impressed me with their spirit of cooperation, a few individuals stand out as especially helpful. Ron Treabess, the Denver Service Center Project Manager at GGNRA and our direct contact for this project, gave Erwin and myself unqualified support during the preparation of this report. His frequent assistance in making arrangements and contacts and in providing current information for the report greatly facilitated my research. Along with many others on the staff, Ron enjoyed an interest and enthusiasm for the park historic resources

which helped to make this project a memorable and exciting one. In addition to Ron's help, I also appreciate the cooperation and assistance from Bill Whalen, former General Manager, Bay Area National Parks (BANP); Jerry Schober, acting General Manager, BANP; Jack Wheat, Acting Superintendent GGNRA; Doug Nadeau, Planning Coordinator, GGNRA; Steve Heath, Chief of Interpretation, GGNRA; Linda Bogardus, Park Technician, GGNRA; John L. Sansing, Superintendent, and Andy Gifford, Ranger, Point Reyes National Seashore.

In the process of my research in California's records over a two-year period I received a helping hand from many wonderful people. Dr. Elliot Evans, former Director of the Pioneer Society of California, responded to my request for information with a wealth of material from his personal research on Angel Island. His thoughts and observations helped bring much of the material into focus. His generosity and interest in the project made a major contribution to this report. Among the other California citizens who shared information from their personal collections and reminiscenses, I would like to thank Harold Atkinson, Thomas Barfield, Paul Q. Chow, Raymond Clary, Frank Foehr, Philip Hunter, Amy Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. William Morrisey, Carl Poch, and William Waldon of San Francisco; Emma Benevenca, James Bourne, Joseph Grippi, Jack Mason, James McClure, Pete Martin, Geneva Reinhardt, Lindy Osterland, Jose Silva, Josefa and Boyd Stewart, and Denzel Veragula of Marin County; and, Virginia Olds French, of Escondido.

The majority of records on local history understandably were found in the various archives in the Bay Area, where I received much appreciated assistance from city, county, state, federal, historical society, and university employees. Particularly I would like to thank Gladys Hansen, City Archivist at San Francisco Public Library; Regina Jimenez, Reference Librarian at Marin County Free

Library; Dr. Robert H. Becker, Assistant to the Director, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

The staff at Oakland City Library, California Room; University of California at Berkeley; Jay William, California Historical Society; Jo Ann Williamson, Robyn Gottfried, Daniel Nealand, and Mary Kiely at the Federal Archives and Records Center, San Bruno; Tom Harrison, Angel Island State Park; Karl Kortum, Justine Schulz, Herbert Beckwith, and Sue Cabble, San Francisco Maritime Museum; Harry Dring and Susan Garfield, San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park; Elsie P. Mazzini, Marin County Historical Society; Katherine Colzani and Betty Fonaroff, San Francisco Department of Recreation and Parks, Office of the Secretary of the Park Commission; Oliver F. DeGraf, Wayne Wheeler, and Joseph Blackett, U.S. Coast Guard, Twelth District, Aids to Navigation Branch; William Patterson, U.S. Coast Guard, Eleventh District, Aids to Navigation Branch; Debbie Ginsberg, Society of California Pioneers; Jeffrey Lee, City Engineers, San Francisco Department of Public Works; Gary Giacomini, Marin County Supervisor, District Four; and Marilyn Blaisdell, collector of Cliff House area historic photographs at the Cliff House.

In Sacramento, California, I researched at the California State Library and State Archives. At the former record center Thomas M. Fante helped me, while at the Archives, David Snyder came to my assistance with the district court records on Marin and on the Angel Island quarantine station. One of the most helpful state employees in Sacramento I unfortunately never met--Dorene Askins, Park Interpretive specialist for the Department of Parks and Recreation, who swapped pertinent information with me on the Angel Island Immigration Station by mail and phone. Dorene generously sent her historical report on the station and provided me with several sources which I had not found in my own research. Finally I would like to thank Cindy Woodward, Supervisory Park

Interpretive Specialist, for her help with records on the Angel Island Quarantine Station.

The National Archives in Washington, D.C. and the Federal Archives and Record Center in Suitland, Maryland, provided the bulk of information on the federal properties within GGNRA. All the National Archives Staff in the Central Search Room helped this project along by retrieving records and reproducing important documents for me. At a time when the the reading room was crowded with researchers, I especially appreciate their patience and cooperation with my research needs. In general reference I wish to extend my sincere appreciation to James Walker, Charles Miller, and Elizabeth Edelglass; in the Cartographic Archives Division to John Dwyer, and in the Still Photography Branch to Debbie Gitomer and Jim Trimball. For each of the five record groups in which I researched, I was helped along by very knowledgeable people. In the Coast Guard records Hope Holdcamper, William F. Sherman, Donald King, and Fred Crawford gave me good direction and assistance. In the Weather Bureau records Helen Ulibarri and C. Neal steered me on the right course; and in the Immigration and Naturalization records, Donald Mosholder and Serris Stovel dug out pertinent records which had not yet been indexed by the National Archives. In the Public Health Service records Patrick Gasabedian gave generously of his time to help me track down the most valuable of the voluminous records on the Angel Island Quarantine Station. Finally, Stanley Brown very kindly assisted me in the Public Buildings Service records at Suitland.

This report will subsequently require considerable time and patience from an editor and manuscript typist in the Denver Service Center, each of whom I would like to sincerely thank in advance. As I am resigning soon to take care of my newborn son, I leave this report in the hands of the competent editors and typists who with their contributions make reports such as mine look so much better.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to give special thanks to my husband, James F. Harvey, who joined me on two of my research trips and offered his excellent assistance by locating research materials and taking careful research notes. Jim also patiently accepted the many long trips which kept me from home so much of the time during 1975 and 1976.

I. Explorers and Indians at the Golden Gate

A. English and Spanish Explorers

1. The Coast Miwoks in Marin County

In June 1579 Sir Francis Drake, on his historic voyage around the world, landed somewhere on the California coast to beach his ship, the Golden Hinde, for repairs. Although his exact landing site remains shrouded in inconclusive evidence, the available contemporary accounts of the voyage make clear that the Indians who greeted the mariners were Coast Miwoks who inhabited the lands today constituting Marin County and the southern portion of Sonoma County. They represented only one of eight major tribes of the San Francisco Bay Area and one of a remarkably diverse number of tribes occupying California before the advent of the white man.[1]

Sir Francis Drake's expedition party made the first known white contact with the natives of California. The Coast Miwoks, evidently thinking that their visitors were gods, offered them sacrifices and presents of feathers, bags of tobah, arrow quivers, and skins. With their faces painted in white, black, and other colors, the Miwoks responded to their strange visitors with reverence, the men by dancing and singing naked, the women by ripping their faces with their nails until blood poured down their breasts and by throwing themselves violently to the ground.

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1. Robert F. Heizer, "Indians of the San Francisco Bay Area," Geologic Guidebook of the San Francisco Bay Counties Bulletin 154, California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Mines, December 1951, p. 39; Robert F. Heizer and William W. Elmendorf, "Francis Drake's California Anchorage in the Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," Elizabethan California by Robert K. Heizer (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1974), pp. 97 and 101. For a map identifying the tribes and their territory in California, see Robert F. Heizer and M.A. Whipple, compilers and editors, The California Indians, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1971), coverleaf.

The tribal chief, robed in skins to his waist and bearing a knitwork headdress decorated with various colored feathers, arrived on the fourth day accompanied by 100 statuesque warriors as his guard. An emissary from the chief presented Drake with a scepter on which hung, two crowns, like a king's, of feathers and knitwork, but more finely made, as well as three chains of bone-like beads, each of which represented additional honor. Finally, the sceptor held a bag of the herb tobah, or tobacco, which all the California Indians smoked.[2]

Many people believe Drake's party landed on the south shore of Point Reyes peninsula, in the bay now named for him. While conclusive proof of Drake's landing there is lacking, Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeno, a Portuguese captain of a Spanish exploring expedition of the Pacific Coast in 1595--only fifteen years after Drake's California landing--definitely came ashore with his crew at Drakes Bay where his ship, the San Augustin wrecked. Cermeno's brief description of the Coast Miwoks has similarities with the account from Drake's landing. An Indian paddled out from shore to greet the visitors, and once presented with gifts he and his fellow Indians on shore befriended the explorers. Although not worshipful of the white strangers as during Drake's encampment,

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2. Excerpts from the first published description of Drake's voyage in Richard Hakluyt's, The Principal Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation (London 1598) and from the 1628 publication of The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, can be found in Marilyn Ziebarth, editor, "Special Issue The Francis Drake Controversy: His California Anchorage, June 17 July 23, 1579." California Historical Society Quarterly 53, no. 3 (Fall 1974): 274-286. All California Indians applied colored mineral paints on their faces and bodies for special occasions such as at rituals, during mourning, or war. Heizer, "Indians," p. 43.

the Miwoks offered friendship, gifts, and assistance. Cermeno and his crew found plentiful sources of food and water near their landing, including "a quantity of crabs and wild birds and deer," which the Miwoks included in their diet. Cermeno also noted the variety of nuts, herbs, and fruit growing inland, probably close by several Indian settlements in the area, one of which stood on the site of present-day Olema.

Both the Drake and Cermeno accounts mention the Indian canoes which evidently were the balsa rafts built by the Bay Area Indians from the long marsh reeds along the shore. These fragile watercraft constituted the only means of ocean and bay navigation for the Indians and clearly were set afloat principally for inshore fishing excursions in favorable weather.[3]

Because the ocean furnished the Miwoks food and a currency in the form of the shell Saridomus aratus or gracilus, most of the settlements were located near the shore, as the archeological remains and historical references to shellmounds indicate. A United States Geological Survey map of Point Reyes in 1859, for instance, identified Indian shellmounds in several coves along Tomales Bay, and searchers for evidence of Drake's landing on Drake's Bay, have uncovered numerous Indian artifacts all along the coastline.

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3. A translated account of Cermeno's landing from documents in the Seville Archives is published in Ziebarth, ed. "The Francis Drake Controversy," pp. 287-288. Other possible landing sites for Drake include Bolinas, Tomales, and Bodega Bays. Heizer and Elmendorf, "Drake's Anchorage," p.1.01. Heizer and Whipple, California Indians, p. 12. Heizer and Whipple state that there is no evidence that the Indians had any boats in use on the ocean from Golden Gate to Cape Mendocino, Ibid. John Walton Caughey, History of the Pacific Coast (Los Angeles: Privately published by the Author, 1933), pp. 82 and 85.

The Coast Miwoks also enjoyed the shelter and more favorable weather in Olema Valley, where their village Ole, meaning coyote, stood along the banks of Olemus Lake. In this lush valley setting the Miwoks gathered acorns, wild grass seeds, and small bulbs which they ground and pulverized with a metate or quern and mortar before eating.[4]

The Miwok villages evidently contained several kinds of structures, made primarily of brush, earth, and supporting poles, and usually round and conical-shaped. Heizer and Whipple list nine different types of construction: the conical dwelling house above ground; the sun shelter; the semisubterranean conical dwelling house; the semisubterranean assembly house; the sudatory or sweathouse; the ceremonial circular brush structure; the ceremonial rectangular brush structure; the grinding booth; and the acorn granary.

The assembly hall served the Miwoks as a social and ceremonial gathering place, where they gambled, danced, and brought food to share. An important feature of the hall was the foot drum a hollowed log stretched across a pit five to ten feet long, which undoubtedly created a deep, throbbing rhythm for the religious or social occasions.

As in the assembly hall, the Miwoks rarely, if ever, slept in the sweathouse which was reserved for the men when they needed reinforcement or curing to improve their deer hunting.

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4. Heizer and Whipple, California Indians, p. 20; Heizer, "Indians," p. 48; Erwin G. Gudde, "Place Names in the San Francisco Bay Counties," Geologic Guidebook, Bulletin 154, p. 31. Other Marin County place names originating in Miwok village names include Bolinas Bay, Tomales Bay, and Mount Tamalpais, Ibid.

Sweating, the Indians believed, strengthened their legs. This conical, earth-covered structure stood low, allowing only half-erect posture, and accommodated, at most, only ten men. Having heated themselves by the fire (not steam), the Indians jumped into a pool in the creek, and then repeated the procedure several times.

The circular and rectangular brush ceremonial structures provided special places for the Miwoks to mourn their dead, while the grinding house of bark slabs or brush probably served mostly as a sun shelter for the women as they laboriously ground the wild seeds. To cache their seeds and acorns, important parts of their diet, each Miwok family had at least one granary tightly constructed, like a bird's nest, with twigs, brush, weeds, and grapevines, laid over supporting posts, to make them water tight.[5]

The Miwoks, like all California Indians, defined their territory by drainage systems and did not possess a concept of landownership as understood by the white men who were to usurp their traditional hunting grounds. In other ways, too, the Indians presented themselves in a simple, direct way to the Spanish pioneers who were the first whites to move onto and settle the Indian lands in California. Then Indians' open and friendly acceptance of the early white men left them vulnerable to the ambitions of the Catholic missionaries and Spanish military frontiersmen who first occupied the lands south of the Golden Gate in the country of the Costanoan Indians in 1776. In 1793, nearly twenty years after Mission Dolores on the San Francisco peninsula

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5. Heizer and Whipple, California Indians, pp. 332-340.

was founded, a Spanish explorer, Lieutenant Don Felipe de Goycoechea, marched his expedition through Olema Valley, and made specific note of the Coast Miwoks and their desirable surroundings:

> This place is very well fitted for any kind of establishment. There are good lands for crops, a sufficient supply of water and a great abundance of wood--red pine, oak, madrone, laurel, willow, and a grove of hazelnut trees. . . . Here there is a settlement which the natives abandoned for the adjoining forests when we passed by it. I pacified them by means of the interpreter and ordered them to assemble in their settlement. Although they did not all do so I divided among them two strings of beads and some of our food. By doing this we were able to count in the surroundings, in little groups, about one hundred and fifty souls, more or less.[6]

The Coast Miwoks obviously had radically altered their opinion of white men since the contact with the shipwrecked crew of Cermeno's expedition some 200 years earlier. Probably word had reached them about the treatment of the Costanoan tribesmen by the mission padres and their soldier guardsmen, and, very possibly, some Miwoks, as well, had been arbitrarily taken from their villages by the Spanish soldiers of the presidio to replace runaway or dead Costanoans, for, at a later date, Mission Delores supported Indian neophytes drawn from as many as 100 different villages, including Coast Miwoks from the north shore of the Golden Gate.

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6. As translated by Henry R. Wagner in his article, "The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay," California Historical Society Quarterly 10, No. 4 (December 1931): 342; Heizer "Indians," p. 39. The mission chapel was formally dedicated on October 9, 1776. Lawrence Kinnaird, "History of the Golden Gate and Its Headlands," MS, a study prepared for the National Park Service between 1962 and 1967, pp. 27-28, Xerox copy at Denver Service Center, History Files.

Although De Goycoechea recommended a site near the Indian village in Olema Valley "as the most appropriate [place] for founding a mission or establishment, as all around there is a sufficient number of natives," the church ignored his suggestion, and not until 1817 did a mission at San Rafael open its doors on the north shore of the Golden Gate, so bringing the first white settlers to the Miwoks' territory and a rapid decline in the Indian settlements of today's Marin County.[7]

2. The Costanoans of San Francisco Peninsula

In 1769, when the first Spanish overland exploration party in California, led by Gaspar de Portola, reached the shores of San Francisco Bay, white men recorded their first impressions of the natives on the peninsula, later identified as Costanoans. Fray Juan Crespi, the Catholic missionary diarist on the expedition, felt moved by the treatment his party received at the hands of the Indians all along the California coast. Of the natives at San Francisco Bay he wrote, "This entire port is surrounded by many and large villages of barbarous heathen who are very affable, mild and docile, and very generous in giving what they have." He related how the Indians invited the white men to their villages, promising them food, and when the party gave the Indians beads and trifles, but continued on their travels, the Indians carried from

7. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 35 and 128; Wagner, "Last Spanish Expedition," p. 345. Kinnaird, p. 75, documents his statement that in 1795 Mission Dolores suffered from numerous desertions; in September alone some 208 fled.

their villages large baskets filled with thick atoles and pinoles to offer their visitors.[8]

Besides an open, friendly greeting of their first white strangers, the Costonoans and neighboring Miwoks had in common several similar customs and behaviorisms, such as their use of feathers for decoration and ceremonial offerings; their seed and acorn gathering; their fish, fowl, and deer hunting; their territorial concepts; their political organization under a strong chief; their construction and use of boats and shelters; and, as well, many similarities in their languages.

Differences in their cultures on the whole, seem slight. The Costanoan men for instance, often caked themselves with mud or wrapped themselves in rabbit skins during cold weather, a custom not recorded among the Miwoks. The Costanoans built their conical-shaped houses much as the Minoks did, except they never covered them with earth, an excellent insulator which kept the Miwok homes quite warm. Consequently, the Costanoan slept with rabbit skin bedding whereas the Miwok slept on rushes

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8. Herbert Eugene Bolton, Fray Jean Crespi Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), pp. 30, 32, 44, 45; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 10-11. Some ethnologists and scholars of Native American Studies find the names Miwok and Costanoan inappropriate for the Marin County and San Francisco County Indians, preferring respectively, "Hukueko" and "Muwekma," names passed down by native survivors. C. Hart Merrian, Ethno-geographic and Ethnosynonymic Data from Central California Tribes. The Contributors to Native California Ethnology from C. Hart Merrian Collection, No. 2. Assembled and edited by Robert F. Heizer (Berkeley: University of California, 1977); Jack D. Rhodes, Professor, Native American Studies, University of California, Davis, to Jerry Schober, Superintendent, GGNRA, Sept. 14, 1977, copy in history files, Denver Service Center (DSC).

laid around a fire which burned all night in the center of his dwelling.[9]

The Costanoans and Coast Miwoks also differed in their physical appearance. Although the following accounts span more than two centuries they suggest some tribal variations. The Drake descriptions of the Miwok tribesmen portrayed them as tall and comely, with strong bodies: They wore their hair long, gathered in a bunch behind, and decorated with feathers, front and back, each according to his own style. Two 18th century Spanish observers of the Costanoans, Father Pedro Font on an exploring expedition led by Juan Bautista de Auza in March 1776, and Father Palou, on the Moraga expeditions which founded San Francisco in June 1776, observed that most of the natives wore short hair and beards, some of a reddish tint.

Both Font and Palou found the Costanoans physically unappealing. Font described the Indians of the south bay area as "very ugly, with ears and noses pierced and little sticks thrust through them." While Palou conceded that the natives appeared well formed, he felt that their habit of pulling out the eyebrow hairs by the roots made them ugly. At the same time, these pioneer chroniclers, characterized the Indians as gentle, friendly, and generous, people who brought gifts of mussels and wild seeds or gathered firewood for the Spanish campfires.

Under mission life the Costanoans evidently retained much of their native appearance. In 1806, more than a quarter of a

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9. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 30-32; Heizer and Whipple, California Indians, pp. 12, 26, 53, 109; Roger E. Kelly, Archeological Resources of Golden Gate National Recreation Area (San Francisco: National Park Service, 1976), p. 23. Drake, The World Encompassed, in Ziebarth, p. 281.

century after the first Spanish description, George Heinrich Von Langsdorff, physician on a Russian expedition to the Pacific Northwest, visited Mission Dolores, where he learned that the Indians there were the original inhabitants of the vicinity and neighboring parts as far north as Bodega Bay. Although Langsdorf made no differentiations in the tribal backgrounds when he described the Indians, most that he saw no doubt were Costanoans, as their territory had stretched from the Golden Gate south along the coast to Monterey, Carmel, and the Upper Salinas Valley, and around San Francisco Bay to today's counties of Alameda, Santa Clara, and western Contra Costa County; and, their population had numbered up to 7,000.

Langsdorff's scientific background and his interest in natural history apparently formed his style in noting the Indian dress and appearance but his personal tastes clearly influenced his conclusions. He made mention of the Indians' near-black skin which, he explained, was due to their very filthy mode of living, the sun's rays, their "custom of smearing their bodies with mud and ember-dust, and their slovenly way of wearing their scanty covering." Langsdorff also remarked disparagingly on their large, thick, and protruding lips; broad, flat noses; their short, ill-proportioned bodies; and their short, straight hair which stuck out "like bristles," much in contrast to the European style. Langsdorff's strong aversion to the Indians' appearance helped to lead him and his companions to conclude that they had "never before seen the human race on such a low level." How much their impressions may be attributed to Western prejudices or to the Indians' psychological adjustments during more than thirty years of mission life, is difficult to assess, but as the subsequent section

discusses, the Costanoans and Coast Miwoks alike suffered a spiritual and physical decline under the repressive mission life.[10]

Few Costanoans originally inhabited the San Francisco peninsula where the modern-day city of that name lies, at least according to the 1774 diary of Father Palou which stated that the Rivera party sighted no heathen from Lake Merced north to the mouth of the estuary, or the Golden Gate. In 1776, however, Anza's party found a large Indian village half a league southeast from a spring he called Los Dolores, the future site of Mission Dolores. During the early summer of 1776 the missionaries made several friendly contacts with the Indians who, shyly at first, began to appear at Mission Dolores. Soon after, however, for some unexplained reason, they began to steal and harass the mission. The presidio soldiers responded by flogging one Indian arrested at the mission and the following day a skirmish between soldiers and Indians resulted in one dead and one seriously wounded Indian. When the Indians surrendered, two were given a whipping and warned against firing arrows at the mission. Subsequently, the panic-stricken natives fled the area and were not seen again for

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10. Drake, The World Encompassed in Ziebarth, pp. 283 and 285; Font's impressions are translated in Herbert Eugene Bolton, Anza's California Expeditions, 5 volumes, vol. 4, Font's Complete Diary. (Berkeley: University of California, 1930), pp 327-329; and Palou's in Ibid., Vol, 2, Opening A Land Route to California, p. 389; George Heinrich Von Langsdorff, Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World During The Years 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1807. Translated by Thomas C. Russell (1814: San Francisco: The Private Press of Thomas C. Russell, 1927), pp 5, 9, 55-57.

three months. So began the conflict in cultures which resulted in the eventual near extermination of the Costanoan tribe."[11]

B. The Mission Indians

Before white settlement, California supported more than 150,000 Indians, some estimates run as high as 250,000. With the establishment of the twenty-two Spanish missions in California between 1776 and 1822, the native population decreased rapidly, as they came in contact with foreign cultural norms enforced by the padres, as well as with the white man's diseases, especially measles and venereal disease. Between 1779 and 1833, according to an authority on the period, the California missions recorded 29,100 native births and 62,600 deaths.[12]

Langsdorff's 1806 description of Mission Dolores gives an idea of the Indians' way of life and state of mind in their Christian captivity. Women, he wrote, lived at the mission until they were married, and rarely were allowed from their locked-in quarters. Once married, Indians moved to the mission-owned rancheria, or Indian village, about 100 yards from the mission buildings. Indians accomplished all the labor, the herding, ranching, melting tallow, making soap, blacksmithing, locksmithing, carpentry, farming, weaving, and cooking. Langsdorf typically admired the missionaries for their sacrifice of self-exile to California for ten years "to spread Christianity and civilize a wild and uncultured race of men."

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11. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 27, 31, 32; Bolton, Anza's Expeditions, vol. 3, The San Francisco Colony, pp. 129 and 402-405; Heizer, "Indians of the San Francisco Bay Area," p. 39.

12. W.W. Robinson, Land in California The Story of Mission Lands, Ranchos, Mining Claims, Railroad Grants, Land Scrip, Homesteads (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1948) pp. 5, 11-12. Langsdorff, Travels, pp. 126-127.

He remarked on the abundance and quality of the food, surprised that the Indians received large portions of meat, vegetables, and pulse (seeds) three times daily.

Some Indians at Mission Dolores and at other missions in California attempted to escape from padre rule, but the mission soldiers usually apprehended them. Langsdorff witnessed the fate of an Indian returned to Mission Dolores who not only suffered a flogging but also had one leg shackled with an iron rod - one to one and a half feet long and an inch in diameter. This type of punishment not only prevented further escape attempts, but tended to terrify the other Indians into submission.[13]

The apathetic demeanor of the Indians at Mission Dolores as witnessed by Langsdorff, most likely related to their state of captivity as well as their poor health. Mission Dolores proved to be too cold and dank for the Indians and their population steadily succumbed to illness and death. In 1779 the mission neophytes, or converted Indians, numbered 814 while in 1831 they totaled only 237. In part, this decline in population stemmed from the establishment of a sub-mission or asistencia at San Rafael in 1817 to provide a more sunny climate for the Mission Dolores neophytes whose death rate had grown alarmingly high.

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13. Langsdorff, Travels, pp. 50-52, 67; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 75, notes that over 200 Indians deserted from Mission Dolores in 1795. Alfred Robinson, who traveled through Southern California during the late 1820s, described an attempted escape, recapture, and punishment of a Indian at Mission San Luis Rey which closely resembled Langsdorff's account. Life in California, A Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians of Alta-California (1846; Oakland: Biobooks, 1947), p. 17.

Of the 200 or more Indians sent to San Rafael in 1817, most had originally lived in the vicinity of San Rafael and were, thus, Coast Miwoks. The return to their old environment quickly restored their health and the new mission prospered. But the Indians continued in their state of bondage which was not lost on the Indian tribes just outside the missionary web. According to a Russian report, an Indian chief near Bodega Bay--probably a Coast Miwok--called the Spaniards "bad men who took his kinsmen captive and made them work like cattle in the fields."[14]

In spite of raids on the San Rafael mission by hostile Indians from the north during the 1820s, its population grew. According to Frenchman Dehaut-Cilly, who has been credited as a reliable source, San Rafael's neophytes in 1827 numbered 937, whereas Mission Dolores' Indians totaled only 265. Four years

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14. As quoted in Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 128-29; Langsdorff, Travels, pp. 62-63. Alexander Forbes, the first to write in English entirely on California life and history, remarked, "It is obvious . . that these poor people [Mission Indians] are in fact slaves under another name." California A History of Upper and Lower California (1839; reprinted., San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1937) p. 138, and pp. iii and ix on Forbes. Forbes gives the mission populations in 1779 and 1831 on pp. 126-27. Herbert Howe Bancroft, History of California 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-1890), 2, 1801-1824:329. San Rafael asistencia later became a full mission. Additional research might resolve the seeming conflict between the fact that the death rate had grown alarmingly high at Mission Dolores, thus prompting the establishment of the San Rafael Mission in 1817, and the statistics of Indian population at Mission Dolores in 1815 when their numbers hit an all-time peak of 1,115. John W. Dwinelle, The Colonial History of San Francisco (San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1863), p. 50.

later, in 1831, San Rafael's Indians cummunity had increased to 1,027, while San Francisco's had dropped to 237.[15]

C. Secularization's Impact on The Indians

Beginning in 1813 Spain began to look towards secularization of the California missions and the sentiment grew in Mexico and among the settlers on the California frontier who wished to own some of the vast mission lands. Finally, under Mexican rule in 1833, the secularization law passed and in 1834, California's Governor, Jose Figueroa, received orders to set it in motion. By 1836, the mission lands and property had been accounted for and distributed between Indian family heads and government grantees. Mission San Rafael's Indian population dispersed, leaving only 20 by 1842. Many natives may have departed unexpectedly, for in 1837 a Mexican officer at Fort Ross reportedly contracted small-pox which subsequently infected the Indians, 60,000 of whom reportedly died throughout the area encompassed by today's Marin, Sonoma, Solano, and Napa Counties.

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15. "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827-28," Translated from the French by Charles Franklin Carter, California Historical Society Quarterly 8, No. 4 (Dec, 1929), p. 309. Forbes California p. 126. Bancroft, History of California 2, pp. 329 and 596. On the latter page Bancroft notes that Mission San Rafael hit its peak of Indian converts in 1828, at 1,140, and gives the vital statistics for livestock and crop production at the mission during the 1820s. Forbes provides similar information on the missions in 1831, on pp. 153-175.

The small colony of Indians at Mission Dolores also diminished after the secularization enactment; from 500 Indians in 1834, their numbers plummeted to only 50 by 1842.[16]

Where did the Coast Miwoks, Costanoans, and other tribesmen of the missions go when faced with the choice of freedom and self-support? Numerous Indians chose to work for the new landed class of Mexicans who, after the secularization, received grants for ranchos which the mission property once contained. As expert horsemen or cowboys, the vaqueros, as the Indian ranchhands were called, won an impressive reputation. Others less fortunate fell into a state of increasing despondency as the tenants and servants of the Mexican rancheros. While visiting General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, one of California's most prominent and powerful leaders in 1842 and one of the Indians' foremost sponsors after the secularization, Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson's Bay Company's territories in North America, received a tour of one of Vallejo's Indian villages near Sonoma which had a population of about three hundred. Evidently somewhat appalled, Simpson later wrote that they "were the most miserable of the race that I ever saw, excepting always the slaves of the savages of the northwest coast." He went on to comment on the Indians' poverty and wretchedness and their vulnerability to diseases, especially hereditary syphilis. Indirectly aiming judgement at Vallejo, who apparently felt no responsibility for the Indians' impoverished state, Simpson continued to remark that the villagers were "badly clothed,

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16. Robinson, Land in California, pp. 29-30; Duflot de Mofras, Duflot de Mofras' Travels on the Pacific, 2 vols. Edited by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur. (Santa Ana: The Fine Arts Press, 1937). 1:164; J.P. Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, California (1880; reprint ed. Petaluma, Cal: Charmaine Burdell Veronda, 1972), p. 108. Munro-Fraser also attributed a rapidly declining Indian population to syphilis and measles. Ibid., p. 30.

badly lodged, and badly fed," and that they represented a fair sample of all California Indians. As if in a final solioquy, Simpson closed with "These sons and daughters of bondage--many of them too badly broken in spirit even to marry--are so rapidly diminishing in numbers, that they must soon pass away from the land of their fathers."[17]

Certainly other testimony, both contemporary and with perspective, support Sir George Simpson's glimpse into the tragic fate of the Coastal Miwoks and Costanoans. Joseph Warren Revere, an American lieutenant who participated in an elk hunt on Point Reyes in 1846, just weeks after the American takeover, described a band of Indians who may have found refuge in that isolated country when they left the San Rafael Mission. Revere's comments were not kind, nor were the Indians' actions acceptable in terms of white culture. Whether they had returned to primitive ways, lost their native skill in hunting, or had learned a habit of depending on the white man, the Indians "like vultures, by instinct," arrived at the camp where Revere and several rancheros had brought their day's kill of six fat elk. Having shared the feast of roasted elk meat with the Indians, who gorged twice what their hosts consumed, the whites lay down to sleep but the Indians had only begun:

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17. Simpson, Narrative a Journey, Round The World During The Years 1841 and 1842. Two Volumes (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), I:316-18. Bancroft thought very highly of Vallejo, eulogizing him with, "I have found none among the Californians whose public record in respect of honorable conduct, patriotic zeal, executive ability and freedom from petty prejudices of race, religion, or sectional politics is more evenly favorable than his. As a private citizen he was always generous and kind-heartedly maintaining his self-respect as a gentleman and commanding the respect of others. . . ." History 5:758-9.

> They had called up their whole settlement, and were stuffing, wrangling, and gambling with jack straws all night long. Awakened by their infernal clamor, I drove them off with a few judicious cuffs; but after they had quietly removed, they recommenced their hideous orgies ere I could fall asleep again.[18]

The picture suggests that the Indians suffered from privation or, perhaps, a failure to reclaim their self-sufficient native skills after secularization had set them free some thirteen years earlier. Remembering his boyhood among the Indians on his father's Rancho Sausalito, as well as on surrounding lands, Stephen Richardson offered his opinion of the Indians' demise, an opinion which, perhaps, provides an explanation for the bleak pictures drawn by Simpson and Revere during the 1840s: "It was a sad, tragic instance of race suicide--of a race whose wrongs were so great that the inherent wish to perpetuate the species perished," Richardson mused in 1918 some fifty years after the Indians had all but vanished from today's Marin County.[19]

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18. Revere, Naval Duty in California (1849; reprint ed., Oakland: Biobooks, 1947), p. 68.

19. James Wilkes recorded Stephen Richardson's recollections in a manuscript entitled "The Days of the Dons." MS, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The article was also printed as a San Francisco Bulletin serial under the same title, from April 22 to June 8, 1918. When Richardson gave his recollections he was 88 but, according to Wilkins, his memory remained "clear and breezy." Bulletin, April 20, 1918, p. ?, C3. Stephen was born in 1839, making him a young teenager when Simpson and Revere had their California accounts published. Ibid., April 25, 1918.

II. Spain and Mexico on the California Frontier

A. Foreign Contact and Trade

1. The Spanish Frontier, 1776-1822

Under Spain, the San Francisco Bay Area remained an isolated, small frontier settlement, with a presidio to guard the entrance of the port, and missions to convert the heathen natives. The economy operated on the basis of self-sufficiency, the missions faring relatively well with their Indian labor, large herds of sheep, horses, and cattle, grape arbors, orchards, and home industries, while the presidio, with its garrison of soldiers, often suffered considerable want from the lack of supplies reaching the port, either by land or sea.[1]

The colonization of California by the Spanish grew out of Spain's concern that Russia might settle the territory before she did. Having been fed some exaggerated reports of the Russian threat, Spain sponsored five overland expeditions from Mexico into California between 1769 and 1776, culminating in the later years with the establishment of the northern frontier at San Francisco.[2]

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1. Bancroft, History, 2: 597, gives statistics of cattle and crop harvest at San Rafael Mission in 1821-22. For statistics giving property and crops at Missions San Rafael and Dolores in 1831, see Forbes California, pp. 161-165. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 40 and 110, points out that after 1810, when a revolution against Spain had begun in Mexico, few supplies reached San Francisco, and the presidio had to depend on the missions. On pp 122 and 126, Kinnaird also reports Russian Commander Lieutenant Von Kotzebue's observations of the presidio in 1816 when the soldiers lived in a near destitute state and held the Spanish government and Catholic missionaries responsible for their plight.

2. For an account of the deliberate misrepresentation of the Russian threat by Spain's California Visitor-General Jose de Galvez, see, John Walton Caughey, History of the Pacific Coast (Los Angeles: Privately Published by the Author, 1933), p. 115; Caughey therein remarks that the Russians had advanced no farther

Not until 1792, however, did the first non-Spanish ship pass through the Golden Gate, and it was not Russian, but English. Distinguished representative of the crown, Sir George Vancouver, sailed the Discovery into San Francisco Bay seeking provisions for his ship. Having received the hospitality of the presidio's commandant, observing at the same time the weak Spanish defenses of the harbor, Vancouver continued his voyage on the Pacific Coast. The following year two other British vessels arrived, the first of several Northwest sea otter traders, to request and receive ship's supplies at San Francisco. During the decade from 1800 to 1810 the sea otter trade along the Pacific Coast grew to its peak, slowly working its way south to San Francisco Bay, and bringing in its wake numerous foreigners, especially Russians and Americans.

Although Spain directed that no contraband trade nor sea otter hunting be permitted in California ports, the San Francisco presidio had little means to enforce the laws without suitable boats to apprehend the offenders. In 1811 skilled Aleutian hunters in an estimated 140 baidarkas trapped sea otters on San Francisco Bay for Russian and American traders. After 1811, however, the abundant source of sea otters along the Pacific Coast steadily dwindled so that by 1820 few foreign fur ships came to the bay and by the mid-1830s the California fur trade had faded into insignificance.[3]

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2. from their homeland than the Aleutian Islands, and had not yet reached the Alaskan mainland. See also Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 10, 99.

3. The sea otter trade had its beginning in 1778 when Captain John Cook learned, to his surprise, that sea otter pelts he purchased from the Indians at Nootka, in today's British Columbia, found an excellent market in China. Caughey, Pacific Coast, pp.

Other than the sporadic contact with Russian vessels and one French ship which sailed into the harbor to negotiate trade agreements or obtain supplies from the presidio during the last years of the Spanish regime, San Francisco Bay continued to be the scene of peaceful solitude, with few boats on the water except the native balsa rafts adopted by the frontier settlers. Early in the 1820s, however, on the eve of the revolution which gave Mexico her independence and California a new mother country, another wave of foreign ships began to anchor in the bay for supplies and trade, so inaugerating a period of rapid commercial growth in the San Francisco Bay area.[4]

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3. 186-188. For more on Vancouver's role as a British official, including his involvement in the sea otter trade, see Ibid., pp. 192-194. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate" pp. 55-59, 63; 85, 87-88, 91-93; the sighting of Aleut hunters on the bay began in 1809, in which year the Russians reported a successful season, with 2,000 otter pelts, most of them from San Francisco Bay, pp. 106-108; 111-113; Caughey, pp. 194 and 248. Forbes California, p. 177; Governor Arguello made the first contract permitting sea otter trapping on the bay with the Russians in 1823, one year after the Mexican revolution. Kinnaird, ibid., p. 140. Bancroft, History, 2: 592. William Heath Davis, a captain of one of the Yankee fur ships in 1810, returned to California in 1833 when he met Timothy Murphy at the San Francisco presidio. Murphy, he later wrote, was a "sea otter-hunter, making his headquarters at the Presidio and the Mission San Rafael." Davis, Seventy-Five Years In California (San Francisco: Howell, 1929.) p. 4. Kinnaird, p. 112. Sir George Simpson reported that the Russians alone marketed some 80,000 sea otter pelts and a large number of seal furs taken from California prior to their departure in 1841. Narrative 1, p. 269. Langsdorff, Travels, p. 71.

4. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 119-131, 136. As late as 1841 Simpson reported that San Francisco priests and laymen used balsa rafts borrowed from the native Indians to navigate on the bay, and that to his knowledge there was no floating thing "neither boat nor canoe, neither barge nor scow, in any part of the harbour, or, in fact, in any part of upper California." While an exaggeration, Simpson's impressions indicate the slow development of maritime commerce among the Spanish and Mexican Californians and the

2. The Mexican Frontier, 1822-1846

In 1822 at least eleven foreign ships entered San Francisco harbor, and the next year the number rose to sixteen. This abrupt change in foreign navigation within San Francisco Bay was due in part to the newly-seated Mexican government which encouraged trade in California by lifting the Spanish-imposed restrictions. San Francisco harbor, moreover, had begun to build its reputation among ship captains as a convenient location to acquire provisions, repair vessels, and carry on trade, much of it illegal. Although Mexican port duties exceeded what many foreigners were willing to pay, they knew that the Presidio had scant power to enforce the trade regulations.[5]

Most of the foreign ships to enter at San Francisco during the first two decades of Mexican rule were American and British whalers or hide and tallow traders. Whalers usually spent at least three years on the Pacific acquiring a full cargo, and San Francisco stood second only to Hawaii as their favorite resort. Beginning in 1822 Sausalito cove on the north shore of the Golden Gate, won the whalers' business so steadily that it became known as "El Puerto de los Balleneros," or Whalers' Harbor. Among its attractions Sausalito offered the whaling ships a protected anchorage, excellent spring water, a ready supply of beef, an abundant source of wood on nearby Angel Island, and, beginning in

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4. dependence they felt on the foreign trading ships. Narrative 1:286. Langsdorff in 1806 remarked on the same subject: "It seems almost incredible that in not one of them, bay area missions [the three bay area missions] no, not even in the Presidio or Puerto de San Francisco, is there a vessel or boat of any size." Travels, p. 93.

5. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 139, 141, 150. Kinnaird notes that news of Mexico's independence and her soverginty over California reached San Francisco on April 13, 1822. p. 134. Coughey, Pacific Coast, p. 249.

1826, a ferry service to the south shore, if desired. In the 1830s, when the Mexican government renewed efforts to suppress the illegal trade which the whalers were conducting with local inhabitants for their provisions, the north shore anchorage increasingly served also as a refuge from the San Francisco presidio soldiers and, after 1839, from the customs officer at Yerba Buena.[6]

Like the whalers, the hide and tallow traders stopped at San Francisco for fresh provisions. In addition, they traded with the mission padres and Mexican rancheros around the bay who gladly exchanged their hides and tallow for a variety of manufactured goods otherwise very difficult to acquire in the area. The first hide and tallow ships sailed for California in 1821 under the management of a British mercantile firm based in Lima, Peru. The Americans followed the English example a year later when Bryant, Sturgis and Company organized in Boston and sent out their first trading ship. Like other New Englanders in the business, however, Bryant and Sturgis found that competition with the British companies which preceeded them to California made their profits slow during most of the 1820s, while during the next decade stiff competition among themselves forced many Yankee ships to remain on the coast as long as three years to obtain their return cargo.

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6. Caughey, Pacific Coast, p. 248. As many as forty whalers frequently were anchored at Sausalito during this period. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 159 and 167. John Reed, a pioneer to Marin County, reportedly erected a wooden shanty at Sausalito in 1826 and ran a small boat regularly to Yerba Buena cove, the southern anchorage. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 110. More will be said about Sausalito as Whalers' Harbor in the forthcoming section on Rancho Sausalito. For the most authoritive history on the subject, see, Boyd Huff, El Puerto De Los Baleneros Annals of the Sausalito Whaling Anchorage (Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1957). Bancroft, History, 3: 97;4: 429-30. During the 1830s two Russian ships also came each year to San Francisco to purchase grain and other provisions for Fort Ross. Bancroft, History 4: 163.

California's population during these years was scattered and small, reflecting the colony's cattle economy which required vast range lands for each mission and, after 1834, for a host of newly granted ranchos. Consequently, the hide and tallow ships carried their cargo of products from harbor to harbor along the coast, sending out their agent, or supercargo, to solicit trade. Like floating department stores, the hide and tallow ships maintained a business which showed few physical developments on shore.[7]

While Sausalito harbor attracted the Pacific whalers in San Francisco Bay, Yerba Buena Cove after 1824 received most of the hide and tallow ships, due, undoubtedly, to its more convenient proximity to the San Francisco district populations in the bay area which, in 1819, numbered about 670 not including the Indians.

By 1835, according to the account of Richard Henry Dana, sailor on the Yankee brig, Pilgrim, the missions around the bay, with the exception of Dolores, furnished the greatest business

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7. Forbes, California, p. 176; Adele Ogden, "Boston Hide Droghers Along California Shores," California Historical Society Quarterly 8, No. 4 (December 1929): 289, 294. Caughey, Pacific Coast, p.161; Caughey, p. 249, points out that the hide and tallow traders provided the Californians their chief contact with the outside world. Pacific Coast p. 249. Richard Henry Dana wrote the classic description of the California trade, based on his personal experiences on a hide and tallow ship in the mid 1830s. Two Years Before The Mast (1840; Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Company, 1946). Simpson in 1841 noted that the Index alone, one of sixteen vessels in the California trade, had room for two thirds of the estimated 60,000 hides sold in California. Narrative 1:289.

in hides in all of California. The Pilgrim lay at anchor in Yerba Buena Cove for twenty-three days, while mission-owned and Indian-manned boats sailed out to the missions around the bay, carrying back each trip up to 1,000 hides to trade with the merchant ships.

Prior to June 1835, however, no settlement had developed at Yerba Buena Cove, so that ships planning a prolonged anchorage, for repairs, scientific examinations of the bay, or the like, often moved to Sausalito, where a more sheltered cove and dependable source of water could be secured. And even after Yerba Buena, later called San Francisco, began to attract a resident commercial community at its anchorage, Sausalito continued to be widely recognized as naturally more inviting. In 1841 Frenchman Duflot de Mofras compared the two locations:

> The anchorage at Sausalito . . . does not present any obstacles. . . . Near shore the water is deep, ships being able to anchor at all times. Wood is available near by in large quantities. Table Mountain shelters this small bay from the violent northwest winds that make a sojourn at Yerba Buena cold and disagreeable, even in midsummer.[8]

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8. Wilbur, ed., Duflot 1:233; Dana, Two Years, pp. 248, 250-51, 256. De Mofras had been sent by the French government to determine the commercial advantages France might acquire by founding settlements on the Pacific Coast. DeMofras received the appointment on account of his scholastic background, his knowledge of Spanish, his previous travels in America, and his interest in the Northwest Coast. Ibid., pp. xi and xix. For several accounts about ships anchored at Sausalito after 1841 when the grantee to the land, William A. Richardson, moved to the north shore, can be found in the subsequent section on Rancho Sausalito. Kinnaird "Golden Gate," pp. 133, 147, 152, 155; Charles L. Camp, ed., "James Clyman, His Diaries and Reminiscences," California Historical Society Quarterly 5, No. 3 (September 1926), p. 256.

Yerba Buena developed slowly after its first settlement in June 1835. Despite the fact that by 1841 the Hudson's Bay Company had opened a trading post, and at least one Yankee trader had set up business there, the total population of the pueblo, including the presidio and Mission Dolores, only numbered 100. That year Lt. Charles Wilkes, on a scientific expedition sponsored by the United States Government, wrote of Yerba Buena.

> Its buildings may be counted, and consist of a large frame building occupied by the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, a store kept by Mr. Spears, an American, a billiard room and a bar, a poop cabin of a ship, occupied as a dwelling by Captain Hinkley, a blacksmith's shop, and some outbuildings. These though few in number are also far between. With these I must not forget to enumerate an old delapidated adobe building which has conspicuous position on the top of the hill overlooking the anchorage.[9]

Duflot de Mofras in the same year observed that Yerba Buena contained no more than twenty houses owned exclusively by foreigners who used them solely as storehouses for incoming ships. Indeed, not only was Yerba Buena's trade carried on entirely by foreigners but so was most of California's, although some traders had become naturalized citizens under Mexican law.[10]

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9. As quoted in Kinnaird, "Golden Gate" pp. 169-170. Wilbur, ed., Duflot 1: 162. A list of foreigners in San Francisco on May 20, 1840, is given in Dwinelle, Colonial History, Addenda No. 51, p. 72.

10. Wilbur, ed., Duflot 1: 227. Simpson, Narrative 1: 292. Several of the naturalized traders acquired rancho grants in Marin County and other parts of California. See section below on Mexican ranchos. Bancroft notes that between 1836 and 1840, the town authorities granted seventeen lots in Yerba Buena, and that in the latter year the population numbered about fifty, including sixteen foreigners. History 3, pp. 700 and 711.

Although Yerba Buena supported such an insignificant population in the early 1840s, its anchorage in San Francisco Harbor so close to the Golden Gate gave the town its advantage. Lieutenant Wilkes found the bay "one of the finest, if not the very best harbor in the world," and Duflot de Mofras regarded Yerba Buena as a port of considerable importance because all the commerce on the bay concentrated there.[11]

Several English, French, and Russian visitors to San Francisco Bay during the 1820s and 1830s had expressed similar opinions abut the harbor, always noting the weak Mexican defenses and directly suggesting that California be acquired as a colony. The United States, anxious, as well, to gain control on the Pacific Coast, and especially at San Francisco, made its first attempt to secure California through negotiations with the Mexican government in 1835, when President Jackson authorized his representative to offer $500,000 for San Francisco Bay and Northern California. Mexico flatly rejected the offer and several to follow under the administrations of Presidents Tyler and Polk. In 1846, just before the war with Mexico broke off diplomatic communications, the United States made its last attempt to purchase California, offering $40,000,000, eighty times the original offer.[12]

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11. Wilkes' statement as quoted in Caughey, Pacific Coast, p. 274; Wilbur, Duflot 1:227.

12. Caughey, Pacific Coast, pp. 269-273. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 136, 150. Russian Lieutenant Kotzebue returned to San Francisco in 1824; American Benjamin Morrell published a glowing description of the bay after his visit in 1825; Frederick William Beechey, on a scientific and explorative expedition for England, not only made written reports on the bay but also surveyed it in 1826; and French agent, A. Duhaut-Cilly, saw the commercial value the bay held for France during his 1827 tour. Their published accounts helped to focus international attention on California during the 1830s and 1840s. Kinnaird, Ibid., pp. 147-149.

The United States' escalating purchase price offered for Northern California over these years directly corresponded with a rising tension between the foreign nations interested in San Francisco Bay. It became increasingly obvious to all foreign visitors that the political turmoil which characterized California's Mexican government left the country easy prey to opportunistic powers. To ward off any attempts by the French or English to seize control and, purportedly, to protect the growing number of Americans in California, the United States Navy began to make regular patrols up and down the coast during the 1840s. Thus, they were on ready call in June 1846 when the handful of Americans set off the events which culminated in the brief Bear Flag revolt followed by the unresisted takeover of California by the United States. On July 7 Commodore John D. Sloat raised the American flag at Monterey and two days later his officers raised flags at San Francisco and Sonoma. The long-desired acquisition of California for the United States was accomplished, but the Spanish and Mexican traditions lingered on for many years to follow.[13]

B. Mexican Ranchos, 1834-1846

Prior to the 1833 secularization act passed by the Mexican Congress, most of the land in San Francisco Bay area belonged to the missions, the Presidio, the Spanish crown, and, after 1822, the Mexican government. Mission San Rafael claimed all of today's Marin County, and the Missions Dolores, San Jose, and Santa Clara held rights to huge tracts along the south and western shores of the bay. During the 1820s only seven veterans of the Spanish and Mexican frontier troops of the San Francisco district received rancho grants, all of them in the east and south bay areas. Many

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13. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 152, 161-162; Caughey, Pacific Coast pp. 163, 167-168, 279.

other soldiers who had brought their families to the California frontier beginning in 1776, however, also expressed a desire to settle on some land of their own, and many filed for ranchos after the decree to secularize the missions went into effect in 1834.[1]

The Mexican government in 1824 and 1828 actually tried to encourage settlement on the California frontier by passing a colonization law and then formulating regulations for obtaining title to the lands requested. The 1828 regulations gave the governors of California exclusive right to make rancho grants, each up to eleven leagues, or nearly 50,000 acres. Most of the ranchos granted, however, contained five or less leagues.

The process established to acquire a land grant proved to be the critical factor in determining the legitimacy of Mexican ranchos after the American government took control of California. A person requesting land had to follow certain procedures laid down in the 1828 regulations. First, he submitted a petition to the Governor, providing information on his family and on the land in question, as well as a rude map, or diseño, of the land. The Governor then sent the petition to a local officer to confirm the accuracy of the information. If the officer reported favorably, the Governor granted the land, but the rancho title was not considered definitely valid until sanctioned by the Territorial Deputation, or local assembly.

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1. Robinson, Land in California, pp. 45-57; Bancroft, History, 2,: 592-93. Beechey, on his visit to the San Francisco presidio in 1826, learned that the soldiers felt aggrieved that they did not receive a portion of land after ten years service on the frontier. Dwinelle, Colonial History, p. 43. Palou's account of the Moraga expedition which founded San Francisco in 1776 noted that all the soldiers brought their wives and children, except the Commander. Bolton, Anza's California 3:387. The juridical possession evidently was rarely carried out in California, causing many rancho boundaries to be vaguely defined.

Four conditions governed the continued ownership of a rancho: (1) That within one year the grantee settle the land and erect and occupy a permanent dwelling. (2) That the grantee might fence or otherwise enclose his land but not obstruct public roads, crossings, or easements (3) That the rights of the Indians be reserved and protected. (4) That the grantee obtain from the local magistrate the act of juridical possession to define and measure the boundaries of the rancho.

The fourth condition, when carried out, assured the grantee physical identification of his rancho boundaries. The event turned into something of a community affair, as neighbors of the new landowner were summoned to witness and concur with the marking of the property lines. The local magistrate appointed two cordeleros who carried the pole ends of a cord which usually measured fifty varas (approximately 137 feet, 6 inches). With everyone following on horseback, one cordelero, by direction of the magistrate, rode forward from a pile of rocks which marked the beginning of the property line, until he reached the end of the cord. He then put his pole down on the ground and the second cordelero road ahead the length of the cord, and thus they continued around the rancho boundaries, while another official kept count of the number of cordeles made in the process. Any objections raised by the neighbors, the magistrate settled right on the spot, so that at its completion, the juridical possession finalized the demarkation of the rancho lands.[2]

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2. Robert H. Becker, Designs On the Land, Diseños of California Ranchos And Their Makers. (San Francisco: The Book Club of California: 1969). Introduction, n.p.; U.S. Congress, Senate, Report of the Secretary of the Interior communicating A Copy of the report of William Carey Jones, special agent to examine the subject of land titles in California. S. Doc. 18, 31st Cong. 1st Sess., 1851, Serial 859. Hereinafter cited, Senate, Jones Report, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1851. The Jones report is also extensively

Despite these colonization laws to encourage settlement in California, only fifty ranchos had been granted to private individuals by 1830, most of them to the south of San Francisco Bay. Pressure, however, was mounting to secularize the missions, and on November 20, 1833, the Mexican Congress finally issued a decree of secularization. The following year, on April 16, 1834, the Congress passed an act putting secularization into effect. Between 1834 and 1846 the mission possessions rapidly slipped into private ownership, as the Mexican Governors granted more than 500 ranchos, predominantly carved out of mission lands and stocked with mission horses, cattle and sheep.[3]

Foreign visitors to California in the late 1830s and 1840s frequently characterized the Mexican rancheros as indolent, pleasure-loving people. To American, British, and French eyes, these cattlemen neither farmed nor manufactured products for their own use because they simply preferred to let their cattle bring in the income. In 1844 George Simpson remarked on the great decrease in sheep in California and suspected that the loss was due

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2. quoted in Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, pp. 151-194. Robert G. Cowan, Ranchos of California, A List of Spanish Concessions 1775-1822 and Mexican Grants 1822-1846 (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1956) p. 5.

3. Senate, Jones Report, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1851, p. 3; California, Surveyor General, Special Report of the Surveyor - General of the State of California ([Sacramento]: Eugene Casserly, State Printer, 1852), pp. 28-29; Paul W. Gates, ed., California Ranchos and Farms 1846-1862 (Madison: the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), p.3; Bancroft, History 2: 663. Bancroft also notes here that only one or two of the fifty ranchos granted followed the 1828 regulations. Caughey, Pacific Coast, pp. 165-66; Dwinelle, Colonial History, p. 63; Robinson; Land in California, pp. 30-31, 61. The above students of Mexican rancho history differed in their accounts of the number of grants made, and this writer found no firm figure in her research. Cowan's list of Spanish and Mexican ranchos totaled 698. Ranchos in California.

to the rancheros' laziness and to their slaughter of sheep to increase their stock of horned cattle.

The rancho herds served a dual purpose by providing the rancheros with hides and tallow to trade with the Boston merchant ships and the main staple of their diet. Some rancheros raised small patches of corn, beans, and grain for bread or tortillas, and, according to the 1880 History of Marin County, at least some home industries on the ranchos provided them with harness, leather, soap, oil, wool, and other items of daily use. For the most part, however, the rancheros depended on trade with foreign ships to supply their manufactured products and to satisfy their taste for elegant accessories.

The foreigners' judgmental criticisms of the California rancheros usually went hand-in-hand with an admiration for the Mexicans' open and abundant hospitality, their joyful celebrations with dancing, singing, and feasting, and their exceptional equestrian skills.

The Mexican ranchos made up small pockets of population in a country sparsely settled to allow for vast grazing ranges needed to feed the large rancho herds. While physically isolated, the rancheros gathered frequently to observe religious and political holidays, and to enjoy bull fights, rodeos, births, and weddings. The rancheros' parochialism, their love of leisure, and their dependence on foreign imports however, contributed to the eventual American takeover which, in turn, marked the rapid decline of the Mexican rancho lifestyle in California.[4]

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4. Simpson, Narrative 1: 294; Camp, ed. "James Clyman," pp. 257-258; Munro-Frazer, Marin County, pp. 47-49; Dwinelle,

1. Marin County Ranchos

In 1834 the first Mexican rancho granted in today's Marin County went to John Reed, an Irishman by birth and a naturalized Mexican citizen. Twenty other applicants received the remaining land in Marin County before the American takeover in June 1846, seven ranchos of which lay within the existing and projected boundaries of Golden Gate National Recreation Area. and Point Reyes National Seashore.[5]

Although none of the rancho structures have survived the years, some of the rancho history has. Vague documentation, however, both written and cartographic, on West Marin County ranchos presents a history which may provide no more than a suggestion of the real circumstances surrounding the rancheros and their land grants.

a. Rancho Los Baulinas

Possibly in response to the 1834 enactment which set the secularization of the missions into motion, Rafael Garcia moved his family to Bolinas Bay, and constructed the first known white residence on the western shore since Mission San Rafael had laid claim to the lands. Garcia had completed the

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4. Colonial History, p. 86. Caughey, Pacific Coast, pp. 155-156; Robinson, Life in California, p. 139; Lieutenant Wise, U.S.N., Los Gringos: or An Inside View of Mexico and California, with Wanderings In Peru, Chile, and Polynesia (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849) p. 71. Cowan, Ranchos, pp. 5-9.

5. Reed's Rancho Corte de Madera del Presidio covered one square league of land in the area of modern Tiburon. Jack Mason, in collaboration with Helen Cleare Parke, Early Marin, 2nd rev. ed. (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1976), p. 11; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 189.

required ten years' service as a frontier soldier in the Mexican army during part of which time he apparently commanded a small force of soldiers assigned to protect Mission San Rafael. Corporal Garcia and his men reportedly proved themselves valuable members of the community by fighting off Indian attacks on the mission and by helping in the construction of mission buildings.[6]

In July 1835, Garcia petitioned for a grant of two leagues in the "Cañada de Baulenes," which in March 1836 he received. That his diseño failed to depict the rancho with any accuracy later contributed to a boundary conflict involving Garcia and his neighbors Richard Berry and Antonio Osio at Point Reyes. Garcia called his rancho Tomales y Baulinas, probably to describe the valley between Tomales and Bolinas Bays.

Evidently to accommodate his brother-in-law, Gregorio Briones, Garcia moved his rancho headquarters north to a site near today's Olema, while Gregorio's family took up residency near Bolinas Bay, presumably in Garcia's vacated rancho. According to an account in the 1880 county history, Gregorio sent his eldest son, Pablo, aged fourteen, to Bolinas Bay in the fall of 1837 to take charge of the rancho and to erect necessary buildings. The following year Ramona Briones and her other children joined Pablo, while Gregorio stayed behind to complete his service as alcalde of Yerba Buena.

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6. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 276. "A Chronological History of Marin County," 3 volumes, 1:n.p. This typescript in the Marin County Free Library appears to be based on county newspaper items. Governor Echeandia in 1828 sent an officer to Mission San Rafael to select a site for military barracks in hopes that soldiers stationed there would discourage Russian trade attempts in the bay area. A. Clan Hutchinson, Frontier Settlement in Mexican California The Hijar-Padres Colony, and Its Origins, 1769-1835. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 140-41.

The Mexican records only partially substantiate the narrative in the county history which probably was based on Pablo's memory. Gregorio Briones in 1838 did, in fact, hold the office of alcalde, but in San Mateo, not Yerba Buena. In 1843 Briones filed a correction deed with the local government declaring that Garcia had transferred the land to him some seven years earlier (1836) and that he had been living there about that length of time. Not until February 11, 1846, however, did Briones officially receive two leagues (8,911 acres) of land, called Rancho Las Baulenes, from Governor Pio Pico.[7]

Gregorio Briones, like his brother-in-law, Rafael Garcia, had fulfilled a ten-year enlistment as a frontier soldier in the San Francisco presidio forces. Gregorio and his wife, Ramona Garcia, were born in California, Gregorio in Monterey, and Ramona in San Diego. They were married around 1822. After retiring as a soldier in 1827, Gregorio continued his public service as alcalde of Contra Costa in 1835, register of San Francisco in 1836, alcalde of San Mateo in 1838, and sheriff of San Rafael in 1846, the year he received his rancho grant. Even though Gregorio and his family moved to Rancho Baulinas in the late 1830s, he maintained an interest in the community that was

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7. Robert H. Becker, "Historical Survey of Point Reyes," Land Use Survey, Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore (Region Four Office, National Park Service, February 1961), p. 42. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 112, 194, 418; Bancroft, History of California 3: 712-13; Cowan, Ranchos, pp. 18 and 104; Bliss Brown, "Rancho Los Baulines," February 10, 1937, p.1. in "Marin County, Mexican Land Grant," Works Progress Administration Project, Typescript, no date, Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, California.

growing up at Yerba Buena, for by 1845 he had applied for and received six lots in the village.[8]

Within two years after he moved to Bolinas Bay, Briones took steps to legalize his claim to two square leagues. In 1841 William Richardson made a rough measurement and demarcation of the ranch boundaries for Briones, on the local magistrate's authority. The resulting map or diseño accompanied Briones' application for the land which his son, Pablo, personally carried to the Governor in Monterey and Los Angelos.

According to Richardson's later testimony, he ran the boundary lines

> on the South East by Saucelito farm, on which I live on the North West by the placed called "Cañada Serro" the land of Rafael Garcia, on the North East by the ridge on Mountain of Tamalpais, which runs South East and North West, and on the South West by the Pacific Ocean.[9]

Briones' rancho bordered Bolinas lagoon and included the mesa lands of the Bolinas peninsula and the forested hillside of Bolinas ridge. The cattle he raised thrived and reportedly multiplied into the thousands. The house which he, his wife, and five children lived in was partially adobe, containing four

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8. Bancroft, History 2:730; 3:704-706; 4: 669; 5: 669-670, 682-683; Dwinelle, Colonial History, p. 62 and Addenda No. 22, p. 36; Bliss, "Rancho Los Baulines," p 4;

9. Testimony of William A. Richardson in Land Case 189 ND, Baulenes, Bd. 21. July 24, 1854. Transcript in 174 SD, Los Baulenas, Bd. 8, No. 51, in, Jacob N. Bowman, "Testimony of William Antonio Richardson in Private Land Grant Cases 1850-1855," pp. 136-138, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley, Cal.

rooms, two bedrooms, a sitting room and kitchen. Typical of the ranchero style, Briones received guests with liberal hospitality. He won the respect of his peers as "an honest, upright and truthful man," who with few exceptions, "did not have an enemy in the world."[10]

Although, as a subsequent section will relate, Briones managed well during the transition years of the 1846 American takeover, he and his family gradually faded from the scene, as did the lifestyle they shared on Rancho Baulines.

b. Rancho Tomales y Baulinas

The exact date when Rafael Garcia moved his family and servants north to the Olema area has not been established but it was probably in 1841, for in that year Captain John Paty stayed overnight at Garcia's rancho "on the West side of Baulenes Bay near a creek," and Richardson also surveyed Briones' rancho that year, using Garcia's southern property line for Briones' northern rancho boundary. By 1841 Garcia had lived on the isolated western lands of today's Marin County for some eight years, providing shelter and refreshment for travelers through the country.

Apparently after he disposed of his Bolinas rancho to Briones, Garcia requested a new survey from the local magistrate to redefine the lines of Rancho Tomales y Baulinas. Salvador Vallejo, the presiding officer, executed a survey and gave juridical possession to Garcia for an adjoining tract to the north which, when described for the American authorities, included

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10. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 264.

most of Olema Valley west of Lagunitas Creek and east of Olema Creek."[11]

Born in San Diego in 1790, Rafael Garcia joined the Mexican Army at an early age. He began service at the San Francisco presidio in 1823, some thirteen years after marrying Loretta Aletemerando.

In 1824 Garcia was transferred to Mission San Rafael where he served as one of the protecting forces. When secularization passed in the Mexican Congress in 1833, Garcia had reached his forties and no doubt was anxious to settle his wife and eight children on some land of his own. The Bolinas rancho gave him a start, but the Olema rancho earned him through his last twenty-five odd years of life. He died in 1866, an elderly ranchero of seventy-six.

Garcia constructed a large adobe house at or near the present Bear Valley Ranch, northwest of Olema. The rancho evidently prospered under Indian supervision and labor. The Indians probably had come with Garcia in 1834 when he left Mission San Rafael to settle the western shore. Garcia's rancho expanded to two more adobe buildings for his servants and employees and several frame buildings. Reportedly he owned 3,000 head of cattle, 400 branded horses, extensive flocks of sheep, and numerous swine. The rancho apparently was self sufficient, no

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11. Testimony of William Richardson in Land Case 189 ND, Baulenes, Bd 11, Feb. 14, 1854, Transcript in 174 SD, Los Baulenes Bd 11, No. 46, in Bowman, "Testimony," p. 125, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Plat of the Rancho Tomales y Baulinas finally confirmed to Rafael Garcia, October 6, 1865, in Patent Book B, p. 65, Recorder's Office, Marin County Courthouse, San Rafael, California, hereinafter cited, RDO,MCC, San Rafael, Cal.; as quoted in Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 3.

doubt because the Indians, trained at the mission, could wash, cord, spin, and finally weave the wool into cloth; tan the hides and make boots and shoes from the leather; and farm, ranch, and prepare the food for the ranchero and his family.[12]

While Garcia trusted mission Indians he evidently bore ill feelings towards the non-converted Indians who lived north of the Mexican settlements. Garcia as a corporal at Mission San Rafael evidently had fought off several Indian raids, during one of which he nearly lost his wife and children. Possibly acting from a long-festering resentment, Garcia and Antonio Castro rode north to the vicinity of Ross with a band of white men in 1845, and according to a complaint sent to the authorities in Monterey by William Benitz, they committed outrages on the Indians there.[13]

When at home on the rancho, however, Garcia treated his visitors to a generous hospitality, at least according to the account of Lieutenant Revere who stopped at Garcia's in 1847. Revere and his party of sixteen soldiers had been riding hard in pursuit of a band of Mexican outlaws who also had found their way to Garcia's but had fled hurriedly at the soldiers' arrival, leaving behind their hats hanging in the house, a freshly slaughtered bullock, and twenty-four good horses which had been stolen from neighboring ranchos. Evidently the open house, provided by Garcia and other rancheros precluded turning away travelers, no matter what their characters or appearance suggested.

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12. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 277-278; Bancroft. History 2: 598; Garcia's house and corral are located on the Plat of the Rancho Tomales y Baulines of October 6, 1865.

13. A letter dated January 5, 1874, from ex-Governor Juan B. Alvarado, describing Garcia's herosim at Mission San Rafael during a raid by hostile Indians, is quoted in Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 276-77. Bancroft, History 4:679.

Garcia extended his hospitality to Revere and his men that night, and the following morning he invited Revere to join him and several neighboring rancheros on an elk hunt. The offer accepted, Garcia provided Revere and two of his men with fresh horses for the day.[14]

Such brief accounts of Garcia and his rancho leave much to the imagination. Few contemporary descriptions of specific Mexican ranchos in Marin County exist, and generalizations and conjectures have often been the necessary fillers for the rancho histories.

c. Rancho Punta de los Reyes and Punta de los Reyes Sobrante

Early in 1836 James Richard Berry traveled north from Monterey to select land for a grant made to him for services as a colonel in the Mexican Army. At the recommendtion of Nicolas Gutierres, commandant of California, Berry requested William Richardson, Captain of the Port of San Francisco, to take him across to the north side of the bay to inspect the countryside there. After some three weeks Berry returned to Yerba Buena and informed Richardson that he had chosen Point Reyes. Berry continued on to Monterey to legalize the rancho grant and returned about a month later to take possession of the land.

Berry's Rancho Punta de los Reyes contained eight leagues, or about 35,500 acres. As his only neighbor, Garcia had vouched that the land stood vacant and later was probably present at the juridical possession. Berry purchased fourteen or

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14. Revere, Naval Duty, p. 64.

fifteen heifers from Richardson and more cattle from John Reed's rancho, and took them out to his Point Reyes land, where he constructed a one-story frame house. In 1853 Richardson recalled that Berry's rancho building stood at the entrance to his property, not far from Garcia's. The rancho was near today's Olema, on the main road, and on the west bank of a stream which fed into Tomales Bay.[15]

Berry, an Irish gentleman of many accomplishments, had spent considerable time in Spanish speaking countries prior to his arrival in California, the country he adopted. Like many other foreigners on the coast, Berry requested and received naturalization papers, for which he renounced his British citizenship, swore allegiance to Mexico, adopted the Catholic faith, and proved his means of support and good conduct. The only legal regulation Berry apparently circumvented when applying for naturalization was the required three years' residency, for he arrived in 1836, the year of his grant.[16]

Although the terms of his grant did not allow the sales of any rancho lands, Berry in 1838 sold two leagues to Joseph E. Snook, another influential naturalized Mexican citizen who, since his arrival in California in 1830, had been making a

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15. Testimony of William A. Richardson, October 27, 1853, in Land Case 418 ND Punta de Reyes, Bd 7, October 27, 1853, No. 43, Bowman, "Testimony" p. 115, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. One league equals 4,439 acres. Deposition of Captain John Paty, December 21, 1854, in Land Case 418 ND, as quoted in Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 3; Becker, Designs on the Lands, no. 44.

16. Bancroft, History 3:180; 4:118; Mildred Brooke Hoover, Hero Eugene Rensch, and Ethel Grace Rensch, Historic Spots in California, rev. ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), p. 254.

living as a master of vessels and a merchant on the coast. Although he indicated no interest in living on his Point Reyes land, Snook expressed concern about confirming legal title to the property. In February 1838 he requested the advice of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, military commander of the Northern Frontier of California , explaining that he had just purchased fifty-six head of cattle from Rafael Garcia and that he still needed the necessary papers. A solution was found in the principal of denouncement, whereby in accordance with Mexican law, an individual could denounce an unused portion of a grantee's rancho if he could establish that the land stood unoccupied. In June 1839 Snook officially received the two leagues which Berry had released in accordance with the agreed denouncement, leaving Berry still in possession of six leagues.[17]

After going to so much trouble to secure a title to his leagues at Point Reyes, Snook traded the 8,878 acres to Antonio Maria Osio for land in southern California. Osio the same year received a grant to Angel Island, to be discussed later in the text.

Not satisfied with only two leagues of Point Reyes, Osio the following year petitioned the Governor that he be given the remaining land, or sobrante, on the peninsula, provided that it didn't exceed the rancho limit of eleven leagues (48,829 acres). Osio, the administrator of the custom-house in Monterey, had won the respect of the Governor for his honesty during the

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17. Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 42; Wilbur, ed. Duflot 1:171. Snook did built a log house for his Point Reyes rancho foreman which stood about one mile northeast of Drake's Estero. Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 43.

1836 uprising, and subsequently had earned many friends among the government's officials. Although the granting of the land may have presented no problem to the Governor the necessary definition of land boundaries and quantities for the sobrante delayed the final action until 1843, when Osio received the eleven leagues of Rancho Punta de los Reyes Sobrante.

While waiting for the larger land grant Osio continued to live and work in Monterey, but in 1843 he and his family moved to Point Reyes. Osio, however, retained several political positions which must have required him to travel frequently. From 1840 to 1845 he served as justice of the superior court, in 1843 as substitute congressman, in 1844 as captain of the defenses and in 1845 as judge at San Rafael. In 1846 and 1847 he took his wife and five children to Honolulu to avoid the troubles caused after the American takeover, and went to Lower California to live, apparently leaving his rancho in the hands of his foreman until he sold the land to Andres Randall in 1852.[18]

Osio's reputation for competent administration of state finances evidently carried over into his own affairs, for once at Point Reyes he quickly realized that boundary lines were not being correctly observed. Berry, it seems, had moved his cattle west onto Osio's sobrante to make room for Garcia's stock after Garcia moved up to the Olema rancho, leaving the Bolinas rancho for his brother-in-law, Gregorio Briones.

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18. Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 42; Bancroft, History 4:96-97, 761-62. Osio's rancho buildings, according to Dr. Jacob Bowman, an authority on the subject, stood near the site of Ranch F, today owned by John Gallagher. Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 43.

Before Osio's arrival there had been no apparent difficulty over boundaries as there was always plenty of land to spare. Osio, a predecessor in spirit to the Shafter family who later waged many legal battles to win possession of lands in Olema Valley, as well as Point Reyes in its entirety, entered into a law suit against Berry in 1844, and by so doing involved Garcia in the dispute. The government attorney in Monterey, José María Castanares, not surprisingly, favored Osio in his opinion, which recommended that Garcia move back to Bolinas so that Berry could vacate Osio's land. Nothing, however, apparently came of the suit except, perhaps, unneighborly feelings. The same year Berry by deed dated February 14, 1844 transferred his six leagues of Rancho Punta de los Reyes to Stephen Smith of Bodega, and left the area.[19]

Smith, an American-born naturalized Mexican citizen, also received in 1844 a grant to the 30,000-acre Rancho Bodega, where he lived and operated the first steam mill in California. His rancho of six leagues at Point Reyes no doubt provided him a good land investment which he apparently managed by a hired foreman on the site.[20]

Of the Point Reyes landowners then, only Berry and Osio themselves ever lived on their ranchos, and then, only

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19. Bancroft, History 3: 712, 4:97; Bekcer, "Point Reyes," p. 42; Jack Mason, Point Reyes The Solemn Land, 2d ed, (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1972), p. 44, says that Berry "gave" Smith the land.

20. Bancroft, History 5: 724; San Francisco The Bay and Its Cities rev. ed. (New York: Hastings House Publishers, 1947) p. 444.

briefly. Garcia continued to be the only permanent ranchero in the vicinity and he, it appears, felt free to roam the rich grazing lands of Point Reyes in the absence of its owners.

Garcia and his neighboring rancheros appreciated Point Reyes for the vast herds of elk which grazed on its exceptional natural pasturage. Sir George Simpson in 1841 had marveled at the cattle and horses feeding on the grassy slopes of the peninsula and observed they "were growing and fattening, whether their owners waked or slept, in the very middle of winter, and in the coldest nook of the province." The elk, while still relatively isolated and undisturbed on Point Reyes, gained even higher esteem among the Mexicans, who prized their fat for cooking.[21]

John Warren Revere, an American lieutenant stationed at Sonoma, joined Garcia and his neighbors on a Point Reyes elk hunt in August 1846. Revere observed that Point Reyes' heavy dews and proximity to the sea fostered a "great luxuriance to the wild oats and other grains and grasses" which supported the huge elk herds. August, he learned, was the best time of the year for the hunt because the elk then had grown to their fattest, making them easy prey for the specially-trained horses and their riders, whereas, only a few months later, "the fleetest horse could hardly overtake them." The Mexican hunters carried no firearms, but instead, a rope or rialta, "the unfailing companion of all rancheros." Through the lifting fog they caught sight of "not less than four hundred head of superb fat animals," six of which the rancheros, with some help from Revere, brought down and killed with a luna, (a cresant-shaped stone used for hamstringing the elk), a knife, and Revere's shotgun.

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21. Simpson, Narrative 1:274.

Elk furnished a popular staple, tallow, for which the Mexican rancheros felt considerable gratitude. Revere overheard a Californian, who had an elk entangled in his rialta, address the struggling beast as "cuñádo," or brother-in-law, and assuring him that he only wanted a little of his lard to cook tortillas. Once processed, the elk fat possessed a "superior hardness, whiteness and delicasy," and, evidently, was consumed in enormous quantities. From the six elk killed on the first day of the hunt, the Mexicans obtained at least 800 pounds of tallow which they stored in two large hides, doubled in the middle and laced with thongs on the sides. The next morning the rancheros rode off again to continue the hunt, leaving Revere to muse about the great quantity of elk killed on Point Reyes: "We passed many places, on our way back, where mouldering horns and bones attested to the wholesale slaughter which had been made in previous years by the rancheros of the neighborhood." The beleaguered elk already were dwindling in numbers, and, according to an account which originated with Rafael Garcia himself, the surviving herds swam across Tomales Bay to the wilderness of Sonoma County sometime in the late 1850s or early 1860s.[22]

Revere also offered comments on the state of the rancho--presumably Osio's sobrante--in 1846. The hunting party camped for the night at "what was called the rancho, but in arriving found nothing but a broken down corral." En route to the rancho they passed "a herd of cattle so little civilized that the very antelopes were grazing amongst them." Point Reyes, thus, at the

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22. Revere, Naval Duty, pp. 64-69; Mason, Solemn Land, p. 19. Mason quotes William Richardson's son, Stephen, who grew up in Marin County: "I think the largest herd [of elk] roamed over the deep grasslands of Point Reyes."

dawn of American control, had reverted to its wild and natural state, awaiting the impending arrival of the dairymen who would make the peninsula famous.[23]

d. Rancho Sausalito

William Antonio Richardson received his grant to nearly 20,000 acres encompassing most of the lands south of today's Stinson Beach in 1836. The rolling countryside supported some oak, fir, and redwood trees on its summits and in its narrow valleys, "but all the rest was covered only with a yellowish and hardly living grass," reported Auguste Duhout-Cilly on a visit to California in January 1827, less than ten years before Richardson took possession of his rancho. Continuing on to San Francisco harbor, Duhaut-Cilly not only came in contact with the future owner of the land he had described but also hired Richardson to pilot him across the bay.[24]

Born in England in 1796, Richardson at age twenty-six arrived in San Francisco Bay on board the British whaler, Orion. According to his son, Stephen, Richardson had captained other merchant vessels earlier in his career but had lost his rank after one of his ships had gone down in the Arctic. Although exonerated, Richardson had been compelled to accept the first mate position on the Orion which put in at San Francisco Bay on August 2, 1822.

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23. Revere, Naval Duty, p. 67. As mentioned earlier, Revere also commented on the Indians living on Point Reyes, who, apparently had shed the mission-taught characteristics of western civilization.

24. "Duhout-Cilly's Account," California Historical Society Quarterly 8, No. 2 (June 1929), p. 136.

Because of his knowledge of Spanish, the captain sent Richardson ashore to make the necessary explanations to the Presidio commandant. Richardson apparently envisioned his opportunities in the frontier settlement and requested permission to stay. Although unorthodox, the Captain discharged him, but departed, according to Stephen, furious.[25]

On October 7, 1822, Richardson, petitioned Governor Sola in Monterey that he be allowed to remain permanently in California. Sola's reply, dated October 12, 1822, imposed responsibilities on Richardson:

> Being aware that the petitioner, besides being a navigator, is conversant with and engaged in the occupation of a carpenter, I hereby grant the privilege he asks for with the obligation that he shall receive and teach such young men as may be placed in his charge by my successor.[26]

Richardson lived at the Presidio, the only settlement other than Mission Dolores, on the San Francisco peninsula. The young blue-eyed and "clipper-built" Richardson fell in love with the oldest of the Presidio commander's daughters, Maria Antonio Martinez, who was considered "a belle of great beauty." Ignacio Martinez had a large family, and as Duhaut-Cilly marveled on his visit in January 1827, "in particular many young girls of pleasing appearance."[27]

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25. Wilkins, "The Days of the Dons," San Francisco Bulletin, April 22 and 23, 1918; Bancroft, History 2: 478; 5:694; Becker, Designs on the Land, n.p.

26. As quoted in Davis, Seventy-Five Years, p. 9.

27. "The Days of the Dons," S.F. Bulletin, April 22, 1918, p. 8; Davis, Seventy-Five Years, p. 10; "Duhaut-Cilly," CHSQ 8, No. 2 140.

On June 16, 1823, Richardson received his baptism into the Catholic faith and on May 15, 1825, he married Maria Antonio Martinez. Not only was he, then, considered the first foreign resident of San Francisco, but also a member of one of the first families on the bay.

Richardson proved himself an active and helpful member of the community. Noticing the problem of bringing food supplies to the Presidio, he reportedly built a boat with the help of six Indians, to bring provisions from San José and Santa Clara missions. He thereby met his obligation to teach the Indians carpentry and shipwrighting, while he launched his career as the principal navigator on the Bay.[28]

During the first year of his marriage Richardson is said to have sailed his ship up to Sitka to bring the colony of San Francisco needed supplies. He also that year made his first application for land at the future site of Yerba Buena, where foreign ships already were anchoring for shelter while procuring wood and water. Stephen Richardson recalled that his ambitious and energetic father also acquired two of the three existing watercraft on the bay, Santa Clara mission's fifteen-ton vessel and the Mission Dolores' rowboat, as well as a whale boat which had drifted into the bay. With his small fleet he began to expand his commercial enterprises. To make navigation safer for his boats and their Indian crew, Richardson also apparently made extensive soundings in order to chart the bay.[29]

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28. Davis, Seventy-Five Years, p. 10; Mason, Early Marin, p. 23; Bancroft, History 2:495, 591-592; Wilkins, The Days of the Dons, MS, p. 1A.

29. Davis, Seventy-Five Years. p. 11; Wilkins, "The Days of the Dons," MS, p.1; Mason, Early Marin, p. 23.

Because of his familiarity with the harbor and its navigation, Richardson piloted many of the early foreign ships to enter San Francisco Bay. He gave assistance to Otto Von Kotzebue in the Russian frigate, Predpariatic, in 1824; to Captain Frederick Beechey, of the Royal Navy, commanding the ship Blossom in 1826; and to Auguste Duhaut-Cilly in the French vessel, Héros, in 1827. Duhaut-Cilly observed that Richardson "appeared to me to be very well acquainted with the harbor and the outside coast," and at his suggestion, he moved the Heros to the Yerba Buena anchorage, with Richardson on board as pilot.[30]

Beginning in 1827 Richardson started his application for naturalization as a Mexican citizen. Possibly to help expedite the matter, he and his family moved to San Gabriel, near Los Angeles, at the close of 1829. The following year he received the necessary papers, based on his applicaton which described him as a pilot who spoke Spanish, had skills in shipbuilding, and possessed real property of $3,000 capital and some livestock. In addition, his application contained a certificate from the priest who baptized him, Padre Jose Altimira, which commended Richardson for his service to the San Francisco mission by teaching carpentry and caulking to the Indians there.

Richardson and his family remained for nearly six years at Mission San Gabriel, during which time Richardson apparently built another ship and, about 1831, sailed it down to Peru to trade hide and tallow for provisions which then were very scarce at Los Angeles. He also captained at least one ship, the

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30. Mason, Early Marin, p. 25; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 142, 148, an 149; Bancroft, History 2:590; "Duhout-Cilly," pp. 140-141.

Crusader, from Callao, Peru, in 1834. According to William Heath Davis, Richardson sailed for a Lima house during the 1830s, for which he gathered tallow and furs up and down the California coast to trade in Peru and Chile. It was also Davis' recollection that Richardson made his headquarters at Yerba Buena, where he certainly had excellent contacts and sources.[31]

Twice while in Southern California Richardson appealed for land at the site of Yerba Buena; in 1828 to Governor Echeandia and in 1834 to Governor Figueroa, both times without success. Figueroa, however, apparently encouraged Richardson to settle on the site, so that in 1835 he purchased a team of horses and escorted his family on an overland route back to San Francisco, after he assisted General Guadalupe Mariano Vallejo that year to survey the settlement for Sonoma, north of the bay.[32]

Once back in the San Francisco district, Richardson's accomplishments and contacts began to bring him wealth and influence. On June 25, 1835 he put up a tent or shanty on the shore by the Yerba Buena anchorage, and thereby established himself and his family as the first residents of Yerba Buena, later to be renamed San Francisco. Four months earlier, on February 18, 1835, he petitioned for land on the north shore,

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31. Bancroft, History, 2: 558; 3: 382; 5: 694; Davis Seventy-Five Years, pp. 4, 11; Mason, Early Marin, p. 23; Altimira's certificate neglected to mention that Richardson had also vaccinated the bay area mission Indians for smallpox early in 1829, before he moved to San Gabriel. From this service Richardson later acquired the title of doctor. Bancroft, History 3: 768; 5: 694; Caughey, Pacific Coast, p. 259.

32. Mason, Early Marin, pp. 23-24; Davis, Seventy-Five Years, p. 11; Bancroft, History 3: 295; 5: 694.

presumably with intentions to benefit from the potential trade with the whaling ships which anchored there. Although José Antonio Galindo had been granted the land that year, Richardson assumed ownership in 1836, but he did not receive a formal grant to the 19,571-acre Rancho Sausalito until February 15, 1838. Also in 1836 his friend, General Vallejo, military commander of Northern California and one of the most influential leaders in the country, appointed Richardson captain of the port, a position which proved strategic in Richardson's climb to local fame and fortune.[33]

Although he received possession of Rancho Sausalito, Richardson continued to make his headquarters at Yerba Buena where, on June 1, 1836, he petitioned for a lot of 100 varas square. The alcalde, or mayor, granted the request the same day, explaining the Council's decision with,

> This Corporation being satisfied of the good services that the party requesting has rendered to this jurisdiction since his arrival in this country, with his different trades as bricklayer, surgeon and carpenter,[34] and having married one of the first in the country . . .

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33. Bancroft, History 3: 700, 709, 751; 5: 694, 757; Mason Early Marin, p. 33; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 159 and 222; Figueroa had decided to establish a pueblo or town council at San Francisco in August 1834, when he directed Vallejo to form the governmental body. Kinnaird, "Ibid., p. 155. Frank Soule, John H. Gibson and James Nisbet, who received Richardson's testimonies to help compile The Annals of San Francisco (1855; Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1966), gave the following description of Richardson's tent, the first dwelling in San Francisco: "It was simply a large tent, supported on four red-wood posts, and covered with a ship's foresail." p. 163. San Francisco Alta California, November 3, 1862.

34. As quoted in Dwinelle, Colonial History, Addenda No. 34, p. 53; Robinson, Land in California, pp. 36, 200-1. Richardson's rancho was granted officially in 1838 by Governor Alvarado and made final on February 11, 1839. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 159; Mason, Early Marin p. 25.

Thus Richardson received the first lot conveyed in Yerba Buena, and from this property he began to operate in his official capacity as captain of the port, or harbor master, on January 1, 1837. He also developed his own business on the bay, operating two or three launches which collected hides, tallow, and produce from the missions and ranchos to trade with the Yankee merchant ships, anchored, for the most part, at Yerba Buena. He trained Indians to navigate these boats, and, according to William Heath Davis, "These Indians would do anything to serve and please the Captain. He was kind to them and they loved him."[35]

Armed with his official title, his influential family and friends, loyal Indian servants, and ownership of a large tract of land, Richardson apparently saw few limits to his authority over the marine commerce on the bay. Wanting to encourage the whalers to continue to anchor at Sausalito Cove, where he arranged to sell them water and other provisions, Richardson used his official authority to set aside the Governor's 1832 edict requiring all whaling ships to purchase a license in Monterey before anchoring in any other California port. As the trade with these whaling ships also benefited neighboring rancheros, they supported Richardson's infractions of the law, and with the friendly backing of General Vallejo, Richardson even claimed in 1841 that the whole bay fell under his jurisdiction, in response to criticism of his tactics by the presidio commandant and by the receiver of the custom house, first appointed in 1839.

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35. Bancroft, History, 3: 709; 5: 694; Soule, Annals, p. 163; Davis, Seventy-Five Years, p. 13. Soule also recorded (p. 163) the freight rates which Richardson received: Twelve cents per hide; one dollar per bag of tallow, weighing an average 500 pounds; and twenty-five cents a fanega, or two and one half bushels, of grain.

Although Richardson had constructed the largest house in Yerba Buena by 1838, an adobe called "Casa Grande," where many official and ceremonial activities took place during the town's early years, he moved his family over to Sausalito in 1838 or 1839, possibly to avoid direct contact with the other port officials. At forty-three years old, moreover, Richardson probably looked forward to settling down in the sheltered Sausalito Cove, and passing more of his time on the scenic lands of his rancho grant.[36]

By 1838 Richardson had won a far-flung reputation with ship captains as one of the bay's best pilots. Davis recalled that "Admirals and Commodores of different nationalities communicated with him from Callao, Valparaiso and Honolulu," and arranged for their vessels to fire two guns in succession outside the Golden Gate to signal Richardson for piloting. As a mariner and trader on the coast he had made many other acquaintances, who, Davis explained, became "firmly attached to him for his goodness. He had not a single enemy, because his heart and nature were noble."

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36. Huff, El Puerto, pp 13-36 covers the principal years of conflict, 1839-1844, when Richardson and the whalers proved themselves beyond the control of the local, as well as Monterey, customs officials. Bancroft gives the date Richardson constructed his Yerba Buena adobe as 1836, History 5: 694; Soule gives the year at 1838, Annals, p. 171-172; Richard Henry Dana, "Twenty-Four Years Later," in Joseph Henry Jackson, ed., The Western Gate A San Francisco Reader (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young, 1952), p. 247; Bancroft, History, 4: 376, 429-30; Dwinelle gives an official list of foreigners who resided in the San Francisco district on May 20, 1840, and Richardson's name was not among them. At the bottom of the list is the following "Note": "The name of Don Guillermo Richardson is not entered here, he having for some time been at Sausalito." Colonial History, Addenda No. 51, p. 72; Helen Throop Purdy, "Portsmouth Square," California Historical Quarterly 3, No. 1 (April 1934), 34.

At his rancho Richardson had more at his command to demonstrate his kindly nature. Although his Sausalito residence "was small and had only two rather poorly furnished rooms," on the occasion of Lieutenant Charles Wilkes' visit in 1841, "the hospitality of the household was generous."

Wilkes described Richardson's rancho as "prettily situated under a hill, with sufficient land for his gardens, or rather fields, where his vegetables were raised." Davis noted the rancho's "thousands of cattle, horses, and sheep," which helped furnish provisions for ships anchoring at Sausalito Cove.[37]

Because of a water shortage at Yerba Buena, the ships of the Wilkes' expedition moved anchorage to Sausalito where they lay for eighty days while the scientific inspections of the bay and its vicinity were accomplished. Of all Wilkes' hosts during the two months in the area, he favorably mentioned only Richardson and his father-in-law, Ignacio Martinez, who lived on his Rancho Pinole on the east bay. Richardson, Wilkes wrote, was "very attentive and obliging in furnishing the ship with supplies."

The following year Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones, in command of the Pacific Squadron, ordered his five ships to anchor at Sausalito, where he enjoyed a friendly exchange with the Richardsons and Estudillos and where he often went to hunt. By 1850 so many other United States officers had

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37. Davis, Seventy-Five Years, pp. 12-13; Wilkes' recollections as quoted in Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 170.

followed suit that Sausalito was recognized as "the usual resort of vessels belonging to the American Navy visiting this port."[38]

Other Americans besides Commodore Jones evidently enjoyed Rancho Sausalito for hunting. Lt. Henry Wise described a day's hunt on horseback early in 1847, when he crossed over Rancho Sausalito's hills to the ocean side, where "there was no timber to be seen, and except the stunted undergrowth netted together in the valleys and ravines, all was one rolling scene of grass, wild oats and flowers." Wise and his party saw numerous bands of thirty to forty deer, a small sheet of water, "swarming with waterfowl," and a grizzly bear which laid claim to the two bucks Wise had shot down. Stephen Richardson recalled his boyhood days on the rancho prior to the American takeover, when the country "was entirely untouched by man and the wild oats grew shoulder high, "in spite of the great herds of wild animals browsing in the fields."[39]

In addition to hunting, Richardson's guests and family remembered the lavish fiestas at Rancho Sausalito. Stephen explained that the family customarily invited at least 100 guests from as far north as Sonoma and as far south as Monterey. The entertainment continued for a week to ten days. Indian servants apparently supervised and carried out the arrangements for the

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38. Wilkes quoted in Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 170; Richard H. Dillon quotes Captain Webster of the Ship, Wanderer, who described Sausalito in 1850, in Embarcadero (New York: Coward-McCann, 1959), pp. 112-113. Bancroft, History, 4: 241-244, 314; Richardson in 1836 had also encouraged Russian business at Sausalito, by permitting them to build a grain warehouse there. The Mexican Governor, however, vetoed its construction. Bancroft, History 4: 163-4.

39. Wise, Los Gringos, p. 77; Wilkins, Days of the Dons, MS, page lost.

fiestas, as well as for all other rancho business. Mrs. Richardson, Davis recalled, "was a model of grace and dignity," while Richardson was a "a handsome man, above medium height, with an attractive face, winning manners, and a musical voice." Music and dancing characterized these gala events, along with the food itself. Charles Lauff, a pioneer to the north shore of the Golden Gate, described his meal at the rancho in 1847 as "a feast fit for the Gods." Roasts of venison, elk, antelope and bear washed down with mission wine helped to implant the Richardson family's hospitality firmly in the memories of such visitors to Rancho Sausalito.[40]

Thus, until financial pressures forced the rancho from William Richardson's control in the late 1850s, the family enjoyed many years of material prosperity which the lifestyle of the rancho period nurtured but could not sustain after the American takeover.

e. Angel Island

Comparatively little is known of the rancho period at Angel Island because its grantee, Antonio Maria Osio, did not live on the island, except for about three months around 1839, during which time he had dams, fences, and houses for workmen built. Osio, as mentioned earlier, acquired Angel Island in 1839, the same year he purchased Snook's two leagues of Rancho Punta de los Reyes. Still an important government official in Monterey,

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40. Wilkins, "Days of the Dons," San Francisco Bulletin, April 28, 1918, p. 4; Lauff, as quoted in Mason, Early Marin, p. 31. Stephen Richardson explained that the Indians provided such a valuable service to the rancheros that nearly all the whites learned their language. Stephen claimed that he learned the Indian tongue before English. San Francisco Bulletin, April 27, 1918, p. 10.

Osio necessarily arranged for his rancho lands to be supervised by a major domo.

Osio, like Richard Berry in 1836, received the assistance of William Richardson, whose later testimony formed the basis for much of the informaton on the rancho. Richardson recalled that Osio fenced in about 300 or 400 square varas of land (a vara equals thirty three inches, or nearly a yard) to raise vegetables on the north end of the island, near Racoon Straits. At Osio's request, Richardson looked out for Osio's four or five Indians and rancho manager living on the island, supplying them with beef because Osio's stock consisted of heifers which were not to be killed. Osio apparently returned each year for the branding of cattle but his visits were brief.

Angel Island furnished most foreign ships with wood during the 1830s and 1840s. Dana described a week-long visit to "Wood Island," in 1835, when he and another crew member cut a year's supply of wood from the trees which ran down to the water's edge. In 1841 both Duflot de Mofras and Charles Wilkes indicated anchorages near the island, one on the north end, at Hospital Cove, and the other just north of Point Blunt. Apparently Osio made no objection to the mariners' cutting of the oak groves which characterized the island as late as 1850 but which, by 1860, had all but disappeared.[41]

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41. Testimony of William A. Richardson, Land Claim 208 ND, Angel Island, Bd. 48., July 10, 1854, in Bowman, "Testimony," pp. 133-135, Bancroft Lib, U. of Cal., Berkeley, Cal.; Dana Two Years, p. 252; John A. Hussey, "Fort McDowell, Angel Island Marin and San Francisco Counties, California . . .Report on Application by Board of Supervisors, County of Marin, State of California For Transfer of Surplus Properties for an Historical Monument," Prepared for Region 10, War Assets Administration April 1949,

In his descriptive narrative of San Francisco Bay in 1841, Duflot de Mofras identified Angel Island as "the largest and most important" island in the bay, featuring on its eastern side "a watering place and excellent anchorage where ships can be overhauled." On a hunting trip early in 1847, Lieutenant Wise went to the island and found it charming:

> It is a very picturesque little spot, about three miles in circumference, rising to the height of near eight hundred feet. . . . There are many fertile slopes luxuriating in fine trees and vegetation, and on all sides pure rills of water leaping into the bay. . . the deer resort there in great numbers, to feed on the palatable herbs growing on the northern sides, and also for the close shelter afforded, beneath multitudes of the densest network of tangled thickets that ever man or quadruped has explored. Angel Island will ever be a bright oasis in my hunting career. . . .[42]

While Angel Island had its virtues for mariners and visiting hunters, it also represented a strategic military location to the Mexican government which hesitated to give Osio a grant for such an important coastal island. Osio first made a request for Angel Island in 1830, but not until October 7, 1837, did he petition that he be given the island so he could breed horses and mules there, writing that General Vallejo had appealed to the

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41. Department of Interior, National Park Service, Region Four, p. 15. Marshall McDonald and Associates, Report and Recommendations on Angel Island 1769-1966, for the Division of Beaches and Parks, State of California, 1966, p. 59; San Francisco Daily Alta California, December 15, 1860; Titus Fey Cronise, The Natural Wealth of California (San Francisco: H.H. Bancroft and Company, 1868), p. 79. According to the testimony of Pablo Briones and Antonio Ortega in 1844, Osio had put two small dams, two or three adobe houses, several servants, a large fenced field, and many cattle and horses on Angel Island. McDonald, Angel Island, p. 55.

42. Wise, Los Gringos, p. 79; Wilbur, ed, Duflot 1: 234.

Governor that summer to take action against the smuggling in San Francisco Bay, and recommended that the custom house be moved from Monterey to San Francisco, and that Angel Island, the key to the harbor's defense, be fortified. Vallejo reported favorably on Osio's 1837 petition, but suggested that the Governor reserve the right to fortify the island if desired. Governor Alvarado accordingly gave Osio the right to occupy the island for any suitable mercantile or agricultural advancement reserving the right of military fortification but he did not formally grant the island as a rancho because Mexican laws excluded seacoast islands from land grants. In July 1838, however, the Mexican president decreed that coastal islands be granted to Mexican citizens to check foreign adventurers, wherupon Osio submitted another petition for Angel Island and received the rancho grant on June 11, 1839, from Governor Alvarado.[43]

2. San Francisco County Ranchos

Because the rancho owners along San Francisco's sea coast never occupied or used their lands, only a few facts of title history have been collected for this research. Briefly stated, the ranchos existed only on paper; settlement and development of the land from Point Lobos south beyond Lake Merced awaited the efforts of American citizens and military forces.

a. Rancho Punta de Lobos

Joaquin Piña applied for a rancho at Point Lobos in 1845 but failed to acquire a grant. Benito Diaz, a somewhat prominent Mexican who had served as collector of customs

43. Hussey, "Fort McDowell," pp. 15-16; McDonald, Angel Island, pp. 51, 53.

at Santa Barbara and, during the mid-1840s at San Francisco, received a grant of two leagues on the eve of the American takeover, on June 25, 1846. His rancho claim, which he called Punta de Lobos, included the Presidio, its fortifications, and the Mission Dolores. On July 9 the American flag was raised in Yerba Buena, and the Diaz claim awaited the decision of the American courts.[44]

b. Rancho Laguna de la Merced

In 1835 Jose Antonio Galindo petitioned for one and one half leagues of former Mission Dolores land which stood vacant and, according to the city council, was "almost worthless." In his application Galindo explained that he needed the land to support his large family--his mother, three brothers, and two sisters. On September 23, 1835, Governor Jose Castro granted Rancho de La Merced to Galindo but the available records do not indicate whether he ever made permanent developments or raised cattle on the land. Four years later, in February 1839, Gallindo was arrested as a criminal in Yerba Buena, where he presented a problem for the local justice, since the town had no jail. Gallindo thus disappeared from San Francisco history and his rancho claim remained for future American acquisition.[45]

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44. Bancroft, History, 4: 672; Paul W. Gates, "The Land Business of Thomas O. Larkin," California Historical Society Quarterly 54, No. 4 (Winter 1975) p. 329:

45. Dwinelle, Colonial History, pp. 56-7, 64-65, and Addenda No. 25, pp. 38 and 41; Emanuel Raymond Lewis, A History of San Francisco Harbor Defense Installations; Forts Baker, Barry Cronkhite, and Funston, (Prepared for Division of Beaches and Parks, State of California, June 1965), p. 199.

III. American Takeover and The Gold Rush, 1846-1855

When American officers first occupied Yerba Buena in July 1846, the Bay Area had few occupants to resist. The peninsula of San Francisco in 1845 contained a total population of about 300; 150 of Spanish blood, 100 Indians and Hawaiian Kanakas, and about fifty foreigners. Many who had lived in the presidio and Yerba Buena communities during the previous two decades had received rancho grants and dispersed to scattered rural settlements. The United States Government intended not to disturb the life and property of the California citizens, and by its instructions, the local government throughout the country changed little during the first years under the American flag, although ultimate command lay in the American military governor, Commodore John D. Sloat.

By 1846 most of the choice lands surrounding San Francisco Bay had been granted as ranchos, in today's Marin, Sonoma, Napa, Solano, Contra Costa. Alameda, and San Mateo counties. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico in 1848, the United States guaranteed the security of former Mexican citizens and their property, both in California and Texas. With this goal in mind, William Carey Jones was appointed on July 12, 1849, as a "confidential agent of the Government, to proceed to Mexico and California, for the purpose of procuring information as to the condition of land titles in California." Jones had been selected because of his knowledge of the Spanish language and his experience in California and Mexico. Clearly a conscientious person, Jones set sail one week after his appointment, arriving at Monterey, by way of Panama, on September 19, 1849. He spent the fall and first part of January 1850, in Monterey, San Francisco, San Diego, Los Angeles, and Acapulco, Mexico, where he studied the available records. In 1850 he submitted his exhaustive study to the Secretary of the Interior, explaining the legislative history and actual practices behind rancho land grants. His report lent early support to the many rancheros who, according to the letter of the

law, had not received perfect titles during a period when Mexican rule in California suffered from frequent internal disturbances and disorders.[1]

A. Land Claims Under Legal Scrutiny

The United States Congress in 1851 passed an "Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California" which created a three-man Board of Land Commissioners, appointed by the President, to examine and determine the validity of Spanish and Mexican land grants. The Board, which began hearings on January 2, 1852, represented only the first legal step, as both sides--the land claimant and the United States--had the right of appeal in the California district courts, and when necessary, in the State's Supreme Court. As common practice, the United States attorneys entered an appeal to the courts, extending the litagation and making the average length of time between the landowners' petition to the Board and his final patent on the land, seventeen years.

In the midst of this lengthy legal process, most claimants went bankrupt. Some who had received confirmation of their rancho grants from the Board of Land Commissioners had their titles invalidated in district courts. Presented with financial difficulties and the pressing demand for land from growing numbers of Americans in California, some rancheros sold off sections of their land before receiving a final American land title and patent. Consequently, clouds remained over many coastal land titles for years after California became a state in 1850.

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1. Bancroft, History, 4: 664; Robinson, Land in California, pp. 63, 204; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 151; The Jones report, dated April 10, 1850, was printed as S. Doc. 18, 31st Cong., 1st sess., 1851, Serial 589; Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 43.

With some 1,400 land claims before the Board of Land Commissioners, California had a constant demand for lawyers. San Francisco's law bar included some of the most skilled and knowledgeable attorneys in the state. Many of these lawyers directed their energies towards acquiring property themselves, often accepting rancho lands as payment for their services. By the close of 1866 vast tracts in Marin County had fallen into the hands of San Francisco attorneys, while not one of the original rancho grantees remained to witness the nearly completed American takeover of the land.[2]

B. Ranchos in Transition

1. Rancho los Baulinos

According to available schedules and tax records, Gregorio Briones faired well for nearly a decade after the American takeover. The agricultural schedule for Marin County in the 1850 United States census shows that Briones claimed possession of 13,230 unimproved acres (4,409 more than granted as Rancho Baulinas in 1846), 50 horses, 300 cattle, 15 swine, with a value of $10,000 on his farm and $4,500 on his livestock. The 1854 county tax records indicated that Gregorio had built a new house (he had two old ones as well) and had added 100 sheep and goats to his property, helping to raise his total valuation to $33,414, more than three times that of 1850.

The 1860 United States Census, however, revealed the Briones family's material losses during the latter part of the 1850s. According to agricultural schedule, four family members

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2. Becker, Designs on the Land, introduction, n.p.; McDonald, Angel Island, p. 60; Robinson, Land in California, p. 106; Mason, Early Marin, pp. xii and 82; Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 43.

together owned less property than many of the new settlers. Gregorio apparently had given charge of his lands to his children, for he was not included in the 1860 schedule. He died on May 16, 1863.[3]

Gregorio Briones filed his claim to two square leagues of Rancho Las Baulinos on January 31, 1853. Over one year later, on May 15, 1854, the Land Commissioners confirmed his title, but the District Court process held up the final validation of his claim until April 2, 1857, when Briones officially became owner of the 8,911.34-acre rancho, as surveyed by the United States Deputy Surveyor, Robert C. Matthewson, in October 1858.[4]

As early as July 1852, Gregario began to sell his rancho lands to Americans, contingent on the confirmation of his

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3. California, United States Census 1850, Partial Schedules, Schedule 4, Productions of Agriculture, Marin County, p. 15, Marin County Assessments, 2 Volumes, 2: 1854-1855, p. 256, on microfilm at Bancroft Library; Eighth Census, 1860, California, Partial Schedules, 2 volumes, 2, Schedule 4, Products of Agriculture, Bolinas Township, pp. 23-26; "Chronological History of Marin County," 1:n.p.

4. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 194, quotes from Judge Ogden Hoffman's, Report of Land Cases Determined in the United States District Court for the Northern District of California which he published in 1862, having been the principal judge presiding in the district court in San Francisco. Robinson, Land in California, p. 263. "Plat of the Rancho Los Baulines finally confirmed to Gregorio Brioness . . . by Robert C. Matthewson, Dep. Sur. October 1858 Containing 8911 34/100 Acres". A copy of the plat in in Patent Book A., p. 157, RDO, MCC. Jack Mason in Last Stage for Bolinas (Inverness: North Shore Books, 1973), p. 15, wrote that R.C. Matthewson surveyed the Bolinas rancho in October 1858 and found it contained four square leagues, not two, but the 8911 34/100 acres indicated on the above plat equals two leagues. The 1858 plat showed five American residences on the east side of the lagoon and a steam saw mill located near the road on the northeastern portion of the rancho.

title to Rancho Baulinas. On July 4, 1852, he sold Isaac Morgan a tract on the east side of Bolinas bay, contained by Richardson's Rancho Sausalito boundary, the ridge line, and the San Rafael road which dropped west from the ridge to the bay shore. Either Briones was extremely generous or naive with financial arrangements, for Morgan was able to live rent free on the land he planned to buy until Briones received a valid title, and then he paid only five dollars per acre. Thus, until 1857 Morgan held claim by agreement to the eastern shore of Bolinas Bay without compensating Briones, and beginning that year the Briones family's lands were reduced by about 2,600 acres.

Briones also sold the same tract of land to Volney E. Howard, his American attorney, possibly for legal fees. Whether Morgan and Howard had any dispute over the land has not been determined. Briones' rancho possessed two physical advantages: the protected harbor of Bolinas Bay and the redwood trees in the gulches of Bolinas ridge. With San Francisco growing at great leaps and bounds, several Americans beginning in 1849 had made arrangements with Briones to cut timber and run sawmills on 2,200 acres on the north-east quarter of the rancho lands and in January 1856 Briones sold the tract to Charles Corcens.

The family livestock and residences thus all remained on the western half of the bay until, parcel by parcel, Briones' heirs began to sell off the 3,000 acres left to them by Gregorio's will. Today Gregorio's great-granddaughter, Rose Briones, in her nineties, is the only surviving member of the once-influential Mexican family. She lives in a modest home in Woodville, probably on the last piece of ground still owned by a Briones heir.[5]

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5. Deed Book B, pp 3, 156-158, 296-297; Book C pp. 102, 187-88; Book D, p. 67, RDO, MCC;Mason, Last Stage, pp. 15-16; on pp.

2. Rancho Tomales y Baulinas

Rafael Garcia's transition years under American authority followed the same general pattern as Briones', only his decline in material possessions may have been more rapid. According to the 1851 county tax assessments, Garcia had the most valued improvements of all rancheros along the coast to his south and west, from Point Reyes to the Golden Gate. The value of his personal estate, however, was comparatively low, $11,700, indicating that Garcia's wealth lay in his land, its structures and livestock. The total valuation came to $44,700, a considerable sum for the times. By 1854 Garcia's total property valuation had dropped to $38,315, more than half of it directly based on his assessed 8,800 acres. The rancho still remained intact, however, and supported a variety of livestock, although only a fraction of what the 1880 county history reported as Garcia's vast property during his years under Mexican rule:

Munro-Fraser	1854 tax assessment
400 branded horses	3 mules
3,000 head of cattle	20 tame California horses and mares
	12 wild horses, mares
herds of swine	150 tame California cattle
	200 wild cattle
extensive flocks of sheep	13 (?) pigs
	30 sheep and goats[6]

5. 15-16 and 94-95, in the same source, Jack Mason identified Captain Morgan as an 1849 American pioneer to Bolinas Bay and as one of Gregorio Briones' only American friends. Morgan apparently worked on timber crews which sent lumber for wharves to San Francisco. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 267. For more on early American Settlement on Bolinas Bay see Section IV on local Marin County industries.

6. Marin County Assessments, Vol. 1, 1851, and Vol. 2, 1854, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 277-78.

Garcia's land, then, contained the key to his future, and on March 23, 1852, only months after the Land Commissioners began their sessions, he filed his claim for Rancho Tomales and Baulinas. Between the Commission and the district court, the claim was not confirmed until October 19, 1858, containing 8,863.25 acres. The following year, however, Garcia entered a law suit against Oscar Shafter, et al., the San Francisco attorneys who, by 1858, had acquired all of Point Reyes and who had their eyes on lands claimed by Garcia. The legal battle dragged on for six years, undoubtedly draining Garcia of what capital he had at his disposal. Rafael had gained experience in the American legal system earlier in the 1850s, for his name appears frequently on a list of plaintiffs who sued in district court. Garcia, in fact, filed a suit each year from 1852 to 1856.

In 1865, after the lengthy law suit against the Shafters, Garcia received a survey plat to his rancho which contained 9,467.77 acres, 605 acres more than that confirmed to him by the 1858 validation of his title.

The difference of 605 acres, probably reflected the disparity between the written grant (2 leagues or roughly 8,880 acres) and the actual survey of the rancho boundaries performed at the juridical possession of the land. Garcia's 1865 plat, however, indicated the extent to which his lands had been sold to Americans, no doubt to pay his endless legal expenses from over a decade in court.

On September 25, 1856, Garcia sold off his first tract of Rancho Tomales y Baulinas, 4,366 acres in Olema Valley, to Daniel and Nelson Olds, for only $8,000. The parcel represented nearly half of Garcia's land, which he sold at less than two dollars per acre.

The following year, in 1857, Garcia sold John Nelson and William E. Randall another 1,400 acres just south of the Olds tract in Olema Valley, for $2,000, again accepting less than $2.00 per acre. Thus, before his title had been finally confirmed Garcia had relinquished nearly sixty percent of his holdings. And in 1866, only four months after he received his official survey and patent to the rancho, Garcia died, leaving his remaining 3,089 acres north and east of Olema, as well as six town lots in Olema, to his wife and seven other heirs.[7]

3. Rancho Punta de los Reyes and Punta de los Reyes Sobrante

When the United States military took control of California in July 1846, neither of the rancho owners--Antonio Maria Osio or Stephen Smith--lived on the peninsula of Point Reyes. Confusion existed in the county as to the amount and ownership of the Point Reyes ranchos, as the 1851 tax assessments indicated. That year the county assessed Osio for only two leagues, evidently recording the land he had purchased from Snook in 1839, and neglecting to account for the 50,000-odd acres (eleven leagues) of the sobrante lands. The six leagues which James Berry had

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7. Hoffman report as cited in Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 192; Appendix A, Marin County, District Court, Miscellaneous Series, Nos. 1-292, Suit nos. 83, 22, 135, 122, 215, 197; Appendix B, Marin County, District Court, Old Series, Nos. 1-238, Suit No. 72, California State Archives, Sacramento, California; "Plat of the Rancho Tomales y Baulines finally confirmed to Rafael Garcia as located by the U.S. Surveyor General . . .October 6th 1865 Containing 9467 77/100 acres," Patent Book B, p. 65; Deed Book C, pp. 66, 94, RDO, MCC; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 45; Garcia's property as divided in May 1868 among Senora M. Loretta Garcia, Felipe S. Garcia, Maria H. Garcia, Thomas Garcia, Juan Garcia, Maria D.G. Kurtado, Jose Garcia, and Felis Garcia, was surveyed by H. Austin, County Surveyor, and the plats recorded in Deed Book H, p. 81, RDO, MCC; Garcia died February 25, 1866. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 278.

transferred to Smith in 1844 were described as, "The tract of land formerly owned by Berry containing six leagues owners unknown lying between Punta Reyes and Garcia also running on said tract of land is 200 head of cattle belonging to said farm." By 1851 these six leagues belonged to cattleman, Bethuel Phelps of San Francisco, who purchased the rancho lands from Smith on September 25, 1848, at which time he recorded the transaction in the deed books at Sonoma County Courthouse, which possibly explains the confusion among Marin County tax assessors. The ownership mystery was solved on March 17, 1854, however, when Phelps sold his six leagues of Point Reyes to Andrew Randall and recorded the deed in Marin County. Phelps, who had never occupied his Point Reyes land, received $150,000 for the 26,634 acres or more than $5 per acre, over twice what Garcia was to sell his land for two years later.[8]

If Phelps appeared to be a sharp land dealer, on the surface Andrew Randall outstripped him. Randall arrived in California as a gunner on the U.S.S. Portsmouth in 1847 and by 1850 was known as a doctor and scientist. His specialty, however, turned out to be land investments, so that by 1853 he was claimant to several ranchos totaling some 31 leagues of land, including Osio's 13 leagues on Point Reyes, which he purchased on January 8, 1852, for $25,000.[9]

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8. See the previous section for information on the wherabouts of Osio and Smith in 1846, Marin County Tax Assessments Vol. 1, 1851, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley; Deed Book A, p. 408, RDO, MCC. Bancroft notes that Phelps lived in San Francisco from 1848-1855, at which time he had business relations with Thomas Larkin, Bancroft, History 4: 775. Mason, Point Reyes, p. 44.

9. Bancroft, History 3: 677, 712; 4: 655,670; 5:688; Deed Book A, p. 155, RDO,MCC. Osio thus received for his 58,709 acres, about $2.40 per acre.

With Bethuel Phelps's six leagues added to his rancho purchases, Randall in 1854 laid claim to as much as 164,243 acres across the State. Point Reyes, however, was his choice of residence and in 1852 or 1853 he and his wife and four children moved there, although Randall continued to spend considerable time in San Francisco. By 1854 Randall's property assessment for Point Reyes alone amounted to $178,365.

Rancho Punta de los Reyes including the Berry Rancho, 35,520 acres at $2	$ 71,040
Houses and Improvements	4,500
Tame California Horses and Mares 75 at $40	3,000
Wild Horses, Mares and Colts, 400 at $36	6,400
American Cows 30 at $65	1,950
Other American Cattle Oxen 30 at $62.50	1,875
Tame California Cattle 400 at $30	12,000
Wild Cattle 3,500 at $20	70,000
Sheep and Goats 1,000 at $5	2,000
Wagons and Carriages 3 at $100	300
Library	300
	$178,365

As recorded, Randall had nearly 5,500 animals grazing on Point Reyes, many of them wild and probably descendants of the cattle brought to the rancho by Berry and Osio. Interestingly, Randall's land assessment only figured on 35,520 acres, whereas the thirteen leagues from Osio (eleven sobrante and two Snook) and the six from Phelps added up to nineteen leagues or 84,341 acres. Marin County, as well as the Point Reyes landowners, it seems, still had no clear notion of the amount of land on the peninsula.[10]

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10. Marin Co. Tax Assessments Vol. 2, 1854, p. 314, Bancroft, Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 26.

Randall, however, had not long to enjoy his rancho lands, for having invested far beyond his means, he fell deep into debt during the financial depression of the mid-fifties and was shot to death by one of his creditors in the lobby of the St. Nicholas Hotel in San Francisco on July 24, 1856. Although the Vigilante Committee hanged Joseph Hethrington, his assailant, Randall's indebted estate yet was plagued by other creditors who forced Elizabeth, Randall's wife and executrix, to sell portions of the rancho. Even before Randall's death, however, the Point Reyes land had been sold by the San Rafael sheriff to pay his debts: on February 20, 1855, D. Clingan, Sheriff, seized all right and title to Randall's "Thirteen leagues, more or less," and on March 12, 1855, Jesse Smith, a Randall creditor, sold the rancho, in entirety, to Thomas G. Richards. In May 1856 the District Court issued a decree to sell Randall's land to satisfy a judgement of Thomas G. Carey against Osio and Randall for $7,400. Carey at the public auction in June made the highest bid of $16,000 and six months later transferred the deed to John Reynolds who in turn transferred it to John G. Hyatt the same month for the same price to add to the confusion. Dr. Robert McMillan, another creditor, won his suit in District court in February 1855, and purchased a deed to the rancho on December 26, 1856, giving the rancho three deeded owners at one time, Richards, Hyatt, and McMillan, with John Reynolds retaining certain rights to the property.[11]

While the obvious suit was building up legal momentum, Point Reyes itself supported Randall's rancho foreman, Josiah Swain, as well as other residents who held mortages or

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11. Alfred Doten, The Journals of Alfred Doten, 1849-1903, 3 Volumes, edited by Walter Van Tilburg Clark, (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1973) 1: 302-303; Deed Book B, p. 69, and Deed Book D, p. 20, RDO, MCC; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 183; Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 44.

leases to the land. In 1852 George W. Bird, who held a mortgage from Snook and Osio to Point Reyes, had established a farm on the southern end of the point and was cultivating a farm land there, while just to his north D.D. Baunk took out a five-year lease to a tract of forty square miles in November 1852. Bird had some local influence in the area at this time, for in 1853 and 1854 he served as county supervisor, but little else about him is known. By October 1853 Point Reyes had enough people to warrant a post office but it operated for just eighteen months. In July 1854 Randall gave a lease to James W. Conckle on the condition that he purchase Randall's stock of 5,000 cattle, 800 sheep, 500 hogs, and 500 horses on Point Reyes. Evidently Randall was beginning to feel the financial squeeze.[12]

Even before his creditors started to press him, however, Randall filed his claim to eleven square leagues of Point Reyes, on March 1, 1853. On January 5, 1855, the Land Commission confirmed his title; on December 28, 1858, the District Court conferred final confirmation; and, on June 4, 1860, the Point Reyes rancho received a United States patent, but too late for Randall's

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12. Deed Book A, pp. 155, 373-375, RDO, MCC; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 231; Marin Co. Assess, Vol. 2, 1854, p. 317, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 26; "Chronological History," Vol. 1, part 17, p. 1. When investigating the title to Point Reyes in preparation for purchasing a lighthouse site, the Lighthouse Service compiled fifty-two pertinent deeds, lawsuits, and mortgages on Point Reyes. Among these legal documents was the lease to McConckle, and the Bird mortgage, which eventually fell to Thomas G. Carey, who won a suit in court to foreclose the mortgage on December 5, 1851, which resulted in a decree to sell the land, dated December 4, 1854. National Archives, Record Group 26, U.S. Coast Guard, Box 16, Site File 67, Point Reyes Lighthouse.

heirs; who had relinquished all claims to the property in a series of complicated lawsuits.[13]

The curtain rose on the legal contest between Point Reyes deed holders in 1857 and by June of that year the main battle had ended, with none of the claimants in possession of the land. Apparently John G. Hyatt, Thomas G. Richardson, and John and Samuel F. Reynolds hired jointly the same lawyer to sue for their rights to Point Reyes, while Dr. Robert McMillan employed the San Francisco attorney, Oscar L. Shafter, of Shafter, Shafter, Park and Heydenfeldt. Oscar, recognizing Point Reyes as "the best cattle ranch in the state," arranged with his partners to buy two thirds of his client's interest in both of Osio's former tracts containing thirteen leagues of Point Reyes for $50,000 on January 14, 1857. Evidently on the basis that Marin County's sheriff G.N.Vischer, had deeded the same tract to three different persons and pocketed the fee, Shafter argued that McMillan, who received the first of these sheriff's deeds on December 26, 1856, held the correct title. On April 29, 1857, Shafter filed in district court his client's suit against Richards, Reynolds, Hyatt, et al. to recover the thirteen leagues. On May 31, 1858, McMillan won his suit for possession of the land, with damages, but he had already sold out his last one-third interest in the property to Shafter, Shafter, Park, and Heydenfeldt on May 6, 1857, for $20,000, probably in part to pay his legal expenses. One month later, on June 20, 1857, the law firm purchased at public auction the eight-league Berry rancho with the highest bid of $14,700. Thus, the San Francisco attorneys won their first round of court battles which eventually

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13. Hofman Report, as cited in Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 194; the patent "was recorded in Patent Book 3, pp. 30-73, inclusive, RDO, MCC, and a copy included in NA, RG26, Box 16, Site File, Point Reyes Lighthouse.

resulted in a clear and absolute title for the Shafter family not only to Point Reyes but to a vast tract of land stretching east to Mount Tamalpais, which lands together totaled some 75,000 acres, nearly one fourth of Marin County's 330,000 acres.[14]

4. Rancho Sausalito

William Antonio Richardson's several maritime and commercial enterprises prospered during the first years of American occupation, and with the sudden rush of immigrants following the discovery of gold in California in 1848, Richardson's investments in land and ships correspondingly increased. Moreover, Richardson received the first American appointment as Captain of the Port from Commodore Sloat in 1847, so maintaining his valuable connections with many of the merchant traders on the Coast.

Much of the history of William Richardson's transition years comes from a narrative given by his son, Stephen, who recalled the tragic events for reporter James Wilkes in 1918, when he was just short of eighty-eight, but, according to Wilkes, still blessed with a "clear and breezy" memory. Stephen blamed his father's ultimate financial disaster to fate and the times. William apparently abandoned his safe and prosperous transportation service on the bay to invest in the purchase of three seagoing trading vessels, from which he realized handsome profits until all

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14. NA, RG 26, Box 18, Site File, Point Reyes Lighthouse; Deed Book C, pp. 126-127, 349, RDO, MCC; the deeds sold by public auction were recorded with Elizabeth Randall, widow, to the law partners, Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 163; George W. Gift, Something About California . . . Marin County (San Rafael: The San Rafael Herald, 1875), p. 9. Since many of the fifty-two legal documents compiled by the Lighthouse Service concerned the process of clearing title to Point Reyes, the above presentation only highlights the legal history of Point Reyes during the transition years.

three sank with full cargoes within a period of six months. In an age when marine insurance did not exist, Richardson was left without floating capital, so that his applications for a loan were rejected. Richardson then resorted to mortgaging the ranch for $60,000 but still failed to get his merchant marine business back on its feet. Stephen dramatically recalled his father's desperate efforts to pay off his mortgage and its three percent interest charges, even resorting to selling off some of his breeding stock. Finally, the financial crash of the mid-1850s destroyed the last fragments of his business and "the tired old sea animal came ashore to die," Stephen reminisced. Taking the advice of his attorney, Volney E. Howard, Richardson signed a deal with Samuel R. Throckmorton, a San Francisco real estate broker and, reportedly, a business wizard, which deeded the four and one half leagues of Rancho Sausalito excepting 640 acres deeded to Maria, Richardson's wife, to Throckmorton as trustee with full power to manage the estate. Throckmorton, Stephen explained, agreed to turn over one-fifth of the rancho after three years free of all debts or incumberances and continue to do so each subsequent third year until the land was restored to the Richardson family.[15]

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15. Wilkes, "Days of the Dons," MS, pp. 122-126; Davis, "Glimpses of the Past," MS, p. 354; Mason, Early Marin, pp. 31, 179-180. Mason, who apparently saw the February 9, 1856 deed to Throckmorton, stated that the terms of the agreement gave Throckmorton four-fifths of the land to do with as he saw fit, and at the close of three years he was to return one fifth debt-free. Early Marin, p. 31. In a letter to Thomas Larkin on January 18, 1855, Faxon Dean Atherton, perceptively observed, "I see that Richardson has been giving evidence in favour of Limantour. I had supposed he was well off; but this makes me doubt it. Probably he has run through with property or his titles have not been confirmed." George P. Hammond, ed. The Larkin Papers, 10 volumes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951-1968) 10: 112.

Stephen's recollection of the Throckmorton agreement has support in period records. The deed of transfer, dated February 9, 1856, was properly recorded in the Marin County Courthouse, probably because Throckmorton had been requested by the United States Army to produce proof of title to the Lime Point Tract which he had offered to sell to the military for $200,000 as early as October 4, 1855. Evidently Richardson and Throckmorton had established their financial arrangement in 1855 but had not formalized it with a deed until the need for one presented itself to Throckmorton. Richardson had been approached by the military in 1854 to sell the Lime Point tract and had agreed to do so and thus it was undoubtedly with Richardson's approval that Throckmorton advanced his offer in 1855.[16]

Two days after Richardson signed the deed to Throckmorton, he received the District Court's confirmation of his title to Rancho Sausalito, containing 19,571.92 acres. But the broken man probably felt no uplifting at the news, for his creditors were preparing a suit against hime which they entered through the prominent San Francisco law firm of Halleck, Peachy, and Billings on April 20, 1856. The following day Richardson died, leaving his indebted estate to wife and children.[17]

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16. Deed Book B, p. 183, RDO, MCC; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 217; Lt. Col. R.E. De Russy, San Francisco, to Col. Joseph Totten, Chief Engineer, November 3, 1855, N.A., RG 77, Office of Chief of Engineers, Land Papers, Box 8; Totten to DeRussey, Feb. 5, 1856, NA, RG 77, O.C.E., Letters to Officers of Engineers, Number 24; Capt. John G. Barnard, S.F., to Totten, Sept. 14, 1856, RG 77, O.C.E., Letters Received 1838-1866, Box 22.

17. Richardson filed his claim on March 16, 1852, and received Commission confirmation on December 27, 1853, thus waiting over two years for a court decision. Hoffman report as cited in Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 192; Mason, Early Marin, p. 33. Richardson's rancho was properly surveyed in March 1858: "Plat of

Throckmorton's offer to sell 2,300 acres of Rancho Sausalito for a military reserve at the price of $200,000, or some $87.00 per acre, tipped his hand as a real operator in land dealings. The military investigated the current land values, receiving consistent testimony from local witnesses that the Lime Point tract was worthless for agricultural or residential purposes and that Throckmorton's price was too high. Compared to the $2.00 per acre Garcia received for choice tracts in Olema Valley in 1857, and the $2.30 per acre Osio asked for the Point Reyes rancho, Throckmorton's motives even look unscrupulous. Moreover, when surveyed, the Army discovered that the tract which Throckmorton wished to sell, and which he refused to reduce in size, turned out to be only 1,700 acres, not 2,300, thus raising the cost per acre to $110. Although a $300,000 appropriation for Lime Point land and fortifications had already passed Congress in July 1857, a political feud between two California U.S. Senators, William M. Gwin and David C. Broderick, brought the controversy over Throckmorton's price into the public domain, and helped postpone the final negotiation on the tract for nearly another decade. On July 24, 1866, the United States purchased a 1,899-acre tract from Throckmorton for its assessed value of $125,000.[18]

Throckmorton confided in his friend, Peter R. Roach, in May of 1857, that he stood property rich but money poor due to the crash of 1855 in San Francisco, and that the pending

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17. Rancho Sausalito finally confirmed to Wm. A. Richardson . . . by Wm. J. Lewis, Dep. Surv., March 1858, containing 19,571 92/100 Acres," NA, Cartographic Division, RG 77, OCE, "Rancho Sausalito."

18. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 217-227; Captain J.P. Gilmer, Chief Engineer, S.F., to Totten, July 13, 1861; NA, RG77, OCE, Land Papers, Box 9; San Francisco Daily Alta California, July 14, 1861, p. 2.

deal with the Government had, to his frustration, been delayed by the neglect of his agent in Washington. Explaining the situation he wrote, "I own the entire north side of the harbor of San Francisco and I have sold the government about 4½ miles of front for a line of fortifications. I got a fair price for it--not much more [than] . . . it is worth, but the sum will put me in good condition." Evidently as secretive in his financial affairs as he seemingly was discreet and private in his personal life, Throckmorton insisted that Roach burn his letter.[19]

Throckmorton's purchase of Rancho Sausalito from Richardson assumed a $130,000 mortgage, the interest payments on which he was having trouble meeting in 1857. Possibly at this time, with a mind to make some money on the rancho, Throckmorton began to replace the beef cattle with dairy cattle and to lease out ranches to tenants. Stephen Richardson mentioned Throckmorton's reorganization of the ranch, as well as his schemes to sell land to developers and cordwood to the San Francisco market. In conclusion he added, "As an administrator, Mr. Throckmorton was an unqualified success." In the hands of an American businessman, the rancho thus had lost its Mexican traditions and was on its way to becoming an integral part of Marin County's growing dairy enterprises.[20]

5. Angel Island

Although he and his family had moved to Mexico, after the American takeover of California, Maria Antonio Osio

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19. Throckmorton to Roach, May 5, 1857, Samuel R. Throckmorton, Letters to Peter R. Roach, 1850-68. MS, Bancroft Library. Little information on Throckmorton was located during research.

20. Throckmorton to Roach, May 5, 1857; Wilkes, "Days of the Dons," San Francisco Bulletin, May 13, 1918, p. 16.

continued to involve himself in his Angel Island land grant. In 1850 he rented the island to a Frenchman and at some time prior to 1853 he arranged for three more houses to be built and for part of the land to be put into cultivation. On February 2, 1852, he filed his claim to the island; the Land Commission confirmed it on October 24, 1854, and the District Court validated his title to the 800-acre island on Septmeber 10, 1855.[21]

Osio, however, had experienced unpleasant relations with the U.S. Government, first in 1846, when the occupying American troops in San Francisco slaughtered some 500 of his cattle, and again, in November 1850, when President Fillmore by Executive Order declared Angel Island a military reserve. Possibly prompted by these dealings, Osio sold out his two bay area ranchos, Point Reyes in 1852, and Angel Island in 1853. The new owners of the island, Garrison, Babcock, Forbes, Waterman and others, remain unknown figures in the island's history, except, perhaps, Waterman who lived for six years in a seven-room frame house near the quarry and managed the sheep and cattle herds on the island. Waterman, a man with a reputation for "undaunted courage and indominatable will," apparently protected the herds from other persons attempting to establish similar ranches on the island. By 1859 some 500 sheep reportedly grazed on the wild oats which flourished on the island's hillsides, and deposits of hard blue and brown sandstone had already been quarried for building materials on military and commercial structures around the bay. That year the coast survey map indicated a total of six structures on the island--two at today's Ayala Cove, one at the site of Camp

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21. Bancroft, History 4: 762; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 190-191.

Reynolds, another at the site of Alcatraz Gardens, and two more at the site of the Immigration Station.[22]

Private ownership of the island, however, lasted only one more year. On April 20, 1860, a second Executive Order again preserved Angel Island for the military after legal investigations, begun by Capt. Henry W. Halleck in 1849, resulted in a Supreme Court decision which invalidated Osio's confirmed claim, based on a flaw in his grant, namely that the territorial legislature had never approved the grant as required by Mexican law.

On September 12, 1863, the United States Army took possession of the island, firmly closing the door to further private ownership, but leaving the island open for several years to small tenant ranchers.[23]

6. San Francisco Ranchos

In a monumental case before the District Court of Northern California, as described at length by John W. Dwinelle in The Colonial History of San Francisco, the City of San Francisco won claim to four square leagues of land which constituted the

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22. Quote from Edwin Bentley, "Angel Island 1869," MS typescript, copy provided by Gordon Chappell, Regional Historian, Western Regional Office, in 1976; McDonald, Angel Island, pp. 58-62; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 190; R.R. Olmsted, Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity from Hutching's California Magazine 1856-1861. Faithfully reproduced (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1962) p. 10; Hussey, "Angel Island," p. 17; Land Claim 208 ND, Angel Island, July 10, 1854, in Bowman, "Testimony," p. 133.

23. Hussey, "Angel Island," p. 17; MacDonald, Angel Island, p. 58, 62-65; Gilmer to De Russy, OCE, May 3, 1860, NA, RG77, OCE, Land Papers, Box 8.

proscribed number of leagues delegated by the Mexican Government for designated pueblos such as San Francisco. On that basis, the ranchos of Punta de Lobos and Laguna de Merced reverted to the ownership of the city and county of San Francisco, which designated them as part of the "Outside Lands," and all existing claims to these lands were invalidated.[24]

C. San Francisco and the Gold Rush

The cry of gold resounded from California's American River in January 1848 and rapidly reverberated throughout the world. Within the year California's American population increased twelve fold, while immigrants from Europe, South America, and China hurriedly packed for their journey to the gold fields, and a few California pioneers prepared to make their fortune by selling high-priced supplies to the hordes of newcomers.

Only months before the discovery of gold, but in anticipation of a prosperous future for the port of San Francisco--renamed as such by ordinance of January 1847--the Pacific Mail Steamship Company incorporated on April 12, 1848, and promptly began operation of three side-wheeler steamers between San Francisco and Panama. These ships, the California, Oregon, and Panama, brought many of the first immigrants to their port of destination on the California coast. By 1849 many other enterprising pioneers had established commercial rivalry along the

24. Dwinelle, Colonial History.

San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers, direct routes to the gold fields.[25]

Yerba Buena or San Francisco won little praise from early Americans to the coast. In the first months of 1847 Lieutenant Wise sailed into the harbor on board an American warship, and found the "little village of Yerba Buena" poorly planned:

> The site seems badly chosen, for although it reposes in partial shelter, beneath the high bluffs of the coast, yet a great portion of the year it is enveloped in chilling fogs, and invariably, during the afternoon, strong sea breezes are drawn through the straights . . . the sand is swept in blinding clouds over the town and the adjacent shores of the bay.

And yet, Wise concluded, "the place was rapidly thriving under the indomitable energy of our countrymen." In July of the same year, Lt. William Tecumseh Sherman arrived at Yerba Buena to find that Captain Folsom and other American officers had busily bought up town lots, showing the ultimate optimism in the port's future. When advised by the captain to join in the land investments, Sherman refused, later explaining, "I felt actually insulted that he should think me such a fool as to pay money for property in such a horrid place as Yerba Buena, especially ridiculing his quarter of the city, then called Happy Valley."[26]

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25. Caughey, Pacific Coast, p. 291; Bancroft, History, 6: 127, 129; George H. Harlan, San Francisco Ferryboats (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1967), p. 13; Soule, Annals, p. 157.

26. Wise, Los Gringos, pp. 69-79; William T. Sherman, Memoirs of General William T. Sherman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957), p. 33.

While Sherman felt puzzled by his compatriots' interest in Yerba Buena, other Americans perceptively envisoned a brave, exciting future for the San Francisco Bay community under the United States flag:

> Soon its immense sheet of water would become enlivened with thousands of vessels, and steamboats would ply between the towns, which, as a matter of course, would spring up on its shore. While on other locations, along the banks of the rivers, would be seen manufactories and saw-mills. . . . Everything would improve; population would increase; consumption would be greater, and industry would follow.[27]

Indeed, Alfred Robinson, showed foresight when he projected San Francisco's growth after the American occupation, without knowledge of the fantastic changes which the gold rush would bring to the bay and its shores.

The bay, then, proved to be the key to Yerba Buena's growth. In February 1849 the first steamship arrived from Panama, and that year the town began to win trade, serving many of the 100,000 to 106,000 immigrants to arrive in California that year. Gold mining supplies, clothes, and other essential equipment for the fortune seekers came into great demand. Expenses soared in San Francisco, especially after most of the town's population dashed off to the gold mines, leaving ships, shops, and houses vacant. For a time the town served as a temporary camping ground en route to the mines. In December 1849 the hills of the town were covered with rude buildings, most of which were only canvas sheds. But by the early 1850s many disappointed gold miners began to migrate back to San Francisco to take advantage of its growing commerce. In 1853 San Francisco contained 160 hotels and

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27. Robinson, Life in California, p. 143.

public houses, sixty-six restaurants, nineteen banking firms, and nearly 250 public streets and alleys. Maritime commerce had grown enormously with 1,028 vessels arriving and 1,653 vessels departing that year. Imports totaled some 745,000 tons, valued at $35,000. Exports in gold dust were worth about $65,000,000. Clipper ships from the East Coast were sailing record voyages around Cape Horn carrying passengers and cargoes and giving scores of men employment on the wharves and ships.

By 1854 local shipbuilding at Rincon Point and Happy Valley (which Sherman particularly had ridiculed), had grown extensively, in anticipation of the great part San Francisco was to play in California's history. Vessels had begun to sail for China and Japan, bringing back commodities and immigrants. And on the bay several steamboat owners had joined forces in March 1854 as the California Steam Navigation Company, with a capital of $2,500,000. San Francisco by 1855 had provided a gateway to the gold fields and by so doing had gained its lead in the commerce of California, a lead which it would hold for decades to follow.[28]

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28. Bancroft, History, 6: 158, 167; Larkin to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, June 1, 1848 in Hammond, ed., The Larkin Papers 7: 285-6; Soule, Annals, pp. 492-495, 497, 521, 547; Stephen Field, California Alcalde (Oakland: Biobooks, 1950), p. 16.

IV. SAN FRANCISCO AS A CENTER FOR TRADE AND INDUSTRY

A. Local Industries Supply A Growing Market

1. Marin County's Contributions

a. Lumber and Firewood

Redwood and fir trees in the vicinity of Bolinas Bay for nearly a decade furnished lumber for San Francisco's wharves, wharehouses, and other construction. In the fall of 1849 James Hough and P.G. Hatch, joined by, on two occasions, Joaquin Armas, signed agreements with rancheros Gregorio Briones and Rafael Garcia, as well as with William Blaisdell and William Smith, for ten-year rights to fell trees on their land. With two exceptions the redwoods grew in gulches leading up Bolinas Ridge. Rafael Garcia granted rights on his rancho "at or near the point of Reyes and known as the Tomales," which, presumably, indicated Inverness Ridge. William Smith's property stood two leagues northwest of Gregorio Briones' residence (on the west side of Bolinas Lagoon), and probably on the same tract of land which the Sweet Timber Company leased in 1956 for cutting and sawing timber.

The agreements favored the lumbermen with rights to make or use any roads, wharfs, mills, houses, barns, or other improvements on the land; with the right to graze any cattle or horses without payment; and to sell their privileges to a third party. In return they were to pay the owners one third part of the lumber or one tenth of the payments received for the lumber, after transportation costs had been deducted, and, finally, they were to leave at least one good sawmill and one good house on the property.

According to Jack Mason the lumber contractors built a new, two-story house for Gregorio Briones, but whether he, or any of the other landowners felt satisfied by the ultimate exchange is impossible to say. The redwood lumber reportedly sold on the San Francisco market at $2.00 per foot--a high price, in

response, no doubt, to the extremely inflated cost of living in California resulting from the Gold Rush. If the agreements were met, the landowners at least were financially rewarded by the loss of their grand trees which, according to the diary of Bolinas lumberman, Captain Oliver Allen, averaged six feet in diameter.[1]

Recollections gathered for the 1880 history of Marin County provide much of the available information on the Bolinas sawmills, and while not documented, the accounts give the impression of first-hand memory of the events surrounding one of Marin County's earliest commercial enterprises. According to this source, the first lumbermen arrived by boat at Bolinas Bay late in 1849 and included several of the county's pioneers and later residents of Bolinas. James Hough himself apparently joined his hired lumbermen on this first trip. They used a large building which stood about 100 yards north of the present Rancho Baulines ranch house, near the head of the lagoon, and close by the embarcadero, or wharf, where the timber was loaded onto rafts and lightered to larger boats anchored in deeper water near the sand bar.

Not until 1851, however, did the lumbermen build the first Bolinas sawmill, which, apparently, a Captain Hammond constructed on the site of Woodville. The following year

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1. The first agreement was with William Blaisdell, dated September 12, 1849; the second with Rafael Garcia, dated October 12, 1849; the third with Garcia and Gregorio Briones, October 12, 1849; and the fourth with William Smith, October 24, 1849. Deed Book A, pp. 282, 275, 279, 284, RDO, MCC; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 263, 267; Oliver Allen Papers, MS, Bancroft Lib., U. of Cal., Berkeley; Mason, Last Stage, p. 7. Palomarin Rancho at Point Reyes Peninsula, Marin County, California, Land Assessment, April 18, 1963, in Western Regional Office files, San Francisco.

Oliver Allen took over the mill and rebuilt it, putting in a circular saw, and thus increasing the daily cutting capacity from 8,000 to 20,000 feet. The remodeled mill, most likely Allen's "Mill No. 1" in his 1853 diary, operated for six years, until 1858, when the machinery was dismantled and sent by boat to San Francisco.

Allen worked for the Bolinas Saw Mill Company which in 1851 or '52 took over the area's first mill, and built another in a nearby gulch. This second mill, probably Allen's "Mill No. 2" in his diary, had a steam-operated circular saw with a capacity of 8,000 feet per day. At some later time George R. Morris purchased this mill and moved it down near the head of the bay where he operated it for some time.

Two other mills apparently were built in the vicinity of Bolinas lagoon, the first in December 1853, and the second not until 1858, the last year of recorded lumbering in the area. J.L. Moultrie built a steam, circular sawmill on Peck's Ridge with a capacity of 12,000 feet daily in 1853; in 1858 D.B.L. Ross and John Rutherford built their mill just south of the Randall House in Olema Valley. The county history estimated that some thirteen million feet of redwood were cut by these four mills, which represented but a small percentage of the original estimate of 50,000,000 feet of timber in the area. The California Surveyor-General's annual report for 1856 recorded that three of the four Marin County mills were operating in Bolinas, and, although the 1859 report showed that the county no longer had any saw mills in operation, the 1860 census listed seven men in Bolinas township in the redwood and oakwood lumber industry.[2]

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2. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 267 and 269. The names given of the first lumbermen were, Captain [Isaac A.] Morgan, Joseph Almy, Charles Lauff, Henderson, B.T. Winslow, Hiram Nott, William F. Chappell, James Hough, Fred Sampson, James Cummings

Several of the later residents and pioneers of the Bolinas area originally worked in some capacity for the lumber industry. Peter Bourne, whose ranch on Bolinas lagoon is now known as the Audubon Canyon ranch, sailed several of the lumber vessels between Bolinas and San Francisco, beginning in 1854. So also did Samuel Clark, Albert Ingermann, and Samuel P. Weeks, all who purchased farms in the Bolinas area after the sawmills closed. Apparently the lumber, having been transported to a wharf at the head of the lagoon by ox-drawn carts and then lightered two miles down the shallow lagoon to the sand bar, was loaded onto one of a

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2. and Dr. Grattan. Ibid., pp. 122 and 267. Oliver Allen, an inventor and mechanic, and early resident on Point Reyes, kept a diary, a part of which, from May to August 1853, has been preserved. As manager of the Baulinas Mills, Allen kept from seven to eleven hands at each of two mills. Oliver Allen Papers, MS, Bancroft Library. George R. Morris signed a lease with Gregorio Briones on March 15, 1852, to cut wood and timber on a tract of land west of Olema. Adan Treganza, "Old Lime Kiln Near Olema," Geologic Guidebook of the San Francisco Bay Counties Bulletin 154, California Division of Mines, December 1951, p. 69; California Surveyor General, Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of California, in Assembly Session of 1856, (Sacramento: James Allen, State Printer, [1856]), p. 217; Ibid., for 1859, ([Sacramento]: Charles T. Butts, State Printer, [1859]), p. 41. The 1869 federal census listed twelve persons on Schedule 5, Products of Industry, in Bolinas township, seven of whom manufactured lumber: Charles Wells and Company, Cornelius Butterman and Company, S.C. Piles and Company, Samuel McCune, James Pedie, Summer Wicks, and W. Wilkins, all who used two to four men as a labor force. Wells and Co. produced 7,500 rails; Butterman, 700 redwood cords; and the rest between 200 and 800 feet of lumber. United States Census Office, Eighth Census, 1860, California, Schedule 5, Products of Industry, Bolinas Township. The earliest available map of the Bolinas area dated October 1858, shows a "steam saw mill" very close to the rancho's northern line, and on the east side of the road, across from Pablo Brione's house. This location grew into the town of Woodville. "Plat of the Rancho Los Baulines" finally confirmed to Gregorio Briones, Survey . . . by Robt. C. Matthewson, Dep. Sur. October 1858. Patent Book A, p. 154, RDO, MCC.

fleet of six to eight schooners and sloops, varying in capacity from 8,000 to 120,000 feet, which carried it down to San Francisco.

Some of the noteworthy Bolinas pioneers who worked directly for the sawmill company included Frank Miller, Charles Lauff, and Henry Strain. Lauff married one of Briones' daughters by whom he fathered nine children, and Henry Strain gave up his job as teamster on the ox-carts, to purchase part of his farm in 1857, where he cut firewood from the older trees on his property. After the huge redwoods were gone the firewood-cutting industry grew stronger in the Bolinas area, steadily supplied for nearly two decades by the pine, alder, and oak trees which flourished in the gulches and along the ridges. Although firewood remained the leading local wood product, some men, like Bolinas pioneer, William W. Wilkins, who later built the first portion of today's "Rancho Baulinas," also cut trees for railroad ties after 1860. But firewood alone kept as many as ten schooners busy, carrying two boatloads per week to San Francisco and furnishing an estimated 500,000 cords of firewood for the city's growing population between 1855 and 1880.[3]

b. Bolinas Shipbuilding

Because of the ready availability of lumber, two brothers, Thomas and William Johnson, located a shipbuilding

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3. Munro Fraser, Marin County, pp. 263, 267, 269, 272, 417-429. In 1875 George Gift reported that a steamer, Continental, plied regularly between Bolinas and San Francisco, as did several sailing vessels, carrying cordwood to the city. Something About California, p. 16. Munro-Fraser explained that the Continental belonged to several Bolinas pioneers who formed the short-lived Bolinas Navigation Company in 1874, p. 272. John Adam Hussey, Site of the Lighter Wharf at Bolinas Registered Landmark #221, California Historical Landmarks Series, (Berkeley: California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Parks, 1936), p. 1.

business on the east shore of Bolinas Lagoon in 1852. The 1880 county history conjectured that more vessels had been built at Bolinas "than at any part of the coast outside San Francisco," which may have had little basis in fact, considering the active maritime commerce along the Coast by 1879, but which, nevertheless, indicated the local significance placed on the Johnson brothers' boats, built between 1852 and 1870. During their eighteen years in business at Bolinas, the Johnsons completed at least ten schooners with a total register of 517 tons. In 1879 two still sailed the coast, one locally and the other out of Mexico; five had been wrecked in the waters between Point Reyes and San Francisco Bay; one had been lost down the coast and another at Sitka; and one had been converted to a steamer. All, at one point in their lifetimes, had most likely sailed to San Francisco to deliver a load of wood or produce from the Marin County shores.[4]

c. Horticultural and Poultry Products

Although dairying fast became Marin County's leading industry as the 1850's came to a close, two Bolinas farmers,

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4. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 270. The schooners' names were: Louisa, Hamlet, Lizzie Shea, Anna Caroline, Effie Newell, Fourth of July, and Francis. One other schooner reportedly was built on Bolinas Bay's shore in 1855 by Captain Joseph Almy. Almy sailed her for twelve years, after which she served as a pilot boat in San Francisco Bay, and, finally, in 1876, as a sea lion hunting boat. In 1878 the schooner apparently wrecked near Bolinas Bay. Almy named his schooner the Joseph Almy. Ibid., pp. 270-271. The county history may have short-changed the Johnsons brothers boatbuilding record, for in April 1862 a travel account reported, "Johnson and Brothers, are Boat-builders, have been here for nine years and have built eleven boats, valued at $3,000 or $4,000 each." California Farmer, April 4, 1862, p. 1; the Plat of Rancho Las Baulines October 1858 shows F. and W. Johnsons on the east shore, along today's McKennan Gulch. Later the brothers moved to the west shore of Bolinas lagoon.

Isaac A. Morgan and Hugh McKennan, raised apples and ducks, respectively, to sell in the San Francisco market. As mentioned earlier, Morgan arranged with Gregorio Briones to buy the land on the east side of Bolinas lagoon in 1852, calling the 2500-acre tract, Belvidere Ranch. That year Morgan evidently received a shipment of trees from New England so that by October 1853, at the state's first agricultural fair, he was able to show three baskets of apples from his orchard; as well as sixteen apples from a tree planted in 1851, presumably by Morgan, who had first come to the area in 1849, and had settled on the east side of the lagoon in 1851.

Early in the 1850s gold mining still preoccupied most Californians so that fresh fruit was scarce and highly prized on the San Francisco market. One twig bearing twenty apples from one of Morgan's trees reportedly sold for a twenty dollar gold piece in the city. Nearly thirty years later Morgan's trees still were producing excellent apples, although by that date many other rural settlers had raised a wide assortment of apple trees to take advantage of the demand for fruit in the city.

Only one other crop appears to have been raised for the San Francisco market in West Marin County: oats, which, for a time, were grown extensively near Olema but which, by 1879, had been dropped in favor of pasture for dairy cattle.[5]

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5. The California Farmer, March 21, 1862, p. 1, c 2; Charles Howard Shinn, "Early Horticulture in California" Overland Monthly 6, 2nd Series (July-December 1885), p. 120; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 122, 262, 265. Captain Morgan also operated a dairy and owned a small fleet of boats locally known as "the Mosquito Fleet," which carried cordwood and other local produce down to San Francisco. In 1870 Morgan sold all his Bolinas possessions and in 1872 returned to the East. Munro-Fraser, Ibid., pp. 268, 272.

Irish-born Hugh McKennan arrived at Bolinas in 1857, having spent one year in the California gold mines and seven in San Francisco. At thirty-one McKennan may have been seeking a place to settle down, for that year he purchased a partnership in Morgan's Belvidere Ranch, and in 1859 he married. McKennan spent seven years as manager of the dairy on the ranch, selling out his interest in 1864, when he returned to San Francisco again for about one and a half years. But Bolinas apparently had won his loyalty for he returned around 1865 and purchased a tract of land from Morgan on the east side of the lagoon, where he built "a tasteful and romantic home," known in May 1870 as the "duck ranch." According to the Marin County Journal of that date, McKennan raised some 2,000 ducks on his ranch, from which he gathered about 100 to 200 eggs daily. Possibly prompted by the Journal's article, a reporter for the San Francisco Evening Bulletin visited McKennan's duck ranch in November 1870, noting that his 2,500 ducks were sheltered in "a very complete arrangement of buildings, pens, etc." and that they enjoyed constant access to a large pond of fresh water, as well as to a section of Bolinas Bay (lagoon). During the egg season McKennan claimed he sent as many as 1,000 eggs per day to the San Francisco market, and as production slowed, as few as 250 eggs per day. McKennan fed his ducks an average of fifty-five tons of the best wheat and constantly maintained a healthy flock by selling the old ones and raising young ones. Like all other local produce from the Bolinas area, McKennan's eggs were first transported by water to the anchorage at the bar where ships were loaded with cargoes for the San Francisco market.

Only two weeks after the Bulletin reporter visited McKennan's novel duck ranch, another Marin County Journal writer reported that his ranch supported from seven to ten thousand ducks, a jump of some three or four times the number given earlier in November. Whether the count was accurate or not,

McKennan for some time evoked local excitement and enthusiasm for furnishing the city's residents with fresh poultry products.[6]

d. Dairy Products

More will be said about Marin County's dairy industry later in the report but for now it is important to mention that the production of butter and milk in Marin County helped fill a crying need in San Francisco food supplies during the early decades after the American takeover. In the first years after the Gold Rush San Francisco's residents and visitors had to be satisfied with imported butter, salted and packed in firkins for the long journey from the East Coast or Chile. The Mexican rancheros had pursued no dairying at all, and the first Americans in California nearly all went into trade or the gold fields, leaving the bay area to make do. In 1854 a reporter for the Daily Alta sighed with relief as he congratulated the city's population on their "nice, fresh butter" which had been shipped from Sonora, Petaluma and Santa Clara, and recalled with distaste the firkin butter of '49-'50 which had been sent from Chile wrapped in corn husks, "and partaking strongly of the character of hog's lard, which we always believed to be one of its principal ingredients." The butter that had been sent around Cape Horn from the Eastern States had had its own repugnant qualities, for when opened in San Francisco it "emitted a 'most ancient and fish-like smell.' "[7]

Sonoma County, just north of Marin, provided the first steady source of dairy products in the bay area, and

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6. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 424; Marin County Journal May 1, 1870, p. 3; November 26, 1870, p. 2; San Francisco Evening Bulletin November 11, 1870, p. 3. Mason, Last Stage, p. 64, notes that McKennan died April 11, 1885.

7. San Francisco Daily Alta California, May 25, 1854, p. 2.

although in 1856 the number of dairies were rapidly increasing as disheartened miners turned their attention to more familiar and more lucrative activities, the Sonoma supply of butter and cheese filled only a fraction of the demand from San Francisco's growing population. San Franciscans were so eager to receive dairy products, in fact, that they accepted cheese which in other places would be considered to be in "an unmarketable or uncured state."[8]

By 1857 Marin County's dairy pioneers had added to their products to the San Francisco market, providing an impressive 197,000 pounds of butter and 140,000 pounds of cheese. Dairymen had started operation that year in Point Reyes, Olema Valley, and, possibly, on Rancho Sausalito, under Samuel Throckmorton's management. By the summer of 1859 a Daily Alta reporter was able to write, "Marin is emphatically a grazing, rather than a grain county. The butter and cheese manufactured here are inferior to none, and the dairymen have the advantage over most of their competitors, it being so close to the commercial emporium." The reporter's high praise of Marin County's dairy products takes on greater significance in light of the fact that in 1859 twenty-four other California counties had furnished the market with close to 2,000,000 pounds of butter, and nineteen other counties had produced cheese for sale.[9]

Besides having the advantage of proximity to the San Francisco market, Marin County, like other coastal

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8. Ibid., February 12, 1856, p. 2.

9. Ibid., January 1, 1860, p. 2; California, Surveyor General, Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of California for 1857 ([Sacramento]: John O'Meara, State Printer [1857]), n.p. According to a sheriff's sale recorded in Deed Book C, p. 460, RDO, MCC, dairy farms had been established on the Sausalito Rancho by the fall of 1859.

counties, enjoyed an excellent, moist climate for raising dairy cattle. The weather, combined with the exceptional natural grazing lands, the abundance of springs, and the careful planning and skill demonstrated by the dairy landowners and ranchers, quickly pulled Marin County--the smallest county in the state--into the lead in dairy production. By 1862 Marin had passed Sonoma County in the amount of butter produced--200,000 pounds to 191,400--placing her as number one in California. Similarly, Marin won over all other dairy counties that year in cheese production, furnishing the market with 300,000 pounds, 50,000 more than the runner-up, Santa Clara County. In addition to cheese and butter, the county also sent milk to the San Francisco market from the ranches near Sausalito, where it was loaded and shipped daily across the Golden Gate. For decades Marin County continued to lead in butter production throughout the state, and although her dairy industry has been on a slow decline since the turn of the century, a few Point Reyes ranches still send milk to San Francisco, defying the trend which is forcing the county's dairy industry into extinction.[10]

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10. Cronise, Natural Wealth, pp. 368-9; Henry DeGroot, "Dairies and Dairying in California," Overland Monthly 4 (April 1870): 355. Charles Nordhoff, Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1875), pp. 178, 198; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 135; Bancroft, History 7: 567; California, Surveyor General, Annual Report of the Surveyor-General of the State of California for the Year 1862 (Sacramento: P. Avery, State Printer, 1863), p. 126; Francis E. Sheldon, "Dairying in California," Overland Monthly 17, 2nd Ser., No. 100 (April 1891), p. 339; John S. Hittell, The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast of North America (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Company, Publishers, 1882), p. 261; Hittell herein explained that dairies within two hours of San Francisco produced milk, while those within a day's travel, butter, and those further still, cheese, to assure against spoilage. Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California (Chicago Lewis Publishing Company, 1891), p. 156. In the discussion of Marin County as a leader in the state's dairy industry, more will be said about the ranches, landowners, and ranchers of West Marin. The plight of the modern Marin dairymen was discussed briefly in an interview between the writer and James McClure, Point Reyes dairyman, 1975.

e. Hogs

Hogs, fattened on the skim milk produced in the process of making butter on Marin County dairy ranches, were also sold on the San Francisco market, helping to support the dairy ranchers and feed the city dwellers. In 1904 Marin's hogs had gained such popularity in San Francisco that they fetched the highest prices on the market.[11]

f. Water

As many of the first visitors to Yerba Buena discovered, the town had an unreliable water supply which became increasingly taxed as the Gold Rush immigrants arrived at the port en route to the mines. In 1850 William A. Richardson, owner of Rancho Sausalito, together with his son-in-law, Manuel Torres, organized the Sausalito Water Works.

In Sausalito Cove near the shore they constructed a water tank thirty feet square and eight feet high which they filled by piping in the spring water on adjacent hillsides. Their regular service of shipping the water by steam scows to San Francisco soon fell behind the pressing demand in the city, so they built a tank twice as large and continued to ship water across the bay until the Spring Valley Water Works in San Francisco began supplying the city's water in July 1863.[12]

2. San Francisco's Black Point Cove Attracts Industry

a. Pioneer Woolen Mills

In 1858 the San Francisco firm of Heynemann, Pick and Company pioneered the manufacture of wool in California

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11. San Francisco Chronicle, November 12, 1904, p. 13.

12. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 389; Hansen, Almanac, p. 42.

when they opened the Pioneer Woolen Factory in Black Point Cove. The business struggled through its first years, suffering from the high cost of importing suitable machinery and skilled laborers, and from a fire in October 1861 which destroyed the mill with its sixteen looms and four sets of cards. Optimistic that their enterprise would succeed, however, the company rebuilt the mill in brick on the same site, imported new machinery from the East, and had the business in operation again within eight months.

The new mill operated with nine sets of cards, thirty one looms, 2,800 spindles, and fifty-two sewing machines. Employees of the mill numbered 220, earning $100,000 collectively in wages per year. The mill consumed 1,200,000 pounds of California wool annually. Blankets made up about one-quarter of the wool purchased, flannel nearly one-half, and tweeds and cashmeres, about one-third. With the combined production of the Pioneer and the Mission Mills (established about 1861), woolen products in San Francisco and California were cheaper than they had been when imported during the 1850s.[13]

By 1882 Pioneer had bought out and relocated the Mission Mills in the four-story brick building constructed after the 1861 fire. The mill building measured sixty by 400 feet, making a prominent landmark on the sparsely settled horizon of San Francisco's outskirts. Within, the factory had been rearranged to accept machinery from the Mission and Pacific Mills. Annually the mill produced at least 30,000 pair of blankets, as well as flannels, cashmere, doeskins, robes, and ladies' cloakings, consuming thereby about 3,500,000 pounds of wool and 100,000 pounds of cotton, with a total value in manufactured items worth $1,500,000.

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13. San Francisco Daily Alta California Sept. 12, 1865; Hittell, Commerce and Industries, p. 440.

But woolen manufacturing required considerable capital, and at the Pioneer Mill wages for 800 employees as well as the expenses for coal and water worked against the business. In 1889 the factory, then the largest on the coast, closed its doors on the massive machinery and nearly 1,000 hands employed at that time. The reason given: the strong competition from Eastern woolen factories had undermined the Pioneer Woolen Mills by flooding the market with low-priced fabrics. The Pioneer Mill building stood vacant for years after, and in 1894 its owners tried to persuade the Lick trust to purchase it, together with the adjoining three-story brick workshops building, for $125,000, explaining that the original construction cost that amount and that the buildings remained, after thirty-two years, in perfect condition. But the trust needed a benefactor in order to afford to buy the buildings and further record in 1908 only showed that Southern Pacific Company had acquired the property. The surviving buildings, which, in the early twentieth century, contributed to the growing threat of industrial blight at the picturesque cove, today constitute a part of the famous San Francisco tourist attraction Ghirardelli Square.[14]

b. Selby Smelting Works

Thomas H. Selby and Company located a lead smelting works at Black Point Cove, near the woolen mills, in 1868. According to Cronise, the company owned the only lead smelting

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14. San Francisco, The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and Its Suburban Cities, 2 volumes, (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1892), 1:319; San Francisco Morning Call, March 22, 1894, p. 3; "Map Showing Structures in Eastern Addition Blocks 32 to 38 Inclusive . . . July 1908," at City Engineers's Office, Public Works Department, San Francisco Civic Center.

works on the coast, beginning their operation in 1865. The Black Point works produced lead from argentiferous galena from the mines of the Castle Dome District in Arizona. Among the joint owners of the company were prominent San Franciscans, James C. Flood, Bonanza King, and A.J. Ralston.[15]

c. The Spring Valley Water Works

Although no written descriptions of the Spring Valley Water Works property on the shore of Black Point Cove turned up during research, the company's facility and reservoir appeared on several late nineteenth century maps. In 1894 the company owned a lot 123 feet by 137.6 feet in Block 38, otherwise owned by Pioneer Woolen Mills, and bounded by Beach, Polk, North Point, and Van Ness Streets, and another similar lot across Beach Street in Block 37. The lot in Block 37 stood right on the beach and in 1908 contained the "Black Point Pump House," while in Block 38 the Spring Valley Water Works had constructed one brick and one frame structure with an adjoining pit. The reservoir stood between the two lots, on Beach Street, near the intersection of Van Ness Avenue, not yet an opened throughway.[16]

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15. Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 628; Roger Olmstead, "History of Aquatic Park Area," Notebook entitled "Aquatic Park" at San Francisco Maritime Museum, Aquatic Park, San Francisco. The San Francisco Block Book of 1894 showed no smelter works. The date of its closure is not known at this time. Handy Block Book of San Francisco . . . Compiled from Official Records 1894 (San Francisco. The Hicks-Judd Company, 1894), p. 118.

16. Handy Block Book, 1894, p. 118; "Map . . . Eastern Addition Blocks 1908."

B. Maritime Commerce on San Francisco Bay

Since the first Spanish explorers recorded their impressions, San Francisco Bay has been recognized as one of the most important harbors on the Pacific Coast. During the nineteenth century San Francisco grew into one of the world's great ports. By 1927, the harbor served as an outlet for products from approximately seventy percent of California, as well as for cargoes from around the world. Until the late 1930's, when the Golden Gate and San Francisco-Oakland Bay bridges spanned the great harbor's shores, maritime commerce controlled the transport of all local, national, and international products arriving at and departing from San Francisco.[17]

1. Bay and Inland Vessels

a. Ferries

The Gold Rush brought thousands of anxious, hurried fortune-seekers to the port of San Francisco, and by 1849 numerous boats had begun ferrying these immigrants across the bay and up the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers, to lands or towns serving the mining districts. As San Francisco emerged as the leading California port, and as the bay communities began to grow, the need for ferryboats increased. In 1869 the first transcontinental railroad linked San Francisco Bay with the East,

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17. John Haskell Kemble, San Francisco Bay, A Pictorial Maritime History (New York: Bonanza Books, 1947), p. 1; California, Board of State Harbor Commissioners, Biennial Report of the Board of State Harbor Commissioners for the Fiscal Years Commencing July 1, 1926, and Ending June 30, 1928, p. 16; Father Crespi's impressions of the harbor of February 6, 1770, are found in Bolton, Crespi, p. 28; Father Font's of March 27, 1776, in Bolton, Anza's California 4:333; Anza's 1775 impressions in Ibid., 1:385; See also, Robinson, Life in California, p. 142; Dana, Two Years, p. 257.

opening an age of railroad monopolies in the San Francisco Bay Area. By the early 1870s railroad companies not only owned, but also operated all the bay ferries. The Central Pacific, Southern Pacific, Western Pacific, Northwestern Pacific, and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroads represented but the giants in the business; at least seven other smaller railroad companies competed during the years prior to 1939, often varying their ferry service to accommodate excursion trips, freight trains, dairy or beef cattle, milk, produce, baggage, express mail, passengers, and, finally, automobiles. As many as thirty different ferry lines ran at different times on the bay, and, during their heyday, around 1930, as many as fifty or sixty ferryboats operated simultaneously on the bay. In one year, 1930, Southern Pacific ferries alone carried 40,211,535 people across the bay, which only hints at the total count had all the other lines added their figures.

The ferryboats, first steam operated and then diesel, were painted white, yellow, orange, or green--in sharp contrast to dark-hulled ocean-going ships--and were equipped with restaurants, bars, and other convenient amenities which provided the passengers with a comfortable and memorable means of transportation only recently revived by a pressing demand for better transportation to and from the city.[18]

b. Scow Schooners

To navigate the shallow tidal waters and channels of the bay and its tributary streams and rivers, San Francisco Bay boat builders of the mid-nineteenth century designed

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18. Harlan, San Francisco Ferryboats, pp. 11, 13, 15, 23, 133, 135, 137; Jerry MacMullen, Paddle Wheel Days In California. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1945), p. 125; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, p. 75.

the scow schooner, a unique contribution to American marine architecture. The scow schooner's flat bottom and heavy construction allowed for loading in the mud; its square stern and bow for easier maneuvering in narrow spaces; and its shallow and light draft for sailing in otherwise inaccessible shallow waters, with a cargo weighing generally twice the schooner's tonnage. Because they primarily brought hay to San Francisco to feed the horses, these sailboats locally became known as hay scows, but they also transported other bulky products like bricks, lumber, bark, salt, fertilizer, and grain. At their peak, as many as 300 to 400 scow schooners plied the waters of the bay, providing as essential and useful a service as the trucks and bridges which replaced them.[19]

c. Feluccas

Since the Gold Rush days commercial fishing on the bay has provided a livelihood for a variety of immigrants, prominent among them, Italians. In the 1850s Genoese Italians began to fish in boats styled after their traditional felucca, a lateen-rigged, plumb-sterned sailing vessel which typified the city's best-known fishing fleet from the 1850s to the turn of the century. During the 1870s Sicilians arrived in San Francisco in great numbers and rapidly took over the local fishing industry, dominating the markets from that point forward. Born to the sea, these clannish southern Italians even sailed the feluccas out beyond the heads in pursuit of their day's catch. After 1900,however, the Italians began to convert their traditional feluccas to power boats,

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19. Barbara Fetesoff, "San Francisco's Alma," The Wooden Boat 1, No. 3 (1975), p. 8; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, pp. 83-85; "The San Francisco Bay Scow Schooner Alma," information sheet, provided by San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park.

ending a picturesque half-century of these small craft on the bay.[20]

2. Pacific Industries Based at San Francisco Bay

San Francisco Bay during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries served as home base for a number of Pacific industries, prominent among them, the whaling and saltwater fishing industries, northwest lumbering, and the sugar industry. All these industries depended on a fleet of ships to transport their goods to San Francisco where they were eventually marketed.

a. Whaling

In the 1850s whaling ships avoided San Francisco Bay, at first to protect their crews from abandoning ship for the gold mines, and, later, to avoid the exorbitant pilot fees. Concerned that San Francisco win back the whaling fleets by lowering the pilotage fees, a writer in 1856 explained that the American and foreign whalers together numbered more than 2,400 ships and that each ship carried an estimated 1,000 barrels of sperm oil. San Francisco businessmen evidently saw the commercial value of providing suitable incentives for the whalers, because by 1857 ten were operating out of San Francisco and from 1884 to 1892, as many as forty whaling ships were based there. Although the resident fleet did not readily reflect the fact, San Francisco

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20. Kemble, San Francisco Bay, pp. 99-102, 105; San Francisco Progress August 3, 1974, p. 6; David Starr Jordan, "The Fisheries of California," Overland Monthly 20, 2d series, (July-December 1892), p. 478. The Italian fishing fleet continued to grow in the twentieth century, numbering at its prime during the 1930s as many as 500 boats at Fishermen's Wharf, 300 which were crab boats and the others sardine seiners. San Francisco Progress, Ibid. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Fisheries, The Commercial Fisheries of the Pacific Coast States In 1904 Bureau of Fisheries Document No. 612 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 21.

apparently was the principal whaling port in the world from 1885 to 1905.[21]

b. Pacific Coast Fisheries

As the West Coast populations continued to rise during the nineteenth century, so also did the demand for fish. In 1892, after a decade of rapid growth, San Francisco supported the only large fishing industry on the Pacific Coast, providing thereby two-thirds of the capital and more than half the labor force for all the Pacific Coast salt water fisheries. The industry included cod and salmon catches in Alaskan waters as well as extensive shore fishing in San Francisco Bay, and along the coast for about thirty miles north and south of the Golden Gate. By 1904 San Francisco's fisheries, represented by twenty-six firms with a total investment of $2,157,950 in boats, vessels, apparatus and capital, still led all other California counties in the quantity of fish marketed. The highest catches on a list of twenty-three varieties of fish brought into the San Francisco markets were:

	Pounds
Cod, salted	5,622,944
Flounders, fresh	2,625,316
Herring	1,344,000
Sole	3,821,408
Crabs	4,216,800

21. "State of California in 1856 Frederico Biesta's Report to the Sardinian Ministry of Foreign Affairs," California Historical Society Quarterly 42, No. 4 (December 1963), p. 322; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, p. 119; Philip L. Weaver, Jr., "Salt Water Fisheries of the Pacific Coast," Overland Monthly 20, 2d ser. (July-December, 1892), p. 156. The historic whaling ship, Charles Morgan, preserved in the Maritime Museum at Mystic, Connecticut, was a part of this San Francisco-based whaling fleet.

Only three other California counties that year produced over a million pounds of any one variety of fish--Humboldt, Los Angeles, and Contra Costa, the last being a San Francisco Bay county.[22]

The Alaskan cod fishing industry emerged in the late 1860s as a commercial success but proceeded to have a shaky history throughout the rest of the century. In 1870 as many as twenty-two large sailing vessels set out from San Francisco for the five to six-month voyage. While all the Pacific Coast sailing vessels engaged in cod fishing were owned by San Francisco companies until the mid-1890s, the catch of cod was taken to Marin County to be dryed and packed, having been salted on board ship for storage during the return voyage. By 1892 the cod fishing industry had declined materially due to a low demand, competition with eastern companies working western waters, and the attraction of capital in salmon canning industry.

Finally, at the close of the century, Japanese joined in the competition, making the cod fishing industry that much more risky for the investors.

Around the turn of the century the Pacific Coast cod fishing industry began to consolidate into three stable companies, two of which--the Union Fish Company and the Alaska Codfish Company--were based in San Francisco. Perhaps this reorganization explains the 5,622,944 pounds of salted cod brought to San Francisco in 1904, leading all other varieties of fish caught

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22. Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries," pp. 149, 156, 163; U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Pacific Coast Commercial Fisheries 1904, pp. 26, 58-9, 61.

by California fishing boats that year. The cod fishing industry continued to send out sailing vessels to Alaska each spring until after World War II, by so doing preserving the last of the deep-sea sailing ships in active use on the Pacific Coast.[23]

While the cod fishing industry only briefly assumed commercial importance in San Francisco, the Alaskan salmon industry emerged in the early 1880s as a sizeable enterprise and finally grew to be the most valuable fisheries in the world. Scores of sailing vessels made annual runs to Alaska each year, having been fitted out and manned, largely by Chinese laborers, in San Francisco. These deep-water cargo vessels carried the fishermen, the laborers to work in the company's canneries and salteries, and also the vast amount of materials and supplies required to bring the salmon catch back to San Francisco canned and ready for immediate sale.

By 1890 the enormous salmon catches and the overabundance of competing canneries in Alaska led the packers to form the Alaska Packers Association in 1892 which, with all but one of the Bristol Bay and Kodiak packers as members, reduced the cost of canned salmon on the market by limiting the number of canneries in operation. The formation of the corporation gave the salmon canning industry stability and allowed its steady expansion. By 1904 the large fleet of steamers and sailing vessels were bringing salmon products to San Francisco for world distribution.

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23. San Francisco Maritime Museum, The Schooner C.A. Thayer, 5 vols., Reports to the State of California, Division of Beaches and Parks, on the history and Restoration of the C.A. Thayer, (San Francisco:1959-60), 1:75-79; Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries," p. 156; U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Pacific Fisheries 1904, p. 61; Hittel, Commerce and Industry, p. 342.

The salmon industry, supported by its prolonged use of economical sailing vessels, continued until the 1920s, when the 2,000-mile voyage to the salmon streams of central Alaska, and the extended canning and salting operations there no longer returned adequate profits.[24]

In addition to canned and salted fish, San Francisco also supplied most of California, as well as other Pacific Coast states and several Western states, including Arizona, Wyoming, and Colorado, with fresh fish. An increased demand for fresh fish accompanied the growth of Oakland and San Francisco during the 1880s. By 1892 the San Francisco market handled not only locally caught fish but also fresh fish iced and shipped to San Francisco from Santa Barbara and points south of San Pedro, California. But California's fresh fish catches came predominantly from the waters off San Francisco and Marin Counties, furnished by a fleet of 175 fishing boats, many of which moored or unloaded their day's catch at San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf, located, in 1892, under the brow of Telegraph Hill. Of the 175, 120 boats fished with nets and seines; twenty-five with trawl lines outside the Heads, and thirty fished with nets for crabs, operating from wharves at Harbor View, near the Presidio. The predominantly Italian local fishing crews were supplemented by other Southern European nationalities such as Greeks, Spaniards, Portuguese, and

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24. Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries," pp. 149 and 156; U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, Pacific Fisheries, p. 26; C.A. Thayer, Part II, pp. 37, 45, 54-56, 71; on the latter page the report notes that Chinese constituted most of the cannery workers until the turn of the century, when a shortage of Chinese and the expansion of the industry led the salmon companies to turn to Japanese laborers, and then, by 1920, to Filipinos and Mexicans, all of them very poorly paid. "The Three-Masted Schooner, C.A. Thayer," Fact Sheet provided at San Francisco Maritime State Historical Park.

Slavs, none of whom spoke English, giving the City's waterfront an especially ethnic character.[25]

In 1892 five wealthy Italian, Spanish, and Greek fish dealers formed the Peter Koster and Company to introduce the Mediterranean paranzella or trawl net to San Francisco's fishing industry. The enormous drag nets were the subject of considerable public criticism in the press because when pulled between the company's two steam tugs, operating along the shore from the Golden Gate to Point Reyes, the nets hauled in tons of marine life, only a fraction of which went to market. The bulk of the catch was deliberately destroyed by the fishermen or crushed and asphyxiated by the pressure within the net.[26]

With the paranzella nets, the fishermen could bring in as many as 100 boxes of fresh fish a day to the city market, and could thereby control the species and quantity of fish put up for sale. In 1894, despite his defensive withdrawal from the public eye after the scathing reviews in the press, A. Paladini, president of the Peter Koster and Company, granted permission to James Griffes to accompany one of the fishing crews which worked a paranzella net. Boarding the steam tug, Farragut, at three in the morning, Griffes and the crew of eight fishermen set off from Fishermen's Wharf for Drake's Bay, to join the second steamer, Golden Gate, which anchored in the lee of Point Reyes and made only one weekly trip to San Francisco. The three-hour trip up the coast, mostly in the dark, proved to be an adventure only for

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25. Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries," pp. 149, 151, 155; Jordan, "California Fisheries," p. 475.

26. Weaver, Ibid, pp. 152-3, 157.

Griffes, the crew choosing to sleep below until their arrival at six a.m., when the two steam tugs came together to arrange the paranzella net between them. The boats then cruised a three-mile course between Double Point and Point Reyes, always running against the tide. This course they completed twice daily, and sometimes three times, on Thursdays, for the Friday market.

Griffes watched with apparent awe, as the huge nets were pulled up on deck from the sandy bottom, teaming with some five tons of marine life, predominantly flounder, sole, and rays, but also including hake, crabs, cod, sharks, devilfish, star fish, kingfish, shells, and rock cod. The sorting of the fish followed, Griffes explained, when "only the very choicest of all but the very best varieties are kept. All the others are thrown overboard, a far greater number than are preserved. The fish are all dead before they strike the water." In the vein of the company's critics who nearly made Griffes' trip impossible, he continued, "Truly, the slaughter is somewhat appalling." According to Griffes, this San Francisco fish company had become the biggest fish monopoly in the world.[27]

The Peter Koster Company's two steam tugs, as well as several smaller sailing boats during the 1890s, had begun to tap with their shore nets and seines, the most extensive fishing ground on the Pacific Coast at that date developed--the stretch from the Golden Gate north to Point Reyes. Despite the alarmingly wasteful practices of the San Francisco fishermen, these waters continued to supply the market for some years, while the same

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27. Weaver, Ibid., p. 149; James H. Griffes, "Drake's Bay Fishing," Overland Monthly 24, 2d Series, (July-December 1894), pp. 453-460.

shrewd fish-dealing families continued in the business. The Koster Company's President in 1894, A. Paladini, later owned his own profitable fresh fish company which, like its predecessor, set up a subsidiary fishing headquarters at Point Reyes, building a wharf and fish house there in June 1923. Another San Francisco fishing outfit, F.E. Booth Company, had also constructed a wharf and fish house in the lee of Point Reyes, where the fishing fleets, sometimes numbering as many as forty to sixty, could safely anchor even when the northwest winds of June made all other anchorages in the area unsafe. By the 1920's these companies were trawling in deeper waters, bringing in salmon, pompano, and albacore in their respective seasons.

Fresh fish companies continued to rely on Point Reyes as a field base until recently. In 1970 the Paladini Company pier burned down; the Booth Company pier, which had apparently been taken over sometime in the 1930's by the Ignacio Alioto Consolidated Fish Company and, after 1941, by the F. Alioto Fish Company, has been condemned as unsafe by the National Park Service; and the third pier, built in the 1930's, remains in infrequent use by the San Francisco-based California Shellfish Company.[28]

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28. Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries," p. 152; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 98; Commandant, F.C. Billard to Superintendent G.B. Lofberg, Twelfth District, San Francisco and Field Assistant Andre Fourchy, January 19, 1925, N.A., R.G. 26, Coast Guard, Twelfth District, File 220, Point Reyes, According to Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 85, fishermen had resorted at Drake's Bay as early as the 1860's to follow their vocation. National Register Form for F.E. Booth Company Pier, Consolidated Fish Company Pier, F. Alioto Fish Company Pier; prepared by Gordon Chappell, Regional Historian, Western Region, February 26, 1976; Interview, Anna Coxe Toogood with Joseph Mendoza, February 6, 1976.

San Francisco's waterfront still has its Fishermen's Wharf, its Italian fishermen, and its fresh fish market, but no longer does the city lead all the Pacific Coast in the fishing industry. The fleet's prominent location in the center of a busy tourist center, however, suffices to remind visitors of the enduring fishing legacy on San Francisco Bay and the surrounding coastal waters.

c. The Lumber Industry

With the depletion of lumber sources close to San Francisco Bay during the late 1850s, and with a constant and increasing demand for wood all over California, the San Francisco-based lumber industry moved north to Mendocino County's vast tracts of redwood stretching some 200 miles and more north of San Francisco. A few wealthy and enterprising San Francisco capitalists financed the North Pacific Coast Railroad from Sausalito to the Russian River forests in the mid-1870s to try to provide a reliable and quick overland means to haul lumber to the city, but most lumber companies invested in fleets of sailing vessels, mostly schooners, to bring the merchandise to market. Faced with the dual problem that the coastal forests had no adequate overland access and that the rocky Mendocino and Humboldt coasts south of Humboldt Bay had very few harbors, the industry's leaders soon realized that ships needed to be designed specifically for the needs of the trade. During the 1860s small two-masted schooners carried cargoes of 70,000 to 100,000 board feet of lumber to San Francisco, but as the industry expanded north to Oregon and Washington in the 1870s, three-masted schooners began to take their place. Beginning in the late 1880s four and even five-masted schooners joined the lumber fleet, but during the next decade steam-powered schooners with greater navigational control increasingly made their way up the coast, one by one replacing the sailing vessels. The early steam schooners of the 1880s were sailing vessels equipped with coal-burning steam engines. They, as well as many of the

newly constructed steamships, continued to carry sails until 1915, Although by 1905 the lumber companies no longer were commissioning for sailing ships, the available, economical sailing schooners persevered in the industry for another decade.[29]

The steam schooners, like their sailing sisters, loaded in little coves near shore where wire chutes stretched from the seventy-five foot high cliffs down to the water. Slings loaded with wood materials--railroad ties, posts, wood and tanbark--were attached to the cable and let down by gravity to the deck of the ship, where experienced hands carefully loaded them. For the sailing vessels, part of the cargo went below, while half of the lumber was stacked on deck. These sturdy ships were designed to carry their bulky load to market and return to the northwest coast without need for any ballast, despite the prevailing northwest winds; to operate with immense loads with as small a crew as possible; and to be loaded and unloaded easily and quickly, all to compensate, wherever possible, for operational costs laid out for a product of relatively low value. The steam schooners eventually proved their superiority to the sailing ships by being able to navigate up inland waters, where they could load directly and more safely at the mill wharves.[30]

The lumber industry prospered during two building booms; one in the 1880's, when Southern California reached

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29. Roger Olmsted, C.A. Thayer and the Pacific Lumber Schooners (no City: Ward Ritchie Press, 1972), n.p. This booklet was prepared for the State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation. Jackson C. McNairn, "Steam Schooner Sagas," Typescript copied from U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings, July 1942.

30. Olmsted, Ibid.; McNairn, Ibid.

a peak of its first real estate craze, and another early in the twentieth century which was accelerated in 1906 by the need to rebuild San Francisco after the earthquake and fire in April of that year. Several of the large San Francisco firms which pioneered the lumber industry--the firms of Dollar, Linderman, and McCormick--still operated in 1942, while many other companies had closed and were forgotten. The industry, like all those involved in coastwise trade, suffered in the labor strife in San Francisco during the 1930's, and throughout the subsequent two decades it gradually declined.[31]

d. Sugar Industry

San Francisco's maritime commerce also was stimulated by the development of the sugar refining industry in San Francisco Bay. Following a treaty of reciprocity between Hawaii and the United States in January 1875, German immigrant Claus Spreckels pioneered the industry, while his son John D., began to build up a fleet of sailing vessels in the 1880s to bring the Hawaiian raw sugar to the refinery at San Francisco. Claus Spreckels invested in huge tracts in Hawaii to grow cane, and in 1882 he received a grant of 24,000 acres of crown lands from Hawaii's legislature to satisfy a $10,000 claim. His son proceeded to build nine ships for the trade, and subsequently organized his own tugboat company to avoid the heavy charges of the Red Stack Tugboat Company which enjoyed a monopoly in the Bay. John Spreckel's Black Stack Tugboat Company initiated stiff competition which finally ended in a cooperative agreement between the two companies.

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31. Olmsted, Ibid.; McNairn, Ibid.; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, p. 145; The name "steam schooner" applied to any powered vessel in the lumber trade. Clipping from Lloyd's Log, September 1968, in Scrapbook 2, San Francisco Maritime State Historic Park.

At least one subsidiary shipping firm also emerged in San Francisco to serve the Spreckel's growing enterprise. William Matson, a captain for the Spreckels' line, bought into two ships to transport raw sugar to the San Francisco refinery during the early 1880's and by 1890 he had organized the Matson Navigation Company which year by year added sailing ships and, after 1902, steamers, to its fleet for the Hawaii-San Francisco trade. Eventually Matson's company competed successfully with Spreckels and British shippers and two other San Francisco packet lines--the Hawaiian Line and the Planters Line, which entered the trade early in the twentieth century--for control of Hawaiian shipping. The busy maritime traffic between San Francisco and Hawaii, however, only represented a comparatively small portion of the ships entering the Golden Gate from all points of the globe.[32]

3. The Cape Horn Trade

After the first frenzied years of the Gold Rush, San Francisco regained a stable community and economy, but one dependent on the Eastern market for supplies. To relieve the pressing need, Eastern boatbuilders designed fast-sailing clipper ships which rounded Cape Horn and delivered their cargoes at San Francisco in record time. After the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, the Cape Horn sailing ships began to change design to reflect their subsequent role as economical cargo vessles. Hundreds of these downeasters, many built in Maine shipyards but often purchased by San Francisco interests, sailed the Cape Horn route until the late nineteenth century.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century foreign sailing ships, predominantly British, began to enter the Cape Horn

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32. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 298-300; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, pp. 139-40.

trade to buy California grain, so prolifically harvested in the Sacramento Valley. These characteristically iron or steel-hulled square-riggers carried a large portion of the forty million-some bushels of California's annual wheat product to European markets, having brought a cargo of general merchandise, cement, or coal from the Pacific Northwest or Australia to trade in San Francisco. Although this Cape Horn trade peaked in the 1880's, it also carried over into the early twentieth century.[33]

4. Chinese Passenger Industry

As the Gold Rush excitement wore off in the 1850s many of the clipper ships abandoned the Cape Horn trade for a more lucrative cargo of Chinese coolies, slave girls, or opium which they transported to San Francisco. Some Chinese, who had paid for passage to San Francisco and the gold fields, found themselves instead landed at the Guano Islands, volcanic Pacific islands deeply covered with bird manure which was marketed as fertilizer. The Chinese were made to live and work on the barren islands usually until they fulfilled five-year contracts, during which time they dug, hauled, and breathed the fumes of the ammoniated mountains of dry, dusty guano.

Despite growing anti-Chinese sentiment in San Francisco by the late 1850s, Chinese immigrants continued to ship on board the fast clippers, especially when the construction of the railroads in the early 1860s promised them steady labor. Steamship companies based in San Francisco also began transporting Chinese immigrants in the late 1860s, so that by 1868 some 62,000 Chinese lived in California, many of whom returned to San Francisco with the completion of the railroads and the continued depletion of the

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33. Kemble; San Francisco Bay, pp. 123-138.

gold fields. Political pressure by anti-coolie labor organizers in California, however, finally affected the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 which, with renewals, effectively suppressed further immigration until World War II.[34]

5. Steamship Companies

Although steamers plied San Francisco Bay, its river tributaries, and the Pacific Coast during the 1850's, no steamships designed for great distances appeared in San Francisco until 1867 when the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and the California, Oregon, and Mexican Steamship Company organized and won government contracts to carry mail to China and Hawaii. Two years later the completion of the transcontinental railroad spurred on trans-Pacific trade, and added a new line of steamships to San Francisco's fleets--the Occidental and Oriental Steamship Company, formed by the Central Pacific Railroad to compete with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. In 1882 the Spreckels family founded the Oceanic Steamship Company which established regular service to Hawaii, followed soon after by the Matson Navigation Company's steamships, and when the Panama Canal opened in 1914, the intercoastal shipping business experienced a boom which peaked in the 1920s and 1930s. San Francisco Bay provided a port for all these and other American steamship lines, as well as for numerous

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34. Richard H. Dillon, The Hatchet men The Story of the Tong Wars in San Francisco's Chinatown (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1962), pp. 35, 215-216, 219; Carl I. Wheat, ed. " 'California's Bantam Cock' The Journals of Charles E. DeLong 1854-1863, The Journal for the Year 1861," California Historical Society Quarterly 10 Number 3 (September 1931), p. 282; Roger Daniels, The Politics of Prejudice The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and te Struggle for Japanese Exclusion (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1966), pp. 16 and 19; Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, p. 43; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, p. 159.

others from around the world, until the decline in maritime commerce seriously cut back their operations in the 1940s and thereafter.[35]

C. The Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915

1. San Francisco's Leaders Proposed an Exposition

San Francisco by the turn of the nineteenth century had come far as a center for commerce and industry on the West Coast and its civic leaders felt pride in the fact. In anticipation of the economic stimulus which the completion of the Panama Canal would bring to San Francisco and the world, and to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the discovery of the Pacific Coast, Reuben Brook Hale, Director of the Merchants' Association and the Society for the Improvement and Adornment of San Francisco, proposed to his fellow Merchants' Association directors in January 1904 that San Francisco host an international exposition.

Three months later the heads of the Merchants' Association, the Chamber of Commerce, the San Francisco Board of Trade, the Merchants Exchange, the Manufactuerers' and Producers' Association of California, and the California State Board of Trade, met to discuss the idea. By the close of the meeting these commercial leaders had drafted resolutions for the exposition and had formed a Board of Governors to spearhead the organization.

After more than one and a half years of planning, Reuben Hale and the California Promotion Committee wired U.S. Congressman Julius Kahn, representative from San Francisco, to introduce a bill in the House for an appropriation of $5,000,000 to

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35. Kemble, San Francisco Bay, pp. 159-168; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 293-4.

subsidize a world exposition in San Francisco. The earthquake and fire three months later only briefly diverted Congressman Kahn's enthusiastic support of his city's proposal, and in May 1906, only one month after the disaster, he introduced a joint resolution requesting all nations of the world to participate in the exposition in San Francisco in 1915.

Hale and his fellow civic leaders showed similar determination to see their plans progress. In December 1906 they filed articles of incorporation for the Pacific Ocean Exposition Company which spearheaded the plans for several years. By 1909 Hale had the full cooperation of city's key financial leaders who in November formed a Committee of Six: James Rolph Jr., then President of the Merchant's Exchange, but from 1911 to 1931, Mayor of San Francisco; James McNab, President of the Chamber of Commerce; Hale himself, chaiman of the California Promotion Committee; Homer S. King, President of the Pacific Ocean Exposition Company; Andrew M. Davis, President of the Merchants' Association, and Charles C. Moore. By the following spring the exposition had a name--reflected in the incorporation of the Panama Pacific International Exposition Company--as well as $6,156,840 worth of privately pledged assets. The California legislature showed its support by introducing a proposal authorizing San Francisco to issue bonds for $5,000,000 to finance the exposition and California to raise another $5,000,000 by a special tax. The people of California voted in favor of the proposal in November 1910, thus assuring the exposition organizers over sixteen million dollars in capital.

Although the idea for a world's fair had originated in San Francisco, other cities which recognized the financial benefits of hosting such an event soon entered into active competition for the honor. San Francisco, however, with its public and monetary backing at home, and its empassioned supporter,

Congressman Julius Kahn, in Washington, D.C., won the legislature's vote, and on February 15, 1911, President Taft signed the bill designating San Francisco as the site for the 1915 international exposition.[36]

2. Preparations for the Exposition

San Francisco, with help from nations around the world, had four years to plan, design, landscape, and construct the exposition buildings before the proposed opening in January 1915. The first year saw the beginnings of a permanent, nation-wide organization. In November San Francisco's leaders solicited and received the practical counsel of Dr. Frederick J.V. Skiff, Director of Chicago's Field Museum of Natural History, a man with a broad knowledge and experience with expositions. In October 1911 groundbreaking ceremonies at Golden Gate Park and a banquet in honor of President Taft highlighted the year's events.[37]

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36. Frank Morton Todd, The Story of the Exposition Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal. 5 Volumes (New York and London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921). 1: 1, 35-41, 55; Gerald Robert Dow, "Bay Fill in San Francisco: A History of Change" Thesis submitted to the faculty of California State University, San Francisco, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Master of Arts degree. San Francisco 1973, p. 98. A copy in San Francisco History Room, S.F.P.L.; Burton Alan Boxerman, "Kahn of California," California Historical Quarterly 55, No. 4 (Winter, 1976), pp. 341-342. On p. 342 of this article, Boxerman quotes the San Francisco Call of February 2, 1911, which credited Kahn with getting San Francisco selected as the exposition site. Hansen, San Francisco Almanac, pp. 56 and 87; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 328.

37. Todd, Exposition 1, pp. 184-5, 202-209.

Four months after his visit to San Francisco, President Taft invited the nations of the world to participate in the 1915 exposition. Across the country state legislatures, auxiliary troops, and patriotic organizations rallied in support of the event. The Southern Pacific Railroad Company even offered to transport the Liberty Bell to the exposition free of cost. In San Francisco the exposition planners selected architects from all over the nation to serve on an architectural board and in January 1912, the architectural commission approved the six prominent American architects: George W. Kelham of McKin, Mead and White, New York; Louis Mullgardt, practicing in St. Louis using trends from the Chicago school; Edward H. Bennett of Chicago; Bernard R. Maybeck, professionally known for his 1900 general architectural plan for the University of California at Berkeley; Arthur Brown, Jr., of San Francisco's firm, Bakewell and Brown; and Willis Polk, originally from Chicago, but practicing in San Francisco for Daniel Burnham's Chicago firm since before the April 1906 earthquake.[38]

The architects had an excellent site on which to design the exposition. The exposition company had selected the shore lands between the Presidio and Fort Mason, facing out on the Golden Gate, Alcatraz, Angel Island, and the spectacular coast of Marin County. The one square mile fair grounds lay in a sort of natural amphitheater with Russian Hills backing them on the south, and the bay on the north. The shoreline from the Presidio to Black Point dipped inland beyond today's Bay Street, forming a shallow, marshy lagoon which the exposition planners arranged to be filled. After a seawall was built forming two arms with a narrow channel in-between, suction dredges pumped tons of mud from the

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38. Todd, Ibid., pp. 185, 195, 215, 229; Hansen, Almanac, p. 56; Interview, writer with Frank S. Gerner, Architect, Historic Preservation Division, Denver Service Center, May 3, 1977.

bay floor into the seawall inclosure. When completed, approximately 196 submerged and marshland acres were reclaimed within the Presidio and in the northern end of today's Marina District.[39]

Before construction could begin, the exposition planners had to make extensive arrangements to secure the use of the 635 acres in question. Over 175 private owners had to be contacted, most of whom agreed to lease their lands which in total amounted to 208 acres. The U.S. Government, through the Secretary of War, agreed to loan 305 acres of military lands for the exposition--287 within the eastern portion of the Presidio and eighteen acres on the undeveloped southern portion of the Fort Mason Military Reservation. The exposition company subsequently filled in 114 of the 287 acres of fair grounds within the Presidio and constructed a paved road, at the approval of the Commanding General, through Fort Mason, thus reciprocating the favor. Finally, the City of San Francisco made available its 122 acres of city streets and Lobos Square, making the next critical step the clearing of the land.

Over 400 buildings of every sort stood within the projected exposition grounds, all which had to be razed or moved. (A photographic record of these buildings now reposes in the San Francisco Public Library). Construction finally got underway after thousands attended the ground breaking for Machinery Hall on January 1, 1913. By August 1913 the boat harbor had progressed

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39. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate" pp. 329-330; Dow, "Bay Fill," p. 102; N.A. Cartographic Division, RG 77, Fortifications File, Drawer 93-4-44, The Bancroft Company," Bancroft's Official Guide Map of the City and County of San Francisco," 1890; Drawer 94-126-16, 1 of 2, No name or date, but San Francisco peninsula after February 1911.

sufficiently to allow the delivery of heavy cargoes of lumber onto the harbor's wharves and the relinquishing of the temporary permit to use the Fort Mason transport docks. By February 1914 the company had also constructed ferry slips and a breakwater to the west of the transport docks, on the northwest end of today's Gas House Cove, in preparation for visitors arriving by water.[40]

Several railroad companies also furnished transportation lines or exhibits for the exposition: Great Northern Railway, Canadian Pacific Railroad, Southern Pacific Railroad, and United Railroads of San Francisco all had designated buildings for their use on the eastern half of the grounds. Around the periphery of the buildings, a number of parking lots were planned and constructed for the growing numbers of automobile drivers in the Bay Area, while many visitors traveled to the exposition by cable car lines which passed on the southern boundary of the fair grounds along Chestnut Street, and followed the new road through Fort Mason to Laguna Street.[41]

Construction and landscaping for the exposition had nearly been completed in August 1914, when World War I broke out. The news so seriously threatened the international potential of the

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40. S.F.P.L.; S.F. History Room, Photographs, San Francisco District, Marina, Housing and Business Purchased by Panama Pacific International Exposition; Dow, "Bay Fill," p. 100; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," p. 330; N.A., RG 92, Office of the Quarter Master General, General Correspondence 1890-1914, Lieutenant Colonel G. McK.Williamson, U.S.A., Report of Work Done by Panama-Pacific Expostiion up to February 28, 1914; Todd, Exposition 1I, p. 16; Hansen, Almanac, p. 56; N.A., Cartographic Div., RG 92, Fort Mason, California, Railroad Blueprint, Folder #15.

41. S.F.P.L., S.F. History Room, "Panama Pacific International Exposition Maps," a folder, containing, "Panama Pacific International Exposition, Feb. 20, 1915 to Dec. 4, 1915, San Francisco, California, Block Plan."

exposition that the company leaders considered postponing the opening date. Realizing, however, the financial risk of delaying the exposition, they requested and received permission to make use of the United States Ship, Jason, which was carrying American provisions to the children within the war zone, to bring back the European exhibits already prepared for the fair. Most of the war-torn countries which had arranged to participate in the exposition agreed to send their exhibits via the Jason, as well as many other national treasures which they shipped out for safe keeping. The Jason, therefore, probably transported the most valuable collection of art treasures ever transported from Europe.[42]

3. The Exposition

The Panama Pacific International Exposition formally opened on February 10, 1915, when President Woodrow Wilson flooded the exposition grounds with lights by throwing a wireless switch set up in Washington, D.C. The remote control technology gave preview to the spectacular wonders which the public, beginning on February 20th, enjoyed on the exposition grounds.

The exposition centered around a complex of eleven palaces and nine courts. The palaces held exhibits illustrating all phases of man's accomplishments--Fine Arts, Food Products, Agriculture, Education and Social Economy, Horticulture, Transportation, Liberal Arts, Manufactures, Mines and Metallurgy, Varied Industries, and Machinery. The nine courts, on the other hand, suggested a variety of natural and cultural themes--Court of Four Seasons, Court of Palms, Sunset Court, Venetian Court, Court

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42. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 331-2.

of the Universe, Court of Abundance, Court of Flowers, Florentine Court, and Court of Mines. The palace buildings were mammoth, containing as much as seven acres of floor space. Their construction presented a coordinated selection of architectural trends, from Moorish to Italian, French Renaissance to Romanesque. The courts, which provided carefully designed open spaces beteen the palace buildings, supported an artistic display of fountains, statuary, gardens, and trees, where people could pause to absorb and enjoy their surroundings. Sculptors from across the continent, among them, A. Stirling Calder, Evelyn Beatrice Longman, Anna Coleman Ladd, and James Earl Fraser, contributed statuary for the gardens and fountains, especially around the Palace of Fine Arts. At the gate to the principal court, the Court of the Universe, stood the dazzling Tower of Jewels, which rose 433 feet above the exposition grounds and sparkled with 130,000 suspended colored Sumatra stones made in Austria to resemble aquamarines, emeralds, and rubies. The tower, when illuminated at night, displayed a free-moving color masterpiece designed by the exposition company's well-known artist and color expert recruited from France, Jules Guerin. Just south and north of the palace and courtyard complex lay large gardens which, like all other landscape features of the exposition, were designed by San Francisco's renowned Superintendent of Parks, John McLaren. The harmonious combination of monumental and architecturally consistent structures, dominated by domes and towers, and the strongly accented natural setting of gardens and bay views, made the Panama Pacific International Exposition one of the most beautiful world fairs ever presented.[43]

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43. Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 332-34; Interview, Frank Gerner; The Great Exposition: The Panama Pacific International Exposition (San Francisco: Robert A. Reid, 1915), n.p. This book is the official publication for the exposition and tells about the

In accordance with the exposition theme of "East Meets West," foreign nations and the United States had adjoining tracts on the grounds to the west of the main complex. Specific buildings for twenty-three nations of the world--the Philippine Islands, Sweden, Italy, Canada, China, Siam, Turkey, Argentine Republic, Netherlands and Colonies, Hawaiian Islands, Denmark, Japan, Norway, Greece, Panama, Honduras, Australia, New Zealand, Cuba, Portugal, Guatemala, and France--presented a wide variety of architectural styles and a broad selection of international culture. The twenty-six states and one city, New York, which constructed buildings to house their exhibits, represented a majority of the forty-three states and territories participating in the exposition.

The Amusement Zone, which flanked the southeast end of the main complex for seven eastbound city blocks from Fillmore to Van Ness Avenue, entertained visitors with dioramas and shows sponsored by several nations. Scenes from Yellowstone and Grand Canyon National Parks, the Battle of Gettysburg, the California gold rush, and the wild west stood beside the Irish, Samoan, and Chinese Villages, and Japan Beautiful. At a cost of $500,000 the Panama Canal and the surrounding Zone territory were reproduced in miniature. All the amusement concessions faced out

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43. fair with some eighty-six pages of captioned photographs. Frank Gerner kindly loaned me this book, as well as Yearbook San Francisco Architectural Club (San Francisco: Sunset Publishing House, 1913), which furnishes the names of architects for several courts and palaces. Of the architects originally recruited to design the exposition buildings, George W. Kelham, Arthur Brown, and Louis Mullgardt, contributed building designs for the main complex. According to Ruth Newhall, San Francisco's Enchanted Palace (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1967), n.p., Edward H. Bennett of Chicago developed the final plan for the exposition.

on a wide boulevard which, after the exposition, became an extension of Bay Street.[44]

The exhibits within the scores of buildings spread over the grounds touched on every imaginable human accomplishment, with an emphasis placed on technological developments. Progress in machinery for industry, transportation, and communication found expression in stationary and moving displays. On July 25, 1915, one of the first long distance telephone communications between New York and San Francisco created a big stir at the exposition. Railroad companies from across the country showed their latest model trains, while automobiles, fast becoming the rage among the affluent, drew large crowds in the automobile and motor transportation building.

Probably one of the most dramatic and memorable demonstrations in the advancement of technology was the stunt flying by famous American aviators on the North Gardens, today's Marina Green. Along the two miles of exposition waterfront ran the Marina, a narrow strip of ground for strollers enjoying the view. South of the Marina and between the ferry slips at today's Gas House Cove and the exposition boat harbor (today's city yacht harbor) lay the North Gardens, "a broad, level campus, available as an aviation field, a football field, or for any other purpose calling for plenty of outdoor space." Here Lincoln Beachey and Art

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44. The Great Exposition, n.p.; Block Plan of P.P.I.E.; Hansen, Almanac, p. 203; The States which constructed exhibit buildings were: Oklahoma, Arkansas, West Virginia, Kansas, North Dakota, Iowa, Mississippi, Texas, Massachusetts, Washington, Maryland, Montana, Idaho, Utah, Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, Virginia, Missouri, Nevada, Wisconsin, Oregon, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, and California. Block Plan, P.P.I.E.

Smith thrilled thousands of spectators with their airplane acrobats. Art Smith's smoke-writing and night sky stunts were flamboyant attractions, while Lincoln Beachey, who made a flight almost daily, left a deeply tragic imprint on the exposition visitors when he and his airplane did a nosedive into the bay.

The North Gardens also drew crowds to see automobile races, Indian dances, fireworks, and the start of balloon races. Along the south line of the gardens ran the Esplanade, a wide avenue where spectators awaited the exciting performances or made their way to other exhibit buildings. Today the Esplanade is known as Marina Boulevard, and serves as the southern boundary of the Marina and Yacht Harbor city park properties.[45]

The Panama Pacific International Exposition deeply impressed visitors from all over the world, and in San Francisco its great success helped stimulate an already vigorous civic pride. San Francisco had risen from the ashes of one of the nation's worst natural disasters to host one of the world's most spectacular expositions. The vitality of San Francisco's commerce and industry had contributed largely to the accomplishments of the exposition, and had enabled its prominent financial leaders to participate freely in the exposition's planning. Several months before the exposition closed on December 4, 1915, one of San Francisco's wealthiest citizens, M.H. deYoung, vice-president of the exposition and publisher of the San Francisco Chronicle, made a proposal to preserve much of the exposition grounds, including several

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45. Quotation from Todd, Exposition, 1: 102 and 163; Kinnaird, "Golden Gate," pp. 334, 336; Hansen, Almanac, p. 57; Seonaid L. Khorsand, "Marina Memories," Local History Studies Volume 16, California History Center, Cupertino, California, 1973; The Great Exposition, n.p.

buildings, drives, and gardens. Although his plan received enthusiastic support from the city's citizens, all the buildings on private property, with exception of the Palace of Fine Arts, commonly considered the most beautiful building at the exposition, were moved or torn down. But deYoung's interest in preserving the beauty of the exposition represented the first step towards the subsequent acquisition of the exposition's boat harbor and adjoining stretch of ground now known as Marina Green as city park properties.[46]

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46. Hansen, Almanac, pp. 203-204; Dow, "Bay Fill," p. 102; RG 85, Immigration and Naturalization Service, (hereinafter sited as I&N), File 53620/175, clipping from San Francisco Chronicle, August 29, 1915.

V. Marin County as Leader in California Dairy Industry

As mentioned earlier, Marin County by 1857 had won recognition as a dairy producer for San Francisco's expanding population, and by 1862 she had taken the lead over all other California counties in butter and cheese production, a lead which she maintained in butter manufacturing for over three decades. Like the other coastal counties, Marin enjoyed the moisture produced by spring fogs which blanketed the seaside lands for part of the day, leaving behind the equivalent of a light rain after three foggy mornings. The fogs helped to keep the grass green long after the interior counties had dried up, especially out on Point Reyes, the westernmost extension of the county. But Marin County's success as a dairy producer related to more than its excellent natural attributes, for in 1862 Marin only supported 8,095 cows, whereas the closest neighbor and competitor in the dairy industry, Sonora County, fed 11,760. Much of Marin's dairy lands, in fact, had come under the ownership of a wealthy San Francisco businessman and professionals who were willing to invest money and close supervision to assure that their dairies prospered under the already favorable conditions. Moreover, Swiss-Italians, skilled in the dairy industry, found work as milkers in Marin County as early as the 1850s when the ranches first were getting started, and experience, hard work, and ambitiousness gave Marin County's dairy industry an important early advantage. Finally, Marin's proximity to the central outlet, San Francisco, combined with its excellent quality of dairy products, assured by county dairymen a sellers' market for years to come.[1]

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1. Gift, Something About California, p. 9; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 94; California, Surveyor General Surveyor-General's Report 1862, pp. 62-65; Daily Alta California, July 4, 1860, p. 1, c5; Hallock F. Raup, "The Italian-Swiss in California," California Historical Society Quarterly 30, No. 4 (December 1951), p. 309.

Marin County's dairy industry made a dramatic growth during the 1860s and early 1870s. In 1862 its annual production of butter was 200,000 pounds; in 1864-65 it grew to 350,000 pounds; in 1866 the yearly output had increased nearly four times, to 1,337,500 pounds, leading the second highest county butter producer by almost one million pounds; and by 1872 the county's production had risen to a peak of 4,387,500 pounds. Cheese manufacturing on the dairy ranches in Marin also increased between 1857 and 1864-65, when the county hit its peak production of 450,000 pounds, nearly twice that of Santa Cruz County's runner-up output of 250,000 pounds. Butter, however, held a higher price on the San Francisco market and Marin's closeness to the city made it logical for the dairy ranchers to specialize in butter, especially in the western and northwestern sections of the county, where the transportation time to market ruled out the sale of milk, but not fresh butter.

In accordance with their increased output of dairy products the Marin ranchers adjusted their livestock and crop production. The county in 1857 counted only 3,402 cows, whereas the number of beef and stock cattle stood at 15,685, reflecting the lingering lifestyle of the Mexican era of California. As dairy production increased, so also did the cow population, while beef cattle dramatically declined. By 1865-67 cows numbered 13,747 and cattle only 3,374. In the peak butter producing years of 1871-73 Marin County contained more cows than any other in the State--19,140--and only 457 beef cattle. Similarly, hogs increased in number during these years, as they fattened on the milk wastes of butter production. The ranchers, especially tenant ranchers who depended on the sale of hogs to pay the yearly expenses, found that hogs thrived and multiplied better than any other stock animals. One cow alone could fatten a hog up to 200 pounds. Between 1862 and 1870 the hog stock in Marin grew from 2,623 to 6,606, supplying San Francisco's increasing population with another source of food.

Dairy cows in Marin County fed on the natural pastureland of wild grasses for eight to nine months of the year, from January or February to September or October. The fall rains brought a fresh pasture by January and the heavy spring and summer fogs prolonged the life of the grasses throughout the summer. During the three or four months when the natural pasture had dried up, many of the dairy ranchers fed their cows oats, hay, or barley, raised on the level stretches of each ranch. Oats especially were cultivated within the county, so that by 1865-67 Marin produced 430,672 bushels, more than any other California county.[2]

The biggest and most profitable dairies lay along the seaside in West Marin County where the moist ocean fogs concentrated and where, due to the mild climate and cool nights, the cows required no shelter and the milk no artificial cooling for up to thirty-six hours. The coastal ranches sustained one cow every six acres, whereas around San Rafael ranchers needed ten to twelve acres of pasture per cow. From Point Reyes to Point Bonita the majority of

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2. California, Surveyor General, Annual Reports, 1857, 1862, Tables of Statistics, n.p.; Annual Reports of the Surveyor-General of California for the Years 1864-65 (Sacramento: O.M. Clayes, State Printer, 1866); Report of the Surveyors-General of California From November 1st, 1865, to November 1st, 1867. (Sacramento, W. Gelwicks, 1867); Biennial Report of the Surveyor General of the State of California From December 4, 1871 to August 1, 1873?) Table of Statistics in all reports, n. p. U.S. Bureau of Census, A Compendium of the Ninth Census June 1, 1870. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 716-717. "Profit in Dairying-The Interest in Marin County," San Francisco Call, February 24, 1884, p. 6, C. 5; Gift, Something about Marin, pp. 9-10, Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 135-6; Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 374. In 1858 butter sold in for one dollar per pound, cheese twenty-five per pound. The Pacific Rural Press 92 (July-December 1916), p. 289. Some ranchers also raised beets to feed their hogs. Nordhoff, Northern California, p. 178. California, Surveyor General, Annual and Biennal Reports, 1857, 1862, 1864-65, 1865-67, 1871-73, Tables of Statistics.

West Marin lands were owned by San Francisco investors--the Shafter brothers and and Charles W. Howard in the north and Samuel Throckmorton in the south--who broke up their property into dairy ranches of from 500 to 1,500 acres and leased them to tenant farmers. Mostly the tenant ranchers were foreign-born--by 1888 predominantly Swiss and Portuguese, as well as some Italians. The tenants rented not only the ranch, its buildings and pastures, but also the cows themselves for twenty to twenty-five dollars per head. The ranches often hired young men from their native country who had just arrived in the United States knowing no English, and who were willing to work for long-terms at low wages. While they learned the language and ways of their new land. The tenants, then by careful management and hard work usually saved enough in ten to twelve years to buy their own dairies, while the owners profited by their investment and their tenants' labor.[3]

Until around 1890 when technological and organizational advances in the industry began to cut into Marin County's leadership in California butter production, dairy operations basically remained as they were when first introduced in the late 1850's. Captain Oliver Allen, a Marin County pioneer in the lumber and dairy industries and one of the first ranchers on Point Reyes, invented several dairy improvements - a churn, butter mold, and butter worker - which were generally adopted by the coastal dairies, but otherwise the process of butter making retained its traditional methods. The cows gathered in open corrals twice daily

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3. "Profit in Dairying," Call, Feb. 24, 1884, p. 6; Gift, Something about California, p. 9; Nordhoff, Northern California, p. 178; Sneath, "Dairying in California," p. 389. In 1886 California had 8,000 Italian-speaking Swiss, one-third of whom lived in Marin County, Marin County Journal January 14, 1886, p. 2. The Memorial and Biographical History stated the experienced Swiss dairymen first began coming to Marin County in 1870. p. 156. Souvenir of Marin County, 1893, pp. 16-17.

to be milked, the first time early in the morning and the second time around four p.m. Each milker took from twenty to thirty cows, completing their work in an average of three hours. The milk from each cow was poured into a large pan and cooled by a stream of water circulating around the pan. Most dairy men then separated the milk from the cream by leaving the milk stand in shallow round pans within cool milk houses for twenty-four hours, after which the cream was skimmed off the top and churned into butter while the skimmed milk was piped out to the hogs' feed pens. The milking season generally lasted seven months, from February to September, when the grasses were green and the cows at their best. Each cow during the season produced an average of 150 pounds of butter if its sentitive system did not suffer any unusual temperature or weather changes. The butter was made into rolls, of about two pounds, covered with cotton cloth, and laid in salt brine in tight barrels before being shipped. According to Cronise in 1868 the butter remained fresh grass butter for a year or more because the salt did not penetrate through the cloth enough to change its flavor. Later writers explained, however, that during the milking season when butter was in surplus, California dairy ranchers or city retailers held their product off the market in "pickled rolls" stored in brine-filled casks until the selling price rose again, and that when tasted, this butter rarely was mistaken as fresh. Perhaps during the intervening years between writers (1868, 1888, and 1896) the method of packing fresh butter rolls changed sufficiently to warrant this contrasting opinion on the quality of barreled butter, and very likely the drop in quality did not apply to Marin butter, especially that from the Point

Reyes dairy district which maintained the standard of excellence until after the close of the century.[4]

A. Point Reyes Dairy District

Lying majestic and wild, much as it had under the Mexican regime, Point Reyes entered the decade of the 1850s barely touched by man. Wildlife of every sort, from grizzlies to mountain lions, deer, waterfowl, and elk found shelter amongst its hills and valleys. Dense fogs rolled in on the northwest winds, blanketing the point and nurturing its wild filaree, bunch, foxtail, clover, and bur clover grasses which thrived naturally in the moist, cool and even climate. Springs of cold water covered the point, and two bays--Drakes and Tomales--penetrated the massive peninsula, offering sheltered harbors for ships from San Francisco. Point Reyes, as pioneer dairymen Isaac and Edgar Willis Steele agreed, presented a veritable "cow haven," which beckoned the brothers to establish the first dairy there on July 4, 1857.

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4. Sam H. Greene, "California's Important Dairy Industry," Pacific Coast Review 10 (January 1937), p. 15; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 136-7; Prof E.D. Wickson, Dairying in California, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Industry, Bulletin No. 14 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), pp. 19 and 25. "Profit in Dairying," Call Feb. 24, 1884, p. 6; Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 369; Sneath, "Dairying in California, "pp. 389-90; Sheldon, "Dairying in California," p. 345. Hittell in 1888 explained that the price of butter from April to June 11 in San Francisco sold for twenty-four cents per pound, whereas in the fall, from October to December, butter rose to forty cents per pound, an increase of sixty-six per cent. Commerce and Industries, p. 261; Souvenirs of Marin County California (Issued by the Sausalito News, William J. Boyd, 1907), n.p. Wickson on p. 25 described typical California milk houses as, "Tight double-walled and double-roofed milk houses, closed during the day and opened at night, when the air is relatively cool in California."

1. The Steeles

Isaac, Edgar, and George Steele, brothers, joined in partnership with their cousin, Rensellaer E. Steele, and decided to move their small dairy operation, which they had begun in Two Rock Valley, California, to Point Reyes. They had first arranged with Thomas G. Richards, claimant to Point Reyes, to lease one and one half leagues of land (about 6,658 acres) for twenty-five dollars per month, before they moved, with their families, to the remote and spectacular isolation of their new home, bringing with them 155 cows. They looked forward, by agreement with Richards, to purchase the land for three dollars per acre, once a United States patent had been acquired.[5]

The strong family bonds of these New York and Ohio State emigrants to California worked in their favor when they set out to produce cheese for the San Francisco market. Despite a decline in dairy prices on the market, they applied themselves as a self-contained operation, and soon began to produce profits, as well as quality cheeses. The brothers also entered the dairy competition held by the California State Agricultural Society, which published Edgar Steele's report on their successful methods of making cheeses. For a big cheese, weighing 680 pounds, the Steeles used 660 gallons of milk taken from 163 cows during two milking days. The milk then, Edgar wrote, went through several processing stages:

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5. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 302-303, lists a few individuals who reportedly settled on Point Reyes between 1849-1857. p. 297; Catherine Baumgarten Steele, "The Steele Brothers, Pioneers in California's Dairy Industry," California Historical Society Quarterly 20, No. 3 (September 1941), pp. 259-261. Thompson and West, History of San Luis Obispo County California (1883; reprint ed., Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1966), n.p., biography of E.W. Steele.

> Night's milk set in tin vats and pans; skimmed in the morning; morning's milk mixed with it; cream of night's milk heat[ed] to one hundred degrees; stirred until limped, then mixed with milk--the milk being first warmed to eighty-eight degrees, then used rennet enough to bring the curd in forty minutes-curd cut with single knife as fine as conveniently stirred with arms round and round vat carefully, until curd somewhat toughened, then gradually lifted from bottom vat with hands, and carefully broken, not very fine; then gradually cooked to one hundred and three degrees, by pouring water into a wooden vat, within witch the tin vat sits, curd being stirred all the while, and until all smooth lumps appeared broken; curd dipped into cooler and let stand until nearly cold, then cut up into inch square blocks and settled, then chopped fine, and salt thoroughly mixed; whcn cold, put to press. Cheese, while in press, turned and pierced with wire every other day for one week; then clothed, turned every other day and pressed one week more, than taken from press and managed same as other cheese.[6]

Reflecting their keen interest in the particulars of the Steele's cheese making, the Society also printed the Steeles' answers to twenty detailed questions addressed to them by the Society. That year, 1859, not only the Steeles, but also the Laird Brothers, who had established cheese-making dairies on Point Reyes out near the end of Tomales Point and near the shore of Tomales Bay, won the recognition of the State Agricultural Society. Both these pioneer dairy families at first produced cheese--which took longer to make and fetched a lower price than butter--because the transportation from Point Reyes to San Francisco took longer than fresh butter could last. The Steeles, located on the site of the later Glenbrook ranch, in a valley beside of of the inlets north of Limantour Split and east of Limantour Estero, shipped their produce

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6. Transactions of the California State Agricultural Society During the Year 1859 (Sacramento: C.T. Botts, State Printer, 1860), p. 202.

by steamer to San Francisco. A wagon road crossed southwest from the ranch to the edge of Limantour Estero, where a shallow channel fed out to Drake's Bay. The Steeles, then, likely hauled their cheese to a small wharf, transferred it to lighter boats which carried the cheeses out to the steamer anchored in Drake's Bay one half mile or more from shore. The Lairds, on the other hand, had a landing on Tomales Bay from which they shipped their cheese by steamer or schooner to San Francisco.[7]

A year earlier, in 1858, the partners of San Francisco's Shafter, Shafter, Park and Heydenfeldt law firm acquired, by a reversal in the Supreme Court, the title to Point Reyes. Refusing to sell away part of Point Reyes, the law partners granted the Steeles an eight-year lease, dated July 28, 1858, on the condition that they receive every sixth calf on the ranch.

By 1861 the Steeles had paid off all their debts for the cows and improvements on their ranch, had increased their stock to 600 head, had added two more dairies to their operations, and had saved $10,000 from their four years of hard work. Despite the promising results of their labor, however, the Steeles wanted the option to buy land, so they leased 18,000 acres in San Mateo, calling their new holdings, which they later purchased, Pescadero Rancho. Although 1863 and 1864 were years of severe drought, the

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7. Transactions 1859, pp. 293-295; U.S. Coast Survey, "Map Part of the Coast of California 1859-60," which gives sailing directions and recommended anchorages in Drake's Bay. "Map of Marin County Compiled in 1860 by A. Van Dorn," shows the Steele ranch as well as the two Laird ranches. U.S. Coast Survey, "Part of Tomales Bay California 1862" by David Kerr, Aid U.S.C.S., shows "Laird's Landing" and the nearby ranch connected by a wagon road. The Laird Brothers produced the best specimen of cheese in 1859, winning the Agricultural Society's first premium award. Transactions, p. 471.

Steele brothers' ranches at Point Reyes and Pescadero made profits. During 1864 the Pescadero ranches produced in two days "a monstrous cheese," weighing 3,850 pounds, which they donated to the "Sanitary Commission," for the Civil War effort, a cheese which a writer five years later judged as the largest cheese ever manufactured in any country.

In 1866 the Steele brothers, with a reputation long held as the largest cheese producers in California, departed Point Reyes and relocated at San Luis Obispo county where their dairies four years later stood second only to the Shafter and Howard dairies on Point Reyes. Their 45,000-acre ranch by 1882 had won recognition as the largest cheese dairy in California. Thus the Steeles, like the Lairds and several other early tenant dairy ranchers on Point Reyes, went on to acquire land, wealth, and often, fame, elsewhere in the coastal dairy region. Their legacy as the first dairy ranchers on Point Reyes, however, lingered long after their departure, as existing geographical names such as Laird's landing, or the 1919 deed which transferred land one-half mile from the lagoon "below the Isaac Steel Place so called," attest.[8]

2. Point Reyes, A Shafter-Howard Dynasty

When Point Reyes changed hands late in 1858, the new owners were the four law partners in the influential San Francisco firm, Shafter, Shafter, Park and Heydenfeldt. Trenor W. Park and Solomon Heyenfeldt apparently never took any personal

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8. (Quote from Thompson and West, San Luis Obispo, np.,) Steele, "Steele Brothers" p. 272; De Groot, "California Dairies," p. 356; Hittell, Commerce and Industry, p. 267; Gates, ed., California Ranchos, p. 199; United States Geological Survey, "Point Reyes, Calif." 1954; Deed Book 209, p. 435, RDO, MCC. According to Jack Mason, Point Reyes, p. 57, a local legend on Point Reyes claims that the Steeles floated their possessions, including house and herds, down the coast to their southern ranches.

interest in the Point Reyes lands, and in 1865, after "disputes and controversies" with the two Shafter brothers, they sold out their interests, Solomon to Charles Webb Howard of San Francisco, and Park to the Shafters and Howard.

Oscar L. Shafter and James McMillan Shafter had migrated to California in 1854 and 1855, after establishing impressive reputations in their home state of Vermont, as well as in Wisconsin for James. Although Oscar was the older of the brothers, James turned out to be the most ambitious, as well as the one who found Point Reyes a permanent interest and involvement. Both men rose to heights in San Francisco and California governments, Oscar as Associate Judge of the Supreme Court, and James as State Senator in 1862-63; member of the Second Constitutional Convention of 1878; and Superior Judge in San Francisco in 1890-91. Oscar, however, suffered from mental illness in 1867, on account of which he resigned his position on the Supreme Court and six years later died in Florence, Italy, leaving James and Oscar's son-in-law, Charles Webb Howard, to manage his estate.[9]

Charles Howard, a native of Vermont like the Shafters, arrived in San Francisco in 1853, at the age of twenty-two, where he impressed at least one member of the city's

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9. Life Diary and Letters of Oscar Lovell Shafter. Edited by Flora Haines Loughead (San Francisco: The Blair - Murdock Company, 1915), pp. 198, and 228-9, where selections from his diary from January 1864, when Oscar drew the long term of ten years of judicial duty, to November 19, 1867, show the strain he felt under the pressures of his work. Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 49-50; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 515; Oscar T. Shuck, Bench and Bar in California. History, Anecdotes, Reminiscenses. (San Francisco: The Occident Printing House, 1889), pp. 191-207; Gates, ed., California Ranchos, p. 201, gives a brief sketch of Park and Heydenfeldt, both who demonstrated a keen interest in state politics.

emerging society as the beaux of the period, "a young Green Mountain boy with face as found and red as a Vermont pippin." Nearly ten years later, in 1862, he married Oscar Shafter's oldest daughter, Emma, after, family recollections tell us, they had met regularly for a time on the bus which daily carried him to work and her to school. Howard continued to be a San Francisco socialite, participating actively in the Bohemian Club and the Odd Fellows; but he also worked hard to promote the partnership at Point Reyes, as well as other financial enterprises which the three men pursued. In 1868 Howard and the two Shafters became the sole trustees of the Tamalpais Water Company with a capital stock of $5,000,000. The purpose of the company was to bring water from Lagunitas Creek to supply Oakland, Yerba Buena Island, and San Francisco. Having invested heavily in Russian River lumber, the Shafters and Howard, at James' lead, financially backed the incorporation of the North Pacific Coast Railroad in 1871 to assure rapid transportation of the lumber to San Francisco's market. It was Charles, however, who reportedly persuaded the company directors to route the railroad out past Point Reyes, a more difficult and expensive route, but also convenient to the Shafter-Howard dairy ranches. Although Howard in 1874 went on to become the president of San Francisco's Spring Valley Water Works, a position he held for thirty years, he continued to keep a close watch on his and his disceased father-in-law's tenant ranches on Point Reyes.[10]

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10. Men of Vermont, Compiled by Jacob G. Ullery (Brattleboro, Vermont: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), p. 89; Quote from " 'San Francisco Society' " From the Elite Directory of 1879," California Historical Society Quarterly 19, No. 3 (September 1940), p. 230;) The Marin Journal, July 30, 1908, p. 2; "Chronological History," January 23, 1868, n.p.; A. Bray Dickinson, with Roy Graves, Ted Wurm and Al Graves, Narrow Guage to the Redwoods (Los Angeles: Trans-Anglo Books, 1967), p. 19; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 77-74. On p. 50, Mason notes that Howard also helped organize the Central Trust Company, the National Bank of the

In 1869 the Shafters and Howard decided to split up the 54,340-acre Point Reyes into six tracts, two for each, which transaction they formally recorded in the Marin County Courthouse. Bertha Shafter, Oscar's daughter, remembered hearing that the three drew straws to divide up the lands, which came most generously in acreage to James who received 13,660 acres fronting on Drakes Bay, including the Home Ranch, and 5,257 acres later known as the Bear Valley tract. Oscar Howard, who then was suffering from his mental breakdown, received 11,135 acres, mostly on Tomales Point, and 6,712 acres adjoining the southernmost boundary of the estate. Charles took possession of the richest dairy lands when he acquired the 9,847-acre tract which ran down to the end of the Point, in addition to which he received 7,739 acres to the north of the Bear Valley tract. The legal partition of the land, however, did not alter the public's recognition of Point Reyes as the Shafter-Howard dairy ranch.[11]

In the same year as the land division, 1869, James Shafter constructed an estate, or country home, southwest of Olema, which he called "The Oaks." Possibly in this year he semi-retired from business, for in 1878 a biographical sketch noted that for some years he had devoted his attentions wholly to agricultural pursuits, and in 1882 another biography on him reported that he was devoting all his attention to the management of his property, of which the Point Reyes and Tomales y Bolinas ranchos were consuming most of his time.

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10. Pacific and the Ocean Shore Railroad in San Francisco, and he helped develop the Natoma Vineyards in Sacramento County. Berthe S. Shafter, Memories (Piedmont, California, no publisher, 1936), p. 3.

11. The Shafters and Howards recorded their July 14, 1869 land division in Deed Book G, p. 531, RDO,MCC; "Map of Marin County 1873," Compiled by H. Austin, County Surveyor; Bertha Shafter, Memories, p. 13.

James took his rural involvement seriously, as reflected in his two-year Presidency of the State Board of Agriculture, and his reputation as an expert stock breeder. Horses, especially, intrigued him, and at the Oaks he built a race track where he entertained his friends with his prize-winning horses.

Whether at the Oaks or at his mansion on San Francisco's fashionable Russian Hill, James took an interest in and supported the cultural life around him. Besides serving as the President of San Francisco's Handel and Hayden Society, he accepted a position as regent for both the University of California and Stanford University. His contemporaries praised him highly for his many accomplishments in law, politics, and business, as well as for his dynamic personality."[12]

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12. History files, Point Reyes, at Marin-Independent Journal newspaper library, San Rafael, California. These files were compiled by Florence Donnelley, a long-time student and writer on Marin County history. The Oaks still stands today as the Vedanta Society's Olema Valley retreat. According to Hoover-Rensch, Historic Spots, p. 255, the Oaks was built of lumber shipped from San Francisco Bay to Tomales Bay and hauled by oxen cart to the site of construction. Florence Donnelly, "The Story of the Point Reyes Peninsula," Independent-Journal, August 24, 1968, in Scrapbook 23, Point Reyes, San Rafael Public Library, San Rafael, Cal. Biographical Sketches on the Delegates to the Convention to Frame A New Constitution For the State of California 1878; (San Francisco: Francis and Valentine, 1878), pp. 111-112; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 515 also notes that James was a prominent member of the Pacific Blood Horse association, and that he was "considered an excellent judge of the fine points of stock of all kinds." Alonze Phelps, Contemporary Biography of California's Representative Men (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Company, Publishers, 1882), pp. 223-4; Shuck, Bench and Bar, p. 191; Illustrated Fraternal Directory Including Educational Institutions of the Pacific Coast (San Francisco: The Bancroft Company, Publishers, 1889), p. 75; Life, Diary and Letters, pp. 238-239. James achieved public recognition quite early in his life. At twenty, having

Although in most respects James McMillan Shafter and Charles W. Howard cut impressive figures in San Francisco's early commercial, political and social circles, they apparently failed to manage their personal finances effectively. Although the three partners had originally decided never to divide up the 54,000-acre Point Reyes ranch, James in 1878 put up his 13,660-acre tract for subdivision into small parcels, apparently because his heavy investments in the North Pacific Coast Railroad had drained his resources. Evidently noone responded to his advertisement or he withdrew the land from the market but in 1889 he tried another scheme as creditors closed in on him, to carve up 640 acres of the same tract to establish a resort town of Inverness. Again he placed the remaining 13,300 acres of the tract fronting on Drakes Bay up for sale, advertising the parcel as the Point Reyes Shafter Colony and dividing the land into ten to forty-acre plots. Both real estate ventures failed to net James any capital and after his death on August 29, 1892, the Examiner reported that James Shafter's estate had been reduced to "the small end of nothing."[13]

With the two Shafter brothers dead, Charles Howard remained the only surviving partner, but it was his wife, Emma Shafter Howard, who held the Point Reyes tract intact and out of

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12. acquired a law degree, he won election to the Vermont House of Representatives, where he served until 1842 when he begun a seven-year term as Vermont's Secretary of State. After moving to Wisconsin in 1849, James was elected a member and Speaker of the Wisconsin State Assembly. He declined nomination to Congress from Wisconsin as well as Judge of the District Court, and in 1855 departed for San Francisco. Munro-Fraser, p. 515.

13. As quoted in Mason, Point Reyes, p. 79. The 1878 subdivision was depicted on a map published in California Immigrant Union, California As A Home for the Emigrant (San Francisco: [California Immigrant Union?], 1878), n.p. Becker,"Point Reyes," p. 46.

the hands of impatient creditors. Having received a survey of his ranches, Howard announced in 1879 that he would subdivide 10,000 acres of Point Reyes into ten-acre lots, He had borrowed heavily against the property and by 1879 his debts had mounted up to nearly half a million dollars. Emma took charge over the finances and by 1881 had liquidated the debts and saved the Point Reyes tenant ranches. At his death in 1907 Howard, too, had been reduced to few resources, save the real estate and dairies at Point Reyes. Emma died in 1916, leaving the estate to their four children who proceeded to argue over the future of the Point Reyes land until 1919, when each sold off his interest to San Francisco millionaire, John Rapp, making the first major land exchange on Point Reyes since 1858. The heirs of Oscar and James Shafter followed suit in the next two decades, but still the land resisted change and continued to be characterized as a dairy district until the 1950s. In 1960, when the National Park Service completed a survey of the ranches, Point Reyes yet supported fifteen dairy ranches, the lingering survivors of dairies which for over a century had provided first, cheese, then butter, and, finally, milk, to the San Francisco market.[14]

3. The Tenant Ranches and Ranchers

With the exception of the Tomales Point tract of 2,200 acres which Shafter, Park, and Heydenfeldt sold to Solomon Pierce in 1858, the law partners decided not to sell any of their holdings, a decision which the Shafters and Howards maintained, in spite of themselves, throughout their lifetimes. The Shafter brothers, however, clearly recognized the value of the peninsula as

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14. Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 91-4, 104-5; Deed Book 209, p. 491, RDO, MCC; Becker, "Point Reyes", pp. 22 and 46; Point Reyes had passed out of the Shafter-Howard families' hands by the close of 1939.

ranch land and immediately made arrangements with the existing ranchers to lease the land. Oscar Shafter on September 19, 1858, described Point Reyes as "undoubtedly the best grazing ranch in the State; and is now very valuable and will become immensely so in time." In the same letter, he explained to his father the care which he and his partners were taking to secure responsible tenants on the ranch lands:

> We have leased some 20,000 or 25,000 acres to five different men. They are all of them men of capital,--sober, industrious, enterprising, and have their families with them. We have been somewhat choice in the matter of character in selecting from the numerous applicants for land, and have given the tenants good and encouraging contracts, deeming that the best policy in the long run.[15]

Some of these early tenants kept about 400 wild horses on Point Reyes, probably as much colorful reminders of the Mexican period on the peninsula as were the three Indian vaqueros the ranchers hired that summer of 1858 to corral and brand the colts.[16]

The Shafters also started their own dairy, selecting some of the best cows available and breeding them as future stock for the tenant ranches. Park arrived from the East in October 1859 with two full-blooded Durham bulls which the partners exhibited for several days in San Francisco where concensus found them "to be the best ever brought to this State." They also acquired 400 head of cattle owed in payment to them by George P. Richards, claimant

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15. Life Diary and Letters, pp. 194-5. Deed Book D, p. 91, RDO, MCC. More will be written about the Pierce Ranch in a subsequent section.

16. Life, Diary and Letters, pp. 194-5; Gates, ed, California Ranchos p. 208.

to Point Reyes, who lost his suit against Shafter, Shafter, Park and Heydenfeldt late in 1858. Two hundred of the cows the partners had run to Point Reyes by five hired Spanish vaqueros. "Such riding you never see or hear of in the East," wrote Oscar, "The feats of the circus are tame in comparison."[17]

Point Reyes township by 1860 listed ten ranchers, not including the Pierce family, in the agricultural schedules and the following year John Quincy Adams Warren inspected eleven ranches, ten which were leased while the other was the 6000-acre headquarters for Shafter, Park, and Heydenfeldt, later known as the Home Ranch. Warren's narrative provides the most detailed picture of the early dairy ranches on Point Reyes. He rode from ranch to ranch, beginning with E.W. Steele's, and reported the following essential facts on their size and operations:

Rancher	Acreage	No. of Dairy Cows	Product	Yearly Production
E.W. Steele	6,000	500	cheese &butter	45 tons
H. Stanley	1,000	100	butter	15,000 pounds
Carlisle S. Abbott	1,500	160	butter	-----
John Abbott	3,000	80	butter	10,000-12,000 pounds
Young Brothers	1,000	130	butter	11,000-12,000 pounds
Laird Brothers	3,000	200	cheese	35 tons
Swain's	6,000-7,000	100	butter	11,000-12,000 pounds
Captain Allen	900	80	cheese	4 tons
Tanner & Medbury	1,000	100	butter	15,000 pounds
Buels and Fay	2,000	115	cheese	------
	31,400	1,755		

17. Life, Diary, Letters, pp. 198-199.

Warren's report also indicated the extent to which the tenant ranchers raised crops to feed their livestock, which in 1861 included a variety of animals other than dairy cows, such as ranch horse, poultry, hogs, sheep, beef cattle, wild horses, and 800 wild cattle. H. Stanley sowed wheat and oats, as well as put in a crop of potatoes; Carlisle Abbott devoted seventy-five acres to grain while his brother John raised only forty acres of grain crops. Apparently the other ranchers found Point Reyes' lush grazing lands and the exceptionally long green grass season sufficient forage for their animals.

Warren, the son of an active California agricultural promoter and former Massachusetts nursery man of some prominence, had himself researched extensively in the East on the best stock and latest farm practices, and had served in 1859 as the agent for the American Stock Journal. His visit to Point Reyes in 1861 left an obvious impression, as he concluded his trip report with the acknowledgement that he had inspected "some of the most prominent dairies in this section of the State." Of special mention other than the owners' ranch (to be discussed later) was the Steele brothers', "the most prominent and extensive establishment in the county," where they manufactured "more cheese [sic] than any dairy in the State." The Steele ranch produced during the milking season 640 pounds per day of cheese and seventy-five pounds of butter. On the Laird Brothers' "large and extensive cheese dairy," on Tomales Point--one of the largest dairies in California--Warren made note of the buildings which consisted of a dairy house, store house, two dwellings, a large barn, and outbuildings. Also on Tomales Point Carlisle Abbott's dairy struck Warren as "convenient and cool and well-regulated, combining neatness and cleanliness, especial requisites for success," while his ranch lands appeared fertile and productive.

At Captain Allen's, where only eighty cows were milked, all the churning was done by hand, and at Tanner and Medbury's dairy near Drake's Bay, "overlooking the ocean on one side and the bay on the other," Warren found the feed "excellent and abundant," the fresh water supply plentiful, and the stock looking good. On six of the ten ranches Warren mentioned American dairy stock which the Shafters and Howard shortly would improve with cows bred from prize bulls on the Home Ranch. At least three ranches--Lairds', Swains', and Tanner and Medbury's--were enclosed by fence according to the Warren report, but all undoubtedly had fencing surrounding the immediate ranch buildings, where the cows were milked in corrals each morning and evening, and where the hogs, chickens, farm horses, and possibly, young animals were sheltered and fed. At least two surveys of the coast along Tomales Point made in 1862 show the ranches enclosed in fence, usually with smaller enclosures marked off within the larger boundaries.

Warren also reported that the dairy products made their way to market on schooners and other vessels which could maneuver in the many little bays and lagoons of Point Reyes. Possibly, too, some of the cheese and butter arrived in San Francisco on board a small, twenty-ton steamship which the owners had planned for the Point Reyes tenant ranches in 1857. The owners had plans to stock the ranches themselves once the existing leases with their tenants had expired. The tenant ranchers in 1861 had impressed Warren with their hospitality and their skill: "I doubt whether a more intelligent and more prosperous body of men can be found in California, than those now in occupation of this estate.[18]

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18. United States Census Office, Eighth Census, 1860, California, Schedule 4, Agriculture, Volume 2, Point Reyes Township, pp. 17

The prosperous tenant ranchers of 1861 all voted together for Abe Lincoln in 1864, showing their northern and conservative leanings. The Civil War, however, did not impede dairy production, for in May 1865 the Marin County Journal proudly announced, "At Point Reyes about 3,000 cows are milked daily. This place is considered the greatest dairy region in the State." By that time Point Reyes had changed hands and now stood under the ownership of the Shafter brothers and their in-law, Charles Webb Howard, who together started to make changes in the dairy tenant system. The San Francisco Daily Alta California that December, 1865, decided to investigate the impressive holdings out on Point Reyes, and they confirmed that the tenants' characters continued to be exemplary: "The tenants appeared all to be intelligent, energetic and orderly--good members of society. They all seemed prosperous, and on every hand there were unmistakable evidences of clear, practical foresight and thrift."[19]

The Alta reporter joined James McMillan Shafter on a tour of a tenant ranch in construction.

> The house was a substantial frame building containing eight rooms and a hall in the main building, with a kitchen attached outside-all to be lathed and plastered and with every convenience for a family. Outside there were to be erected a barn, dairy, corral, etc., in the most substantial and complete style and suited to the the size of the ranch.

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18. and 18. Warren's report is published as first printed in the American Stock Journal of March 1862 (4:73-77) in Gates, ed., California Ranchos, pp. 198-208. U.S. Coast Survey, "Map of Part of the Coast North of Punta de los Reyes, California," and, "Part of Tomales Bay, California," both by David Kerr, Aid, U.S.C.S., Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 34-5.

19. Marin County Journal, May 6, 1865, p. 3; Alta December 29, 1865, p.1; James Shafter evidently also explained the policies of their forthcoming tenant system.

> These houses are built entirely at the expense of the proprietors, and are being occupied by tenants who take the farm "on shares," the proprietors furnishing all the stock of every kind, agricultural implement, dairy utensils, etc., which they keep in repairs, in short, everything but the household furniture: for which they receive one-half the produce, the tenant taking off the land whatever vegetables, cereals, etc. he requires for the use of the family and hands. This is the system which is now being persued as the former leases fall in, under which ten tenants yet hold. The share ranches, of which there are now six, have from 2,500 to 700 acres each, averaging about 1500 acres, and are stocked with about 1,000 milch cows, besides oxen, horses, etc.[20]

The Shafters and Howard, then, took charge over sixteen dairies, and had one in construction. The ranch in December 1865 had three landings where sailing vessels from San Francisco could load the dairy produce. The ranch contained extensive forests from which the Shafters drew their construction materials. Nearly one-third of the ranchers maintained improved stock carefully bred for better production. Both the tenants and owners alike shared in the profits.

Despite the many advantages offered by the Shafter and Howard tenant system, most of the ranchers had ambitions, like the Steele brothers, to acquire their own land and stock. By 1870, when the Point Reyes tenant ranchers had grown to eighteen or nineteen, only two ranchers from Warren's 1861 visit remained--Allen and Medbury. The new tenants clearly had been selected equally as carefully, for Point Reyes township led the county in butter production and in the value of the farms and livestock. The Commercial Herald and Market Review ran a special article on the Shafter-Howard Point Reyes dairy ranch in January 1870. Twenty dairies enclosed by eighty miles of post and board fence now

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20. Alta, Ibid.

covered the peninsula. Each dairy milked 150 to 170 cows, mostly of the Devon and Durham breeds. The best milkers, however, turned out to be a cross between Devons and American stock. The owner had plans to add six or seven dairies. The dairies hired some 150 workmen, mostly whites, as Chinese, upon trial, had proven unsatisfactory milkers. Butter was the only dairy product made, the annual output being 400,000 pounds. About 500 heifer cows were raised for the dairies each year, and the rest sold to stock raisers or the market. As many as 2,000 hogs were being fed on skimmed and butter milk, and some 30,000 acres apparently had been fenced off for about 100 horses as well as for the cows, and beef steers awaiting sale. Possibly this 30,000 acres consisted of the southern hilly and forested 20,000 acres of Point Reyes with, perhaps, the 10,000-acre tract of Shafter and Howard holdings across Olema Valley, on the east side of Bolinas Ridge. Little has been written about the ranches south of Bear Valley and little evidence exists that they played an important role in the dairy production, as did the ranches located near Drakes Bay or Tomales Bay.[21]

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21. Alta, Ibid; United States Census Bureau, Ninth Census, 1870, Partial Schedules for California, Volume 2; In April 1870 San Francisco's Overland Monthly picked up the Herald's coverage of the Point Reyes ranches, quoting it verbatim. An interesting perspective offered by the article's writer, Henry DeGroot, explained that second only to the Shafter-Howard dairy ranch, the largest in California, were the Steele Brothers of Pescadero and George P. Laird on Tomales, both former Point Reyes tenants. DeGroot, "Dairies and Dairying," p. 356. Marin County Map, 1873. In 1871 another old Point Reyes tenant, C.S. Abbott, had, according to one writer, "the finest, most complete and orderly dairy in the state" in Monterey County. Pacific Rural Press, October 28, 1871, p. 2.

Point Reyes by 1870 had begun to take on different ethnic backgrounds which some disgruntled unemployed men and former Point Reyes dairymen found distasteful. Having worked out on Point Reyes in 1865, when he found things "run on the principles of a white man's government," one former dairyman found "Swus, Portigees and Chines," in numbers, desecrating the lands where he and his brethen used to work. Such newcomers, however, obviously showed interest in the future of their children, for that summer of 1870 the ranchers got together at a clam bake, the proceeds of which went towards purchasing furniture for the newly constructed school house located about half way between Home Ranch and Crandall's (Bear Valley or "W" Ranch).[22]

In 1873 Charles Nordhoff, a prolific writer on California, visited Charles Howard's nine dairy ranches on Point Reyes and reported his detailed findings first in Harper's New Monthly Magazine of December 1873 and then in his book, Northern California, Oregon, and the Sandwich Islands, published in 1875. Howard, as already indicated, carried out and paid for all the improvements to assure quality workmanship. "He fences each farm," Nordhoff wrote, "making proper subdivisions of large fields; he opens springs, and leads water through iron pipes to the proper places." Howard's Point Reyes tract, in fact, was covered with springs, and an 1879 map of his estate showed: Ranches A to G on the Point together contained 113 springs, with an average of 16 on each ranch. Howard also erected the ranch buildings according to a standard format, consisting of:

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22. Marin County Journal, January 8, 1870, p. 3; July 9, 1870, p. 3; Map of Marin County, 1873.

> a substantial dwelling, twenty-eight by thirty-two feet, a story and a half high, and containing nine rooms, all lathed and plastered; a thoroughly well-arranged milkhouse, twenty-five by fifty feet, having a milk-room, etc.; a barn, forty by fifty feet, to contain hay for the farm-horses; also a calf shed, a corral, or inclosure for the cows, a well-arranged pig-pen; and all these buildings are put in the best manner, well painted, and neat.

Howard's lease provisions contained some different features from the earlier share system described by the Alta writer of 1865. The tenant, in return for the ranch buildings, lands, and stock provided labor, dairy utensils, farm implements, and necessary horses and wagons. In addition the tenant paid twenty-seven and a half dollars for each cow per year, maintained the ranch in good condition, and raised one fifth as many calves each year as the number of cows he kept on the ranch. The remaining calves were slaughtered and fed to the hogs which were the property of the tenants. Hogs and butter, the tenants agreed, were the only products sold from Howard's dairies. The leases usually lasted three years.

Nordhoff made mention of the different nationalities now working on Point Reyes. Chinese he sometimes found in the milk house making the butter, while the tenant ranchers were American, Swedish, German, Irish and Portuguese. As earlier writers had noticed, the dairy operations were conducted "with great care and cleanliness," and proceeded as follows:

> At one end of the corral or yard in which the cows are milked is a platform, roofed over, on which stands a large tine, with a doublestrainer, into which the milk is poured from the buckets. It runs through a pipe into the milk-house, where it is again strained, and then emptied from a bucket into the pans ranged on the shelves around. The cream is taken off in from thirty-six to forty hours; and the milk keeps sweet thirty-six hours, even in summer. The square box-churn

> is used entirely, and is revolved by horsepower. They usually get butter, I was told, in half an hour.
>
> The butter is worked on an ingenious turn-table, which holds one hundred pounds at a time, and can, when loaded, be turned by a finger; and a lever, working upon a universal joint, is used upon the butter. When ready, it is put up in two-pound rolls which are shaped in a hand press, and the rolls are not weighed until they reach the city. It is packed in strong, oblong boxes, each holds fifty-five rolls.
>
> The cows are not driven more than a mile to be milked; the fields being so arranged that the corral is near the centre. When they are milked, they stray back (by) themselves to their grazing places.[23]

In 1874 the first shipment of butter and produce from the Point Reyes Station of the North Pacific Coast Railroad made its way to San Francisco, but many of the tenant ranchers preferred still to send their produce by schooner to the city. For one, the accessibility of the Drakes Bay landings to the ranches outweighed the long wagon ride to Point Reyes Station, over rough, often muddy roads. Besides, marine transportation probably was more economical at times because the schooners sometimes were owned jointly by Point Reyes ranchers and landowners.

The county history published in 1880, combined with several other sources, help to give a fuller view of some of these early tenant ranchers, the most popular of whom was Henry Claussen. Claussen lived his first nine years of life in Shleswig, Denmark, after which his family moved to Southern Sweden. After 17 he took to the sea as cabin boy, and worked his way up to First Mate in the subsequent eleven years. In 1870 Claussen took his

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23. Nordhoff, "Northern California" Harper's New Monthly Magzaine 48, No. 283 (December 1873): 35-45; Nordhoff Northern California, pp. 179-181. "Estate of (Charles Webb Howard) 1879," Tube 18, in map files of Joseph Grippi, Land Surveyor, San Rafael, California.

family to California and in 1871 took a lease from Charles Howard to run one of the tenant dairies. Until his death in 1915, Claussen won praise as a careful, honest, and industrious dairyman, and a fine example of the excellent dairy ranchers on Point Reyes. Claussen, the county history went so far as to say, was "a man most highly honored and respected by all who know him."

Claussen had learned dairying from his father who was a highly respected farmer. Not leaning on family experience, however, Claussen attended the second annual meeting of the California Dairymen's Society held in San Francisco in 1877. According to one account, Claussen at first leased two ranches, G and E, one for his own family, the other for his parents, and when his father died in 1879, Claussen buried him on a knoll on G ranch. The story may well be true, as the 1879 Howard estate map showed a cemetery on G. Ranch, a cemetery which today holds the graves of at least two of the Claussen family. Close by the cemetery Claussen reportedly planted the line of eucalyptus trees which then marked the line between the Oscar Shafter and Charles Howard estates. Clausson also apparently helped build a new schooner wharf from the shores of "F" ranch sometime after 1879. The two-masted schooner, Ida A, docked there until around 1910, when eight ranchers together purchased the Point Reyes to carry passengers, hay, sacked feed, lumber and groceries.[24]

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24. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 446; Marin Journal November 25, 1915, p. 2; Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 152, 61, Photographs and captions copyrighted by Henry M. Claussen, 1969, sent to Point Reyes National Seashore; Photographs of cemetery by writer, February 1976. Daily Alta California, September 27, 1877, p. 1; Howard Estate Map, 1879; In 1889 the schooner James Gifford could not get into Drakes Bay, forcing Point Reyes ranchers to ship their butter by rail. The Marin Journal September 19, 1889, p. 3.

No other tenant ranchers on Point Reyes remained for nearly half a century as did the Claussen family and few matched their success in dairying. In 1880 Henry Claussen produced 37,000, pounds of butter, surpassed by only three of the twenty-seven ranchers listed with him in Point Reyes township.

Eight of the twenty-three tenant ranchers produced between 30,000-40,000 pounds; ten produced 22,000-30,000; two 15,000-16,000; and one, only 6,000 pounds. Charles H. Smith, the Point Reyes butcher in 1880, produced more butter than any other tenant dairyman--as many as 43,260 pounds. Smith, a farmer and soldier by background and native Rhode Islander did not arrive at Point Reyes until 1875, and like most of the tenants, he was a family man with several children. His butchering business on F Ranch was a modest one, only totaling in value $2,700, but no doubt provided the Point Reyes ranchers with their meat supply, as did the butcher whom James McClure, former owner of I ranch, recalls from his childhood on Point Reyes early in the twentieth century.[25]

As the years passed, the Shafter-Howard dairy ranches continued to grow and prosper. In 1882 Hittell reported

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25. U.S. Census, Tenth Census, 1880, California, Schedule 2, Agriculture, Point Reyes Township, and Special Schedules of Manufacturers, Products of Industry in Tomales and Point Reyes Townships. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 448; Interview, James McClure with writer, September 17, 1975. The 1819 Howard estate map provided the first and only document indicating that the Point Reyes ranches had been designated by alphabetical letters. Today ranches A to M retain their letter names but the O to Z ranches have not been clearly identified, with exception of the Bear Valley ranch, or park headquarters, where a "W" on the barn identified the ranch. Since all the ranches in the tract south of park headquarters have been removed by the National Park Service, further investigation of the letter system will not be necessary.

that on James Shafter's 13,660-acre tract there were seven tenant ranches with 1,000 dairy cows; on his 5,257-acre tract (Bear Valley) he had three ranches with 300 cows; Oscar Shafter's estate had seven tenant ranches with 1,360 cows on the 11,135-acre tract and two farms with 250 cows on the 6,712-acre parcel adjoining Bolinas township; and Charles Webb Howard had seven ranches with 1,350 cows on his 9,840-acre tract and five farms on the 7,739 acre Olema tract. In total, Point Reyes supported thirty-one tenant ranches and 4,785 cows on 54,250 acres of Shafter-Howard lands. Each cow produced as much as 200 pounds of butter in a season, and lasted for about ten years before being sold for beef, although some continued in service as many as eighteen years. The same year Alonza Phelps credited the Shafter-Howard dairy ranches on Point Reyes and Tomales y Baulenes lands as the "two finest dairy ranches in the State, and perhaps the world." The San Francisco and Marin county newspapers shortly thereafter explained that Point Reyes butter was popularly known as gilt-edged, commanding prices higher than other butter products on the market, much to the chagrin of dairymen in other areas who insisted their butter was just as good.[26]

The 1880s, in fact, must have been the heyday for Point Reyes ranchers. The hogs fetched the highest prices in San Francisco, and the butter, marked with the ranchers' legally

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26. Hittell, Commerce and Industries, pp. 265-266. Hittell also noted that the milk was allowed to stand from thirty-six to forty-eight hours, at a temperature of sixty-three degrees, before skimming. The cream was churned separately in a square box-churn, without a dasher, turned by horsepower. It took eighteen to twenty-five pounds of milk to make one pound of butter, leaving twenty-one pounds of buttermilk for each pound of butter, to fatten the hogs. Phelps, Contemporary Biography, p. 224; Illustrated Marin County Journal Edition (San Rafael: (Marin County Journal, October 1887) pp. 3,9; San Francisco Morning Call, February 24, 1884, p. 6.

adopted trademark," P.R." within a star was jealously guarded against illegal use. The total number of ranches by 1887 had climbed, according to one account, to forty-six. During the height of the season, these ranches hired some 250 men and in the dry season as many as 100 to 150 hands. The dwellings of the tenants were still "of a very superior order," while permanent employees occupied near and comfortable cottages of their own. Quarters for single and transient workmen were also provided on the ranches. The ranch buildings--the barns, implement sheds, dairy houses, cow houses, stables, piggeries, and machine and engine shops--all apparently were of a "superior class." The American stock dairy cows which had recently been bred with pure Jerseys, produced a better quality cream without reducing their seasonal output.[27]

Thus the Point Reyes dairy district entered the decade of the 1890s producing butter which was accepted as "the standard of excellent in California," Even though the ranchers maintained their high reputation until after the turn of the century, the advancement of technology early in the 1890s began to make inroads on the old tenant system's success, causing major changes in the methods of operation, areas of concentration, and transportation for dairy products in California.[28]

4. Home Ranch

In February 1857 Oscar and James Shafter's cousin, John Shafter, arrived from the East. Plans had been made for John to supervise the construction of two houses and necessary fencing for the ranch at Point Reyes. John, too, would have the job of managing the ranch with its cows, sheep, pigs, and chickens, and would help set up the dairy they wanted for the

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27. Illustrated Marin County Journal, Ibid.

28. More will be said in a later section of the decline of coastal dairies. Quoted from Memorial and Biographical History, p. 156;

ranch. The location for these ranch buildings although not specified in Oscar's letters, undoubtedly was at what later was known as Home Ranch, for in 1865 a visitor to Home Ranch found the Shafters' nephew in residence there, and the ranch, as early intended, served as the owners' headquarters.

During 1859 and 1860 the ranch owners imported prize Durham bulls and French merino rams for their ranch, with a mind to improve the stock. In November 1859 Home Ranch received 400 ewes brought by Jim Shafter himself overland from the landing at Sausalito. A two year old Durham heifer from the Shafters' home town, Bennington, Vermont, cost them $500 to transport to San Francisco, where it was immediately found to be "the finest specimen of the Durham breed ever brought to [the] Coast." In the spring of 1860 Oscar speculated that the ranch's 1,000 ewes would provide at least 2,000 lambs which would sell for $10,000. Home Ranch in the early years experienced the excitement of frequent change, experimentation, and improvement.[29]

John Quincy Adams Warren, who so admirably described the tenant ranches on Point Reyes in 1861, also devoted a large portion of his article to the ranch of Shafter, Park and Heydenfeldt, later known as Home Ranch. Riding from H. Stanley's, "located near the bluffs, and overlooking the bay," Warren returned to the main road "over the hills, a short ride" to

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Bancroft, California 7:57; Souvenir of Marin County, (1907), n.p; Helen Bingham, In Tamal Land (San Francisco: The Calkins Publishing House, 1906), p. 113; Souvenir of Marin County, California (San Rafael: Marin County Journal, 1893) p. 16.

29. Mason, Point Reyes, pp 34-5; quotation from Life, Diary, Letters p. 202; Ibid., pp. 200-203; San Francisco Daily Alta California, December 20, 1865, p. 1 San Francisco.

the extensive ranch. "The mansion and numerous buildings are located in the valley between the ranges of mountains, and a near approach as we descend the hills given them an imposing and cheerful appearance." Warren went on to explain that the 6,000-acre ranch was devoted to grazing, with the exception of seventy-five acres sown with oats, grain, and root crops. The ranch maintained 200 head of dairy stock, principally American, with a few choice Devons and Durhams. Impressed by the imported livestock, Warren listed the name, birth, sire, and other identifying features of each of nine Devons and three calves, explaining as well that they had all been brought across the plains from the ranch of Charles B. Ely, Esquire, of Lorraine County, Ohio. Warren also delineated the similar statistics for several pure blooded Durham which had successfully been raised at the ranch, remarking that they were "fine looking, healthy animals."

The 2,500 sheep which now grazed on the ranch nearly all had been improved by the five French merino, two Leicester, and two Southdown pure blooded sheep on the ranch. The flock had begun with 800 native sheep to produce wool and mutton for the San Francisco market. The half-breeds, Warren noted, looked in excellent condition.

The owners had planned their ranch buildings in the most modern style "for the comfort and convenience of the stock and their requirements." The barns were large, spacious, and well arranged. Home Ranch, Warren made clear, was planned and operated with careful management.[30]

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30. Gates, ed. California Ranchos, pp. 200-204. The wool may well have been sold to the Pioneer Woolen Mills in San Francisco, established in 1859, and described earlier in the report.

In June 1865 Oscar Shafter, in his last letter describing the ranch affairs, wrote, "James has been at the ranch for the last two weeks and will be back in a few days." James evidently had gone up for the annual shearing which, Oscar noted, was going well, with six men at work, and two more weeks ahead. The ranch superintendent, a man only identified as Johnson reported that the new milk room worked "to a charm," and that since the interior and exterior adjustments, the evenness of the room temperature was just about perfect. In consequence, he found "a very marked improvement both in quality and quantity of the cream."[31]

The most detailed and colorful description of Home Ranch during its first decade of operation came from an account by an unidentified visitor to the ranch printed in several issues of the Daily Alta California during December 1865. Leaving Olema on horseback, the reporter passed the Garcia Ranch house (near today's park headquarters) and cantered down a pleasant road through the woods to a ranch house (Haggerty's), where the trail ascended a very steep hill. (This is the old Point Reyes road, now closed, but still evident.) As he descended the series of hills and plateaus, the grand panaroma of Point Reyes and the Pacific Ocean stretched out before him. As the sun was setting, the traveler arrived at the Shafter Ranch House, just when the evening milking was being done in a large corral. "A lot of robust fellows, of all races, from the Caucasian to the Chinese, or Indians, rushed from cow to cow with their little stools, [and] as the pails were filled, the milk was poured out into other vessels and carried into the dairy to be sieved, left to stand and the collected cream made into butter."

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31. Life, Diary and Letters. p. 228. The 6,000 - acres of the ranch apparently was the only location where sheep were kept. By 1870 all sheep had been phased out of the township. 1870 Census, Agricultural Recapitulations, Point Reyes Township.

After recalling some moments of laughter and hilarity among the milkers, the traveler described his impressions of the ranch buildings and their setting:

> The Ranch house, with the corrals, barns, pigstys, slaughterhouse, smithy, etc., and an extensive and very complete dairy, which contains every modern improvement, is scrupulously clean and seems admirably managed. These structures occupy an extensive space in a pretty wide and very fertile valley, which opens upon one of the lagoons that indent the shore of the ranch. There was one building being erected something after the pagoda style, and its use I could not comprehend; in short, it puzzled me for days, as I passed and repassed it, until, at last, I wondered if it were possible, seeing many Chinese around, that feeedom of religious worship had become so prevalent here as to induce the proprietors to build them a "Josh-house." I learned, however, that it was intended for a dog-house, which will certainly be of some advantage to the ranch at least, . . .[32]

Superintendent Johnson was away on ranch business, but the Shafters' nephew made their guest comfortable. The following morning at four-thirty the cow-milking bell gave the traveler an early start for his day of exploration and sport. That day he took a swim in Drake's Bay, went hunting for hares by horseback with a large pack of the ranch's fine greyhounds, rode his horse along the beach and into the surf of Drake's Bay, went sailing in a Whitehall boat kept at the ranch landing, and hunted quail and ducks: an active day which hinted at the abundance of wildlife and the variety of natural features characteristic of Point Reyes, features which lay behind the creation of the national seashore a century later.

Of the ranching operations the visitor learned that the proprietors--the Shafters and Howard--kept 200 cows, 500

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32. Daily Alta California, December 20, 1865. p. 1.

yearlings and two-year olds, 1,100 head of beef cattle, 109 horses, and 100 swine, and were about to add 100 more cows. The ranch had been fenced into six separate pastures for the different types of stock, the furthest away being designated for the beef cattle. The best milking cows turned out to be a cross between Devons and Durhams, which the proprietors hoped to refine yet further with an impending introduction of Aldemays to the ranch's livestock. During the year 175 average cows had produced 18,000 pounds of butter, not including that consumed by the numerous ranch hands. "Its quality is the best in the State," the visitor explained, "so it is reputed in the San Francisco market, where Point Reyes butter always commands the highest price."

The farming on the ranch, carried out largely to feed the livestock, yielded oats, barley, potatoes, beets, and turnips. On the upland near the house the first crop of oats had weighed forty-two pounds to the bushel, and on the flat, where the house stood, oats and barley were yielding forty bushels to the acre, while straw grew eight feet tall. The wild grass amazed the visitor by its speed of growth. Even before the rains set in, he measured spears of new grass three inches high, and with rainfall the grass seemed to grow up between the cows' bites. During his quail hunting the traveler dropped some barley which, he claimed, grew into four-inch spears only four days later.

In part, the productivity of Home Ranch was due to the contribution of "the active and intelligent superintendent of the entire ranch." Mr. Johnson, whose management of the "immense and valuable property" was carried out honestly and judiciously. "The proprietors have been fortunate in accuring [sic] so able and faithful a Superintendent . . . who apprehends his duties in all their details, and performs them intelligently," the correspondent concluded. To Mr. Johnson's and the proprietors' further credit, the employees on Home Ranch all were "well fed, housed and cared

for," in a fashion which fit the broad scheme for all the Point Reyes dairy ranches.

The daily routine for the ranch hands, at least during this visitor's day, began at the four-thirty a.m. milking, which lasted about an hour. Next, breakfast was served, after which the hands dispersed for their other other duties--some to tend the garden and grain field, some to attend the stock, others to caulk or mend the lighter recently built to carry the produce out to the schooners. At noon all returned for lunch in the dining room, followed by more work with the evening milking when all hands returned to assist. Shortly after supper everyone went to bed, closing a routine day.

Some exciting events occasionally broke the regularity of this schedule. A huge old grizzly had stirred up everyone on the ranch by attacking the stock prior to the visitor's arrival, and even a trap devised by an Indian ranch hand had failed to deter the bear's depredations. The uniqueness of the bear trap prompted the correspondent to describe it in his article:

> The whole structure was an elongated square of I should think 7 feet by 10 in the clear, the inside entirely composed of logs of about a foot in diameter, floor, and roof and all. These logs were securely pinned together so that the trap was solidly fastened and could not be moved. A doorway was cut large enough for a bear to enter at one end, on each side of which the logs were also pinned together, and a door working in a slide was fastened at the top to a pole which ran over a rest and was attached at the other end to a contrivance like the figure four trap, and which communicated with the inside, where the basis was suspended, in such a way that when Bruin should touch it away falls the support, up goes the pole, down drops the door, and Bruin is caught.[33]

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33. Ibid., December 25, 1865, p. 1; December 29, 1865, p. 1.

The first written reference to the ranch as "Home Ranch," found in the course of this research appeared in a newspaper article of July 9, 1870, which described the new schoolhouse "halfway between Mr. Crandall's and the "Home Ranch." The year previous the Shafters and Howard had divided their 54,340-acre Point Reyes ranch into six tracts, two for each partner, possibly because of family differences. Also in 1869 James Shafter, who had always taken the most active interest in the ranch, and who owned the tract which contained Home Ranch, built the Oaks in Olema Valley, where he lived on his frequent sojourns to Point Reyes. Home Ranch, apparently, continued to be an experiment station, so to speak, for breeding better milking cows and for trying modern methods of dairying on the tenant ranches.

The fragmentary information after 1865, however, does not indicate whether the ranch was used jointly by the partners, or whether, more likely, it served as the management center only for the James Shafter tenant ranches after the land partition occurred. Certainly James' family interest in the ranch is indicated by the position which his younger brother, William Newton Shafter, took as manager of the ranch and estate during the 1880's. Newton Shafter appeared on the 1880 United States Census but may have come to the ranch earlier.

According to research carried out by Jack Mason, William lived in a house built earlier by cousin John, who had arrived in California in February 1857 to manage the Point Reyes ranch. The main road via Haggerty's Gulch to the tip of Point Reyes ran through the middle of the ranch, which, apparently, looked like a small village with its twenty or so whitewashed buildings. The ranch supported 300 cows on 2,500 acres, as well as ten riding horses kept in the barn. A blacksmith shop, a butcher shop, and a full storeroom of provisions went far to make the ranch self-sufficient. Although bears had been driven from the

area, wildcats, coons, and foxes still lent a wild air to the surroundings and made it impossible to continue chicken raising on the ranch.[34]

William N. Shafter died on June 29, 1889, and his brother James followed him to the grave only four years later, having made at least two attempts to sell the 13,660-acre tract on which Home Ranch stood, in 1878 and 1889. Clearly, the Home Ranch, although still a family base, no longer held the keen interest of its owner.

James' daughter, Julia Shafter Hamilton, however, showed renewed interest in keeping Home Ranch in the family. Had she preferred the Oaks, her father's country estate, she could not have had it, for it went to Payne Shafter, her oldest brother. In 1906 Julia held off the remaining 300 acres of Home Ranch from the market when she attempted to sell large sections of the estate between Inverness and Bear Valley through the Inverness Land and Water Company. But debts, unpaid taxes, and mortage payments finally forced her to sell the ranch to Leland Murphy on December 2, 1929, just over a month after the devastating stock market crash, which signaled the beginning of the Great Depression.

Leland S. Murphy's ownership of Home Ranch continued until July 20, 1968, when he sold out to the National Park Service, retaining lifetime rights to the 2,740-acre ranch. He had managed, built up, improved, and experimented on the ranch for nearly forty years. Undoubtedly much as the Shafters and the Howards had done before him. Evidently he changed the total

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34. Marin County Journal July 9, 1870, p. 3; Mason, Point Reyes pp. 58, 76. Tenth Census, 1880, Agricultural Schedule, Point Reyes Township, p. 20; Map of Marin County in 1873.

appearance of all the ranch very little, for it still supports numerous whitewashed buildings which now show their years and need for maintenance. The Home Ranch, mother to the tenant system which the Shafters began and shared with Charles Webb Howard, maintains an atmosphere of its rugged and versatile ranch history for visitors to Point Reyes today.[35]

5. Pierce Ranch

The only notable exception the law partners of Shafter, Park and Heydenfelt made to their agreement not to sell any of the Point Reyes Rancho was their sale of the 2,200-acre tract on the end of Tomales Point to Solomon Pierce on December 5, 1858, for $7.000. The exchange may have been a product of an old friendship, for the Shafter brothers, Trenor Park, and the Pierce family all migrated west from the State of Vermont.

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35. Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 76, 96-7, 99, 173; U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Subcomittee on National Parks, Bills to Establish the Point Reyes National Seashore in the State of California, and for Other Purposes: Hearings on H.R. 2775 and H.R. 3244, 87th Cong., 1st sess., March 24, July 6, August 11, 1961, p. 9. According to Joseph Mendoza, Murphy bought up a lot of land during the Depression, and brought in gangs of Japanese to clear it. The Japanese then were hired to raise peas and artichokes on the ranch, an experiment which proved successful. Interview, Joseph Mendoza, former owner of B. Ranch, with writer, February 6, 1976.

In January 1936 Works Projects Administration writer, Anna Ricksecker, reported that Point Reyes township had come "to the front" in production of green peas, 1,000 acres of which had been planted during the two prior years. The Horticultural commission report, from which she evidently researched, observed that Point Reyes was also developing an extensive trade in artichokes. Ricksecker, compiler and writer, "Marin County, Mexican Land Grant," W.P.A. Project, typescript, January 10, 1936, at Marin County Library, San Rafael Cal.

When Solomon Pierce acquired the Point Reyes tract, George Laird already had set up a dairy ranch near the end of Tomales Point, on the bay shore. In November 1859 Laird's place still showed on field notes for Point Reyes, suggesting that Solomon Pierce had agreed to lease some of his land to him. The same field notes made no reference to Pierce but labeled two structures near the tract's principal bayside gulch, today known as White Gulch, as "cabins." The following year the 1860 county map identified the cabin beside the north shore of White Gulch as Pierce's.[36]

Solomon Pierce may have joined the late starters to the California gold rush, for the county history tells us that he left Vermont for California in the spring of 1850, and in 1856 he instructed his wife and son to join him in El Dorado County. In July 1858 the Pierces moved to Petaluma township, Sonoma County, where Solomon entered the dairy business with a partner, George C. Jewell. The following December Solomon purchased the Tomales Point tract and shortly thereafter moved his family onto the land.

Solomon invested in livestock, cleared 400 acres of land, and started a dairy on his property. By the close of his first year he had acquired $2,192 worth of ranch animals - three horses, thirty-seven milk cows, two work oxen, forty other cattle, and twenty-four swine-and had raised the cash value of the farm to $8,000. The dairy produced 4,000 pounds of butter during the year, second only to the township's Young brothers located on Tomales Point to the south of the Pierce ranch. Although a modest beginning, the Pierce ranch stood among the best dairies on Point Reyes.

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36. Deed Book D, p. 91, RDO, MCC; "Plat of the Rancho Punta De Los Reyes (Sobrante) . . . August 1858," NA, RG26, USCG.

In 1862, Pierce's ranch near the shore of White Gulch (so called that year on a coast survey) showed further signs of permanent settlement. Two buildings stood within a fenced inclosure, along with a cultivated field and planted trees. Perhaps satisfied that he had assured the success of his Point Reyes dairy, Solomon left the care of the ranch with his oldest son, Abram Jewell, then twenty-four, and returned to Petaluma in 1865. Abram stayed one year, leased the ranch, and went on a trip back to his home state of Vermont, not returning to the ranch until November 1869, when he constructed a new ranch house, part of the existing Upper Pierce Ranch residence.

While absent from his father's ranch, Abram married on December 5, 1867, adding perhaps, a reason for him to build a new stylish residence on the ranch in lieu of moving his young bride into the original cabin in White Gulch. She, too, may have wanted her home to enjoy the sweeping view which the location on the hill provided. Minerva Pierce, however, suffered from "shattered health" in 1870, and so the couple again left the Tomales Point ranch to travel in the South in hopes of restoring her health. In June 1871 they returned to Petaluma, where Abram worked in the grocery business until 1873. Perhaps Minerva had protested against living on the ranch, where high winds, dense fogs, isolation, and limited communication between very few neighbors may have made life uncomfortable, for after her death on June 8, 1873, Abram returned once more to the Point Reyes ranch which he now owned one fourth part of by transfer from his mother, Sarah C. Pierce, in 1871.[37]

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37. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 447-48; Eighth Census, 1860, Schedule 4, Agriculture, Point Reyes Township, pp. 17-18; US Coast Survey, "Part of Tomales Bay California 1862"; Deeds J, p. 138, RDO, MCC.

Despite the family's absence from the ranch during most of the late 1860s, the dairy prospered. By 1870 the Pierce ranch, under the management of a man called Mallot, exceeded all others in Point Reyes township in butter production; compared to its 47,000 pounds of butter, the next highest ranch only manufactured 35,000 pounds. The Pierce ranch also led the township in the value of its livestock and agricultural products, coming to $23,400-nearly three times the value of the entire ranch only a decade earlier. In contrast to 1860, the ranch now furnished feed crops for the cattle--seventy-five tons of hay--and yielded, as well, 1,000 bushels of Irish potatoes. Livestock had increased to ten horses, 250 dairy cows, four oxen, 220 other cattle, and 100 hogs--from two to nearly seven times their 1860 numbers. The Pierce family paid the ranch hands well--nearly $5,000 in total--to maintain their ranch which now had a cash value of $50,000, an enormous amount considering the $7,000 paid for the land in 1858.

A.J. Pierce's return to the family ranch in 1873 evidently gave rise to greater accomplishments, for a promotional article on Marin County in 1878 singled out the A.J. Pierce ranch as an example of a Marin dairy ranch:

> The ranch has about 2,200 acres, and the usual dairy is 300 cows. Last year Mr. Pierce milked 277 cows; the product was 60,000 pounds of butter, the net sales of which amounted to $17,431. The other products were about as follows: Six fine colts, mostly McClellan. Mr. Pierce has a McClellan stallion and several brood mares of the same stock; about twenty-five horses, all told, among them some three-year-olds as handsome as ever pulled a gentleman's buggy; raised sixty-four calves; has a thoroughbred Durham bull by Redmond's Lalla Rookh, and his corral of cows, which as a very high average grade of stock, shows plain streaks of Durham and Devon blood. It costs $10 the first year to raise a calf, and is only to get improved stock. Pork raised was about 30,000 pounds, which sold for $1,500. Beef sold during the year $500. Average product of eggs, a box (fifty-four dozen) a week, for seven months, at not less

than $12 a box. Raised thirty acres of potatoes, and cut 150 tons of hay. Mr. Pierce farms 125 acres.[38]

The next year the editor of the county history, having determined that there was "no more extensive dairy in the township than that owned by A.J. Pierce on Tomales Point, and none . . . better conducted," gathered detailed information not only on the ranch's livestock and agricultural products but also on the specific buildings, the methods of dairying, the tools of butter making, and on many aspects of daily living. The published account goes far to bring the Pierce ranch to life in 1879, as well as to help identify the structures which now compose the Upper Pierce Ranch. Because the county history not only provides the last printed description of the Pierce ranch, and the best account of the ranch at its peak, but also the clearest available explanation of butter making at the prime of the industry, the following excerpt is quoted in full:

> There is no more extensive dairy in the township than that owned by A.J. Pierce on Tomales Point, and none are better conducted, hence a sketch of this industry, as seen at his place, will convey a complete idea of its magnitude and importance. The ranch is located on the extreme point, lying between Tomales bay and the Pacific ocean, and contains two thousand acres, which, for the sake of convenience, is divided into two tracts, with milk houses and other appliances for the business at both places, except that all the cream is brought to the home ranch to be churned. On this dairy there are three hundred head of milch cows, besides, perhaps, one hundred and fifty head of young stock, all of which find ample pasturage, so rich and rank is the growth of grass upon it. At the home place, Mr. Pierce has two corrals for his cows, adjoining each other, and each one hundred and fifty feet square, and a door opens into the strainer

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38. California Emmigrant Union, California As A Home, p. 10.

room from each of them. The milkers use an ordinary flared tin pail, holding about sixteen quarts, and have their milking stools adjusted to them with straps. When the pail is full the milker steps into the strainer room and pours the milk into a sort of double hopper with a strainer in each section. From this the milk passes through a tin pipe to a vat which holds one hundred and thirty gallons. From this it is drawn off into strainer pails which hold five gallons each, and which have a large scoop shaped nozzle, from which it is poured into the pans. It will thus be seen that the milk passes through three strainers before it is panned. The pans are made of pressed tin and hold twelve quarts each, and are placed in racks, one above the other, before the milk is poured into them. There are three milk-rooms, each with a capacity of six hundred and twelve pans, or a total of one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six, and they are arranged both with a view to convenience and utility. The ventilation is perfect being regulated by openings near the floor and skylight windows above. The rooms are warmed with registers from a furnace in the cellar below them and in this way a very even temperature is maintained. In the center of each room, there is a skimming apparatus which consists of a table about five feet long and two feet wide, placed upon a square pedestal, in either end of which there is a semi-circular notch, under each of which there is placed a can and holding ten gallons for the reception of the cream. In the center of the table is a hopper for the reception of the sour milk, from which it is carried off through pipes. Skimming is performed twice a day, morning and evening, and milk is ordinarily allowed to stand thirty-six hours before it is skimmed, but in very warm weather it is only kept twenty-four hours. This work is begun at three o'clock in the morning, and usually requires an hour and a half to complete it. Two men work at a table, one at each end. The skimmer consists of a wooden knife with a thin blade shaped much like a butteris or farrier's lnife. This is dexterously and rapidly passed around the rim of the pan, leaving the cream floating free upon the surface of the milk. The pan is then tilted slightly and the cream glides quickly over the rim into the can below. The milk is then emptied into the hopper and conducted to the hog-pen. This arrangement is so complete and compact that the pan is scarcely moved from the time it is placed upon the skimming table till the milk is emptied from it and no time is lost except in passing the pans from the rack to the table. An expert skimmer can handle two hundred pans

an hour. In some dairies where the rooms are larger the skimming table is placed upon castors and can be trundled from place to place as convenience requires, and a hose is attached to the hopper leading to the waste pipes. The cream is then placed in the churn, which consists of a rectangular box in the shape of a paralellopipedon, the sides of which are two and five feet respectively on the inside. It works on a pivot at the center of the ends, and is driven by a one-horse tread power. The desired result is attained by the breaking of the cream over the sharp angles of the churn, and the operation requires from twenty to forty minutes. The usual yield of a churning is two hundred pounds, although as much as three hundred and forty-seven pounds have been churned at once. The buttermilk is then drawn off and the butter is washed with two waters, when it is ready to have the salt worked into it. It is now weighed and one ounce of salt allowed for each pound of butter. The worker is a very simple device, and is known as the Allen patent, it having been invented by Captain Oliver Allen, of Sonoma county, and consists of two circular tables, one above the other and about four inches apart. The bottom one is stationary and dressed out so that all milk or water falling on it is carried off into a bucket. The upper dice is on a pivot, so that in the process of working all portions of the butter may be easily brought under the flattened lever used for working it. After the salt has been thoroughly incorporated the butter is separated into square blocks about the requisite size for two-pound rolls. The mould is also a patent devide originated by Captain Allen, and consists of a matrix, composed of two wooden pieces shaped so as to press the butter into a roll, which are fastened to an extended shear handle, with the joint about midway from the matrix to the end of the handle. The operator opens the matrix, and passes it on either side of one of the squares of butter and then closes it firmly. The ends of the roll are then cut off even with the mould, and the roll is complete. Thin white cotton cloth is placed around each roll, and the stamp of the dairy is applied to one end of it, when it is ready for the market. The rolls are accounted to weigh two pounds each, but they fall short of that weight two percent, or two pounds to fifty rolls.

Mr. Pierce's dairy house is thirty-six by sixty-four with a wing twelve by twenty. The milk rooms, three in number, are each twelve by twenty-four; the churning room is twenty twenty, the butter room sixteen by twenty, and the packing room is sixteen by sixteen.

The temperature at which the milk rooms are kept is sixty-two degrees. The water for cleaning and washing purposes is heated in a large iron kettle with a brick furnace constructed around it. The milk pans are washed through two waters and then thoroughly scaled, and sunned through the day so that they are kept perfectly sweet. The skimming so arranged that one room is unoccupied each day, and it is then thoroughly cleaned and aired. All waste pipes from sinks are arranged with traps so as to prevent any foul gases from entering the milk rooms, and all traces of lactic acid are carefully guarded against. The sour milk is conducted through pipes to hog-pens same distance from the dairy house, and affords ample sustenance for two hundred head of hogs. He usually raises fifteen per cent of his heifer calves, and his stock is mostly a cross of Durham and Alderney, which is considered the best stock for rich milk, yielding large quantities of it, and for an extended length of time. Fifteen men are employed in milking, and it requires two hours each time. A good active man will milk about then cows an hour.

It is thus that this elegant golden delicacy is prepared for our tables, and among all the choice products of the glorious State of California, none stand out in bolder relief, none strikes the visitor to our coast more forcibly, none affords more real pleasure to the consumer than the wonderfully excellent butter, which finds its way to the city markets from Marin county. In quality, color and sweetness it is not excelled by famous butter productions of Goshen in New York, or the Western Reserve of Ohio. Nor is it equaled in any other part of the United States. What a field for contemplative thought. The verdant fields of grass, toyed with by the winds bathed in a flood of sunshine and shrouded in folds lacelike and fleecy mists fresh from the ocean, with herds of kine feeding upon them; driven at eventime into the corral and, while thoughtfully ruminating, yielding the gallons and gallons of rich, pure, sweet milk; again we see it in great cans of yellow cream, fit for the use of a king; and then the golden butter, and such delicious butter! Ready for the market and for the table of the epicure. The grass growing in the fields on Monday is the butter on the city tables the following Sunday.

Mr. Pierce has everything about him in the same excellent order that he has his dairy. His cow and horse barns are models of convenience. He has a blacksmith shop, where all his work in that line is done; a carpenter shop where the butter boxes are made and repaired, and other work of a similar character performed; a school-house in

> his yard; a laundry, presided over by a Mongolian genius; a store in which all the necessary provender supplies are kept, and the stock in almost as full and complete as a country store, comprising hams, bacon, lard, sugars, teas, coffees, syrups, flour, etc: a butcher shop where two beeves are cut up monthly; a "Triumph" gas machine, by which the gas is generated for the fifty burners required for all the places where a light is needed about the place. These burners are in all the rooms of the house, in the milk and other rooms of the dairy house and in all the barns. The gas is made of gasoline by a very simple process, and the expense of manufacturing it is nominal, and the security from fire is almost absolute. And lastly comes the dwelling house, which, though not elegant nor palatial, is large, roomy, and homelike.[39]

The county history thus gives a blow-by-blow account of ten principal steps of butter-making in 1879, from the milking to the final formation of the butter into two-pound rolls. The dairy house, with its three milk rooms, churning room, and packing room, measured thirty-six feet by sixty-four feet, with a wing twenty feet by twelve feet--a large structure reflecting its importance in the ranch operations. Nine other buildings served other principal ranch functions--cow and horse barns, a blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, school house, laundry (with a Chinese washerman), store, butcher shop, and, presumably, a shed to shelter the Triumph gas engine which generated gas for fifty lights in the house, barns, and dairy. The large spacious house constituted the eleventh structure mentioned not including the hog pens and corrals associated with the dairy process. The ranch hired fifteen milkers and whether they lived in separate bunk houses or cottages, or found room in the ranch house, the county history does not specify. Considering the fact that Abram Pierce,

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39. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 297-300.

his second wife, Mary R., and son, William, were probably the only family members residing in the house and that the house was so spacious, it seems unlikely that bunkhouses were needed.

The county history did make clear the fact that the Pierce tract contained two ranch complexes, each operating a dairy. The home place, as the 1873 county map, the county history, and existing buildings indicate, was today's Upper Pierce Ranch.

The transportation of dairy products to market began with the hauling of the casks down to a landing at White Gulch, less than half a mile distance; from there a Pierce family boatman took the cargo across Tomales Bay to a landing where it could be transferred to the North Pacific Coast Railroad which delivered it to San Francisco by train and ferry.[40]

On May 3, 1883, A.J. Pierce died of an enlarged heart and other complications at age forty-two. Funeral services took place in Petaluma, where "perhaps the largest concourse of mourners" ever to gather in that city mourned his death. The Episcopal minister of Pierce's church and his fellow members of the Knights Templar conducted the observance.[41]

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40. Interview, Erwin Thompson with M. McDonald, present tenant on Pierce Ranch, August 9, 1975; Marin County Journal November 18, 1915. Pierce married Mary J. Robinson on May 6, 1876. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 448. The 1880 Census, Agriculture schedule, p. 23, did not list Pierce but A.J. River, who must have been the ranch manager that year. The ranch in 1880 had 120 acres tilled, and 2,000 acres in fallow land. The value of the farm, $75,000; value of machinery, $1,500; value of livestock, $12,000; cost of repair work $500; wages paid, $6,000; weeks of hired labor, 624; and value of farm products, $15,000. The ranch produced the greatest amount of butter in Point Reyes Township, 61,000 pounds.

41. Marin County Journal May 3, 1883, p. 3.

His obituary writer explained that Pierce had spent the last ten years of his life on his Marin County dairy but within the past year he had left on account of declining health. "He took a deep personal interest in the business, and managed it with such excellent judgment that it stands today as one of the representative dairy ranches of the Pacific," the article explained, "And while enlarging and improving the business, he also spent much time and means in beautifying the home section of the ranch, with such success that is is known far and near as one of the finest and most inviting country residences in the State."[42]

Of Pierce himself, the writer eulogized, "Mr Pierce was a man of spherical character. Set in a grand and gigantic physique were a broad mind and a large heart. . . . He took a good citizen's interest in all public affairs, he was honest, upright, conscientious, generous, intelligent, and sympathetic." Certainly his death must have left the dairy ranch without a fine manager and proprietor.[43]

Abram's heir and only child, William S. Pierce, then assumed responsibility for the ranch, and while he apparently gave "wise supervision to his patrimonial acres," he spent most of his time in Petaluma where he lived "in elegant quiet" with his step-mother, Mary J. In 1895 William committed suicide, causing his obituary writer to make public "the almost romantic attachment" Pierce and his step-mother had shared. According to one one

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42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., March 28, 1895, p. 3; Chronological History," 1, p. 245.

source Pierce left his entire estate to her, of which the Pierce ranch alone was valued at $500,000.[44]

Presumably after Abram's death the family ranch continued in operation under the management of a resident superintendent, and after William's death in 1895, Mary J., the surviving family member, began to lease out the ranch. In 1902 Mary J. Pierce received full title to "the old Pierce Homestead and reservoir" from the Bank and Trust Company of Tomales and on November 30, 1917, she sold the 2,546-acre tract to John G. Rapp who two years later also purchased all the Charles Howard estate lands on Point Reyes. In 1919 a map of the ranch showed a road running from Upper Pierce ranch down to White Gulch, and a wharf constructed into the water from the gulch's southwest shore. A 1911 and a 1915-16 map indicated that the Lower Pierce ranch for a few years took on added importance, being designated the location of the Pierce district school and, on the later map, as the "Pierce Ranch."

B. Olema Valley

The nine mile valley stretching from Olema south to Bolinas lagoon enjoys the shelter of mountain ridges on its east and west, and the moisture of numerous springs and streams across its

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44. Deed Book, 76, p. 214; Deed Book 192, p. 383; p. 324; Official Records 189, p. 124, RDO, MCC; "Pierce Ranch, 1919," Tube 21 at Joseph Grippi, Land Surveyor, San Rafael; Point Reyes Quadrangle, California, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1915-1916; W.P. Walkup and Sons, "Marin County, California" Compiled from U.S. Land Surveys Latest Private and Official Surveys, 1911. Visit to ranch by writer, October 28, 1975. The National Park Service condemned the Pierce Ranch on August 21, 1971, and on April 21, 1973, purchased it from the Bahia del Norte Land and Cattle Company. Historical Files, Pierce, A.J., at Marin Independent Journal Library, San Rafael, Cal.

floor. While dairying in the valley never competed in quantity with the Point Reyes ranches, the quality of its product apparently did, for the entire area surrounding Olema won fame as a dairy district.

At the American takeover of California Rafael Garcia laid claim to the northern eight miles of the valley floor while his brother-in-law, Gregorio Briones, held title to Rancho Baulinas containing all the land surrounding Bolinas lagoon half a mile north and east to the Bolinas ridge line. Gregorio's land, with its redwood, fir, and oak trees and its convenient harbor first attracted American interest, and by 1852 much of his two leagues had been sold or leased for sawmills and farming. Garcia evidently sold a few small parcels of his Rancho Tomales y Baulenes to Americans early in the decade but grew impatient of such methods, refusing to sell a modest acreage to Benjamin Winslow in the mid-1850s.

On September 25, 1856, Daniel and Nelson H. Olds, gold rush pioneers to California, purchased 4,366 acres of Olema Valley from Garcia--more than half of his rancho claim--for $8,000. The Olds land stretched from the present town of Olema south to and including the Olema lime kilns, beyond today's Five Brooks. On the east, Olemus Lake, now known as Olema Creek, formed the boundary, and on the west, today's Lagunitas Creek. Daniel and Nelson not only had their own families with them but also their parents, also named the Daniel Olds. All had emigrated from Michigan to the mines and had farmed some in Alameda County prior to their purchase of Marin County land. Nelson, family tradition tells, had struck a good vein in Sierra County, had sold out to an eastern company, and had furnished the funds for the Olema Valley purchase. The Olds family, like the other early settlers to the valley, represented a minority of American born, independent ranchers in West Marin County. While at Point Reyes and on Rancho Sausalito to the south, absentee landowners maintained vast

tenant ranching dairy industries, Olema Valley and the Bolinas lagoon lands were settled and farmed by the landowners themselves. The pioneering spirit and the shared opportunities of the fertile valley molded a tradition of close comraderie within the community which still can be identified among the residents of the valley.[45]

Benjamin Miller, another American ranch pioneer to the valley, and possibly a friend or acquaintance of the Olds family from his former residency in Alameda County, purchased 160 acres of valley land from Gregorio Briones on September 20, 1856. The following spring a close friend of Nelson Olds', John Nelson, with William G. Randall bought 1,400 acres from Garcia to the south of the Olds' tract. Captain Morgan on Bolinas lagoon had acquired the Belvidere Ranch, as he called it, in 1852, containing some 2,200 acres of Briones' rancho along the east shore of the lagoon. Henry Strain bought seventy-eight acres not far to the north of Bolinas lagoon on January 22, 1857. Thus, by the summer of 1857 nearly the entire floor and eastern shore of the lagoon had been divided into ranch lands, the first step towards a settled dairy community.[46]

In accordance with a promise Nelson Olds evidently made to Benjamin Winslow in 1856 when he first visited Marin County, he and Daniel Olds sold Winslow and his partner, Stephen B. Barnaby, 574 acres on the northern end of their tract, on September 23,

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45. Olds Family Genealogy, typescript, loaned by Mrs. Virginia Olds French; Cronise, The Natural Wealth, p. 162; French, Escondido, California, October 1975; "Nelson Horanto [sic] Olds" typescript copy of obituary printed in San Diego Sun October 4, 1882, loaned by Mrs. French; "Recollections of Woodside," by Jeremiah Stanley Olds, February 18, 1939, hand-written account by son of Nelson Horation Olds loaned by Mrs. French; Deed Book C, p. 66, RDO, MCC.

46. Deed Book B, pp. 3,252, 312; C, p. 94, RDO,PNCC.

1857. Winslow built a store--the beginnings of the town of Olema-and the partners subsequently built a ranch about a half mile to the south, between Olema Creek and the road running through the valley to Bolinas, where Barnaby in turn sold the southern 400 acres of the tract to Samuel Nay in October 1860 and Nay passed it on to the partners Levi Karner and Levi K. Baldwin in February 1861. Karner and Baldwin, as a farming journal writer would find out the next year, were to establish the first large dairy operation in the valley.[47]

When the Olds family moved to the valley in December 1856 only one other small landowner had settled there--John Garrison, the superintendent of the Taylor paper mill, who had purchased fifty acres from Garcia near today's Five Brooks, and had built a home on the west bank of the Olemus Lake. Nelson Olds, according to the memory of his son, purchased the unfinished house of a poacher for $100.00 and moved his family in on Christmas Eve. A terrific storm that night whistled through the empty window and door frames, prompting the family to pin up blankets for their protection. The house, as shown on maps through 1867, stood east of Olema Creek, near where the creek began its sharp curve to the west. Today the site of the first Nelson Olds ranch approximates the location of the Ralph Giacomimi ranch, just south of Five Brooks. Daniel Olds built his own ranch just to the north of Nelson, about where William Pinkerton's house now stands at Five

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47. J.S. Olds' Recollections, p. 2; Deed Book C, p. 144; D, pp. 245 and 483, RDO,MCC; "Chronological History," 1, n.p.; Field Notes of Rancho Punta de los Reyes Filed Nov. 5, 1859, U.S. Surveyor General's Office, San Francisco; Nelson H. Olds to Boyd Stewart, January 28, 1936, loaned by the Boyd Stewarts, Woodside, 1975. Nelson H. Olds was the son of the Olema Valley rancher of the same name. In the same letter Olds noted that John Nelson married Melissa Shippy in their "little old house: in 1865.

Brooks. The 1860 census indicated that a second Daniel Olds--father or son--had established yet another ranch further north in the valley, but available period maps only located one Daniel Olds residence.

Nearly every rancher in Olema Valley by 1860 owned milk cows but only Baldwin, who had not yet purchased the land he ranched, and William Randall produced as much as 5,000 pounds of butter. Compared to the pioneer dairy ranchers on Point Reyes, however, they were holding their own, and together were sending a greater amount of butter to market. The census, apparently taken in order of residence, counting from Baldwin's ranch south to Morgan's on Bolinas Bay, numbered sixty people, forty of whom lived south of the Randall ranch, where the cordwood industry still was active.[48]

In March and April 1862 a correspondent for the California Farmer wrote about his tour of the Olema Valley ranches, which account provided the first narrative description of the early dairies established by the valley's American settlers. Heading south from Olema, the writer first visited the 220-acre ranch of Benjamin Winslow. Winslow produced no butter but owned twenty-five head of stock and raised hay, grain, and potatoes for home use. Winslow also kept a large flock of fine domestic fowl, including geese, ducks, and turkeys which paid well.

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48. "Recollections, J.S. Olds," p. 2; "Field Notes, Point Reyes Rancho, 1859," Map of Marin County" 1860; "Plat of Rancho Tomales Y Baulinas," 1865; "Map of the Region Adjacent to the Bay of San Francisco," Geologic Survey of California, J.D. Whitney, State Geologist, 1867; U.S. Census, 1860, Schedule 4, Agriculture, Bolinas Township, pp. 23-26.

Next, the writer stopped at the 550-acre ranch of Karman and Baldwin, where a "Real Dairy Ranch" was in operation. Of a total 250 head of stock, the partners kept approximately 100 milkers, sixty of which they then were milking. The success of this Dairy should stimulate every one in the Dairy business," the correspondent explained. "The whole arrangement of barn-yards, corrals, pens for swine, domestic fowls, and all that appertains to a well arranged farm and dairy, gives evidence that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well."

The correspondent at length described the careful location of the ranch where large oaks shaded the house and dairy and offered shelter to the cows during milking. The dairy was clean and well equipped, the swine well fed on skimmed milk, and the cows on hay, grain, and root crops raised on the ranch. An orchard of 200 young trees promised the owners many fruitful harvests and the proprietors showered their visitor with "courtesy and hospitality." The correspondent found no other ranches in the valley to match Baldwin and Karman's. Today, this ranch is known as the Truttman Ranch.

Following the road south W.L. Johnson's small sixty-acre potato farm received little elaboration.

Daniel Olds, Jr. next received a visit on his 2,000-acre ranch. Similar to Baldwin and Karman, Daniel owned 250 head of stock, 100 of which were milk cows. In contrast to his neighbors' model dairy, however, Olds' dairy was not producing any butter, as fifty of his cows had starved to death during the hard winter of 1861-62, as had numerous other cattle in the area. The correspondent noticed the lack of winter feed on Olds' ranch and most others in the valley, and pointedly compared these ranches with Baldwin and Karman's storage of hay and root crops for supplementary feed.

After Daniel Jr.'s ranch, the rider passed John Winan's farm of 160 acres leased from the Shafters, and then "Judge Olds, a large and valuable Ranch of some leagues" with many cattle. Judge Olds (no doubt Daniel Sr., who in 1861-62 and 1862-63 served as a Marin County Supervisor) also raised no crops for feed, causing him to lose many head during the winter and to discontinue butter making for the season.

Daniel's son, Nelson H. Olds, owned the southernmost family ranch of 2,000 acres of good land. He leased the ranch to his good friend, John Nelson, who in 1860 had sold his share of the 1,200-acre Olema Valley tract that he and Randall had purchased to Randall. The Olds ranch had 650 head of livestock, 100 of which were dairy cows and fifty horses. Although the ranch hadn't made butter this season, usually it produced 150 to 200 pounds per week.

William Randall's ranch of 1,200 acres had 200 head of cattle with 100 milkers but because of the poor condition of his cows he wasn't making butter either. But the season before sixty cows had produced 400 pounds a week, one of the best outputs in the valley. After passing two small farms, Mr. Bannister's and Mr. Perrott's, the correspondent arrived at B(enjamin) Miller's, where there were 300 head of cattle with seventy-five milkers, but where no butter had been produced as yet because of the hard winter. Miller's ranch had large and well-planned barns and good buildings. Miller and his neighbor to the north, John Garrison, who owned fifty acres, each mentioned the problems they experienced with titles. "Titles! Titles! Titles! everywhere, is the cry," the correspondent exclaimed.[49]

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49. "Marin County-No. 3, Dairy Districts and Stock Ranches," and "Marin County-No. 4," California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences, March 28, 1862, p. 1; Apr. 4, 1862, p.1.

Indeed, for some years the settlers in Olema Valley had been plagued by the claims made by the Shafters on the Garcia rancho lands. Nelson Olds' son, who grew up in the valley, remembered that James Shafter "would never fail to taunt the settlers by telling them they had no title." The Olds family, realizing that the Shafters were preparing to fight in the courts for the valley, as they so successfully had done for Point Reyes, hired a lawyer to argue the case for Garcia's rancho claim and the settlers' lawful title to their ranches. Their suit, filed against the four law partners, Shafter, Shafter, Park and Heydenfeldt on April 16, 1859, took five years to decide. In February 1865 the case was dismissed, having been settled in favor of the plaintiffs, Garcia, et al., the preceding spring.

After Garcia's title was confirmed, Nelson Olds, Jr., recalled, "My uncle Daniel was the maddest man he had ever seen." Nelson also remembered another incident when James Shafter foreclosed a mortgage against a Mexican family, relations of the Garcias, and forced their eviction from a 300-acre tract in Olema where they had lived for many years. Such recollections give indication of the Point Reyes owners' unpopularity among many of the independent settlers in Olema Valley.[50]

To the south of Miller's ranch the California Farmer correspondent found numerous small farmers such as J. and Henry Strain, who had planted barley, wheat, and potatoes. In this

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50. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 322; Nelson H. Olds to Boyd Stewart December 18, 1935, and January 28, 1936 Boyd Stewarts Co., Olema, Cal; Daniel Olds, et.al. vs. O.L. Shafter, et.al. Suit No. 71, Seventh District Court Marin County, Cal. State Archives. Garcia filed suit against O.L. Shafter, et.al., the same year, which also ended in his favor in 1865, theyear before his death. Suit No. 72, Seventh District Court, Marin County, Cal. State Archives Mason, Point Reyes, p. 46.

section the wood business was large enough to "keep hundreds of men at work the year round" and keep Bolinas' six schooners and two sloops making frequent runs to the city. The writer noted that the district had no stage lines or post routes and all transportation depended on the several good packets that carried freight and passengers from Bolinas' embarcadero.

Once the case against the Shafters assured the Olds family clear title to approximately 4,000 acres of land in the valley in March 1864, Nelson and Daniel Olds, having split the land in half by deed dated February 11,1863, each made a series of land sales. On December 2, 1864, Nelson sold 244 acres to Z. Karner and L.K. Baldwin and 680 acres to Omar Jewell, while Daniel sold 614 acres to Matilda C. Wood. On October 28, 1865, Daniel sold off another 800 acres to Charles S. Parsons, and on February 22, 1866, Nelson sold 146.36 acres to W.L. Johnson. Daniel evidently gave up the Olema ranch while Nelson reserved 850 acres for himself on the tract his brother had settled, and sometime between 1866, and 1812, he and his family moved into the newly constructed house on the ranch they called, "Woodside." The boundaries of the land parcels as described in the deeds have not substantially changed in the century since their making. They are clearly defined on the county map of 1873.[51]

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51. Deed Book E, pp. 193,226, 238, 439, 440, and 532, RDO,MCC. Nelson Olds Jr.recalled that his family moved into their new house around the time Rafael Garcia died (February 26, 1866); Olds to Stewart, January 28, 1936. The 1873 map appears in illustrations. Karner's name was spelled in numerous ways-Karner, Kearny, Karnnard, in various period sources. The deed books consistently wrote Karner. The 1870 Census, however, lists Nelson H. Olds after Parsons and just before Randall, indicating he had probably not moved north yet. U.S. Census, 1870, Schedule R, Agriculture, Bolinas Township.

Olema Valley by 1865 was principally devoted to dairy farms many of which by 1871 held a reputation for a fine product. As at Point Reyes, the ocean's moisture kept the grass green for nearly the year round, while the fertile, rich soil, produced heavy crops of grain and potatoes. Its citizens served in county offices, to see that better roads and schools be made available to West Marin. In 1865 L.K. Baldwin and Omar Jewell were working on the road from San Rafael to Olema, especially the section from Taylor's paper mill to Olema, which was "execrable" and in great need of repair. By 1873 the valley had three school districts, Garcia, Olema, and Bolinas--with a schoolhouse at Olema, mid-way down the valley, and a third just north of Woodville, on the McMullin and McCurdy 1,835-acre ranch, across the road from Henry Strain's farm.[52]

The decade of the 1870s began to show a gradual change in the area's ranch residents. The famous Italian-Swiss dairymen began to enter the valley, noticeably on the Karner and Baldwin ranch, which in 1870 belonged to Joseph Fieri but was operated by Joseph Bloom who purchased the ranch on October 7, 1870. Bloom also acquired W.L. Johnson's 204 acres to the ranch's south and, in 1882, the Winslow ranch of 170 acres to the north, giving him a tract of over 1,000 acres. In 1870 Charles Parsons leased his ranch to Richetti and Company, and the following year his neighbors to the south, Matilda Wood Moore and her husband, residents of San Rafael, sold out their 614 acres to Angelo Pedrotti and Guiseppi Muscio. Nelson H. Olds continued in the valley until 1879, when he moved to San Diego and leased his ranch to Pacifico Donati.

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52. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Dec. 25, 1865, p.1: Map of Marin County, 1873; Marin County Journal, May 6, 1865, p. 3; Bancroft's. Tourist Guide Around the Bay (North) (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft, 1871), p. 87; Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 162.

James Pedrotti in 1880 was leasing not only McMullin and McCurdy's ranch, but also Mrs. Randall's, while the two Randall sons, William James and Raymond, were leasing two other ranches near Bolinas lagoon and Olema.[53]

Of the original landowners none still lived in the valley in 1880, but newcomers maintained the sense of tradition, while those who had moved away retained their attachments--if not ownership--in the valley. Nelson's widow, Lavina, sold the Olema ranch to her son-in-law, George Mason, on May 7, 1891, keeping the property in the family. The Randall family held onto their ranch until 1911, and descendants of the Parsons family--the Lungrens--still own the land their ancestors acquired in 1865. William Wallace Wilkins, who had purchased the southernmost valley tract on the east side of the road to Bolinas in 1866, and had established a dairy ranch there, passed his land on to his family, descendants of whom lived there until recently. Henry Strain's farm and ranch passed down through family hands until the Texeiras purchased it in 1941, and the pioneer's grandsons still show their deep interest in the future of the valley.[54]

Part of the cherished character of the valley was its permanency. Nelson Olds, son of the pioneer, remarked in 1936 during several nostalgic visits to his homestead at Woodside, that

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53. Deed Books, H., p. 466-69, 542-3; K, pp. 103, 705; J, p. 240; Map, p. 132; P, p. 207, X; p. 470; Lease Book C, p. 17, RDO, MCC; Map of Marin County, 1873; U.S. Census, 1870, 1880, Schedule 4 Agriculture, Bolinas Towwnship; Olds Family Genealogy.

54. U.S. Census, California, 1880, Schedule 4, Agric., Bolinas Twp; Deed Book E., p. 620; Deed Book 16; p. 615; Deed Book 133, p. 417; Interview with Linda Osterland, Rancho Baulinas, Feb. 1976; Interview Ronald Treabess with Gordon Strain, March 1975; Interview with Tony Texeira, Point Reyes N.S., Dec. 1975.

"the people never seem to scrap anything here." People came and went but were not forgotten. Intermarriage among the early families helped to form a strong sense of community which today can still be detected in the valley's residents. While the valley never won singular significance as Point Reyes did for its dairying, it resisted outside intrusion. So the rural setting, with many mid-nineteenth century ranch buildings, remains to tell the story of the succession of families who have lived and farmed in the valley over the years.[55]

C. Throckmorton's Sausalito Ranch

On February 9, 1856 the William A. Richardson family deeded over the four leagues, more or less, of Rancho Sausalito to Samuel R. Throckmorton, a San Francisco financier who, the Richardsons hoped, would make the ranch a money-making property. By agreement, Throckmorton would return one fifth of the land to the Richardsons after three years, free of debts or encumbrances. The remaining land went to Throckmorton for his wages and towards paying off the family debts.

"I must say that Mr. Throckmorton took hold of his work with great energy and apparent success," Stephen Richardson recalled. "Instead of a stock range he reorganized it as a dairy ranch, or rather as a series of dairy ranches. He knew what the tenants were making, and saw to it that they paid all the traffic would bear."

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55. Nelson Olds to Boyd Stewart Jan. 28, 1936; Marin County Journal, June 21, 1906; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 430; Point Reyes Light, May 15, 1975; Interview, Emma Benevenga, William Pinkerton, Charles and Marion Denman, Olema Valley, Feb. 8, 1976; Interview, Boyd Stewart, Sept. 1975; Interview, Mrs. Ralph Giacomini, Olema Valley, October 1975.

Throckmorton and his 19,500-acre Rancho Sausalito otherwise proved to be elusive in period records. Travel accounts about the area gave glowing descriptions of the view and of wildlife in Southwestern Marin County, and the county maps until the 1890s showed no structures on the vast stretch of land.[56]

Nonetheless, dairy ranches had been established on Rancho Sausalito by 1859 when, preparatory to a Sheriff's sale of Throckmorton's land, a list was made of all the dairymen, miners, and property improvements. Until 1870, when fifteen whites, 100 Chinese, and several teams carved out the Sausalito-to-Bolinas wagon road in the thirteen weeks, ranchers had to send their dairy products--mostly milk--by pack horses over the mountain ridge to Sausalito, the shipping port to San Francisco. Those within ten miles of Bolinas sent their butter there, where eight to ten schooners, with a capacity of sixteen to thirty tons, each, made regular trips to the city. Possibly because of the slow and inconvenient transportation for the area south of Bolinas, Sausalito township in 1870 held nearly the lowest valuation in the county. The following brief chart gives an indication of the relative poverty of Sausalito township in comparison with the dairy district in Point Reyes and Bolinas townships:

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56. Quote from Wilkins, "Days of the Dons," p. 126; San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, November 11, 1870, p. 3; Maps of Marin County, 1860, 1872, 1873; Map of Region Adjacent to the Bay, 1867; Gift, Something About California, p. 13, describes the route of the Sausalito-Bolinas road and the views but mentions no ranches.

	Sausalito	Point Reyes	Bolinas
Value of farms	$368,415	$1,021,000	$401,715
Value of farm implements	6,015	22,900	14,455
Total amount wages paid	17,160	29,485	60,500
Milch Cows	750	3,370	1,521
Swine	167	1,566	606
Butter	50,328	492,600	168,975
Cheese	None	None	16,000
Milk Sold	51,100	None	None
Value Cattle Slaughtered	5,998	27,420	15,197
Total Value	63,311	278,345	116,871

Sausalito township, however, was the only one on the Marin County coast sending milk to the market, and its 51,110 gallons no doubt made an important contribution to the city's demand.[57]

By 1880 Samuel Throckmorton's ranch contained twenty-four dairy farms, all rented to Portuguese. Many of the Portuguese ranchers had immigrated from the Azores where they had already learned to operate a dairy ranch. The census indicated that two to three men, often with family ties, formed a company to lease and operate a dairy ranch. Thus Manuel Victorino, Antoine Barba, and Antonio Mendoza, Antonio Rodriguez, Jose' Marces, Manuel Diaz, Frank Techera, Frank Dalmode, Antoine Silva, Manuel Matoes, Manuel Borges, Frank Silva, and Antonio Borreco (?) all formed companies under their names, Each dairy company hired one or two other Portuguese to help milk the less than 100 cows on each ranch, and prepare the dairy product for

57. U.S. Census, California, 1870, Agricultural Recapitulations, p. 22. San Francisco Daily Evening Bulletin, Nov. 11, 1870, p. 3.

market. Numerous Portuguese descendants of these nineteenth century dairymen still live and ranch in Marin County.[58]

In 1883 Samuel Throckmorton died, still in possession of some 16,000 acres of the original Rancho Sausalito. The details of his estate, like so many facts about his life, never came to light during research. In 1892 the Tamalpais Land and Water Company ordered a survey of the Sausalito Ranch and subdivided the property into farming and grazing parcels labeled from A to Z and one to eight, making a total of thirty-four pieces of real estate, presumably available for sale. The county map that year showed that J.B. Haggin owned 540 acres just north of Rodeo Lagoon and Antoine Borel had purchased 1,631 acres, also near the southern boundary of the ranch. Other turn-of-the-century maps showed only the White Gate Ranch--a local landmark for hikers in the area--and Borel's ranch buildings in Elk Valley, today known as Tennessee Valley. More dairy ranches, however, definitely had been established, based on the findings in the 1880 census. "Big Slide Ranch," today known just as Slide Ranch, was in operation in 1891 when Life-Saving Service crews focused their rescue efforts there after the wreck of the ship, Elizabeth, off the rocky coast. Together, these southern Marin dairies produced the bulk of 3,170,000 gallons of the milk sent to the San Francisco market from Marin County in 1889.

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58. U.S. Census, 1880, California, Partial Schedules 2, pp. 6-9; Schedule I, Inhabitants, Sausalito Towwnship, pp. 31-33; Interview, Jose Silva with writer, July 26, 1976. Mr. Silva, fire chief of Bolinas, was born on the White Gate Ranch in 1920. His grandfather, Manuel Fonts, sailed from the Azores in 1879 and appeared as a partner of Jose 'Marces," one of the dairy ranchers listed above according to the 1880 U.S. Census.

Near the turn of the century a group of bankers who had formed the Tamalpais Land and Dairy Company, with a capital of $550,000 purchased 12,030 acres of the Throckmorton ranch and rented it out for dairy and agricultural purposes, villa sites, and other building purposes. A long advertisement printed by the company described the land as partially occupied by dairymen who paid a monthly rent.

The land gradually came into private ownership, as shown by county maps and tax assessments. Antoine Borel by 1911 had purchased 2,172 acres south of and including Tennessee Valley. By 1912 most of the lettered and numbered tracts had individual taxpayers, most of whom had Portuguese names. Although the peak years of dairy ranching in the coastal regions had passed, dairying survived on Sausalito township's western lands--as it did in other Marin townships--until the 1940s and 1950s, but with little specific mention in twentieth century literature. The grazing lands afforded for continuation of a natural setting in West Marin, encouraging an increased public interest in the area for recreation, a subject discussed later in the report.[59]

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59. Marin County Journal May 31, 1883, p. 3; Miscellaneous Book D, pp. 1-2; Map Book 1, p. 104, RDO,MCC; "Official Map of Marin County," 1892. Surveyed by George M. Dodge; United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, "California, Tamalpais Sheet," Surveyed in 1894-95; "Tourists' Map of Mount Tamalpais and Vicinity." A.H. Sanborn, C.E. assisted by P.C. Knapp, 1898; Walkup and Sons "Marin County," 1911; United States Life Saving Service, Annual Report 1911 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), p. 74; Marin County Assessment Book of property, 1912, Assessors' Office, MCC; Bancroft, History 7;57; The Tamalpais Land and Dairy Company advertisement was an undated publication at California Historical Society. An exception to the Portuguese owned ranches occurred on the northwest section of the ranch where William Kent--later to be United States Congressman from Marin County--purchased in 1903 several pieces of land from the Tamalpais Land and Water Company--lots Y, 1, 2, 3 and 4 and part of 8, the

D. Decline of Dairying in Marin County

The decade of the 1890s proved to be a critical one for the dairy industry in Marin County. With the invention and rapid introduction of milk separators to California's dairy industry around 1890, dairy production increased considerably, flooding the market and lowering selling prices. Rents and land values correspondingly decreased immensely, placing pressure on the dairy owners and ranchers alike. Overgrazing in the coastal regions, furthermore, was becoming a problem, requiring additional feed for the cattle and cost to the rancher. The corresponding development of the Babcock test which determined the fat content in milk established a systematic standard of excellence which forced most dairymen to upgrade the conditions of and surrounding their cattle.

The creation of the United States Dairy Division and the California State Dairy Bureau in 1895 indicated a growing concern among the nation's health specialists over the quality of dairy products. Tuberculosis and other illnesses had been traced to unsanitary conditions on dairy ranches. Pasteur had discovered the pasteurizing method to kill germs in milk but other factors also

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59. Bolinas sandspit and a right of way for a wagon road or railroad. Deed Book 83, p. 358, RDO,MCC. According to Frederick G. Bohme, in his article, "The Portuguese in California," California Historical Society Quarterly 35, No. 3 (September 1956), pp. 233-234, mass migration of the Portuguese began in the 1870s, when 14,082 arrived in the United States, principally by way of fishing boats from the Western Azores. Mainland Portuguese didn't start coming to the States in large numbers until after 1910. Many of the Portuguese settled in California--35.4% of the total Portuguese in the United States were there in 1940. In California Portuguese concentrated in two important industries--fishing and dairying, the latter which is demonstrated clearly in Marin County.

needed to be corrected. Concrete floors began to replace dirt ones in milking barns, so that the manure could be washed out after every milking. In Marin County most ranchers milked outdoors in corrals, where dust and mud could coat the udders. Many milkers used the wet method, whereby they would wet their hands in the pail of milk to lubricate the udders. These long-established methods gradually came under attack, and their correction usually took time and expense.

Although in 1896 the upper coast region of California--the counties north of San Francisco Bay--still led in dairy production as well as in the use of modern machinery such as separators purchased for large ranches and cooperative creameries, during the following decade the ranchers began to suffer under the enforcement of new dairy regulations. In addition, the growth in the early 1900s of better highways, artificial refrigeration, and the discovery of alfalfa as an excellent and nutritious crop to feed dairy cattle, made it impossible for the coastal counties to compete with inland dairies. Alfalfa, especially, proved to be an important factor in the transition period, for this crop thrived in the hot dry valley districts and could not be successfully raised in the cool, damp coastal region. Trucks played a role, as well, in the decline of dairying in Marin County, for by 1916 they were effectively being used in other sections of the State to bring dairy and poultry products to market in faster time than by boat or rail. In 1922 a list of the ten highest producers of butterfat in California didn't even include Marin County. The industry continued in the county

but no longer did Marin win attention and praise as a leader in California dairying.[60]

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60. Sheldon, "Dairying," pp. 342-2-4; Greene, "California's Dairy Industry," p. 15; San Francisco Call, October 14, 1895, p. 6; United States Department of Agriculture, An Outline of the Work of The Dairy Division by Ed. H. Webster, Chief (Washington Government Printing Office, 1906), p. 3; Wickson, California Dairying, pp. 8, 12, 21, 24; Raup, "Italian-Swiss," p. 310; Samuel E. Watson, "California Dairying," California (1897-98), pp. 74-5; and "An Index to California Dairying Conditions," Overland Monthly 29, 2d Ser. (January-June, 1897), pp. 520-21; San Francisco Chronicle, July 23, 1916), p. 46; Pacific Rural Press 92: 312; Henry E. Alvord, "The Modern Dairy," Current Literature 29 (July-December 1900), p.---; Dudley J. Whitney, "The Outlook for Dairying," and "A Visit to a Certified Dairy," and, "The Cost of Certified Milk," The Pacific Rural Press 81, No. 19 (May 1911), p. 369; 82, No. 6 (August 1911), p. 112; and 83, No. 10 (March 1912), p. 228; Elsey Hurt, California State Government An Outline of its Administrative Organization From 1850 to 1936 (Sacramento: Distributed by Supervisor of Documents, 1936), p. 12; R.A. Pearson, Notes Upon Dairying In California And the Export of California Butter to the Orient, United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Animal Industry, Bulletin No. 24 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900, pp. 11-12; Ellsworth C. Smith, "The Dairy Industry of California," Overland Monthly, 43, 2nd Series (January-June (1904), pp. 271-275. In 1904 Marin County rated as the second largest dairy producer in California. Many separating plants and creameries had been established throughout the country. San Francisco Chronicle November 12, 1904, p. 13. During the mid-1920s Marin County's principal industry continued to be dairying. In northern Marin, around Point Reyes, great quantities of butter were made in the Point Reyes Co-Operative Creamery, primarily owned by Swiss-Italian dairy ranchers. In 1923 the plant produced 2,000,000 pounds of butter. On the East and South Marin ranches, run largely by Portuguese, whole milk was the main product; in 1923, 17,000,000 gallons of milk, valued at $6,000,000 went to market from Marin ranches. San Francisco Chronicle March 14, 1923, Section 2, p. ? and pp. 10 and 22D; August 29, 1924, p. 1; Rider's California, A Guide Book for Travelers by Frederic Taber Cooper (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925), p. 134. Henry E. Alvord, "Dairy Development in the United States," Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture 1899 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1900), pp. 382-388; Robert E. Jones, Dairying in California (San Francisco: Californians Inc, 1923), p. 2. Interview, A.C. Toogood with James Bourne of Bolinas, grandson of pioneer Peter Bourne, builder of Bolinas ranch today known as the Audobon Ranch, July 25, 1976.

VI. Marin County Mining

Although a few gold and silver claims were mined on Point Reyes, Mount Tamalpais, and other areas in the county during the 1860s and 1870s, Marin had little to offer the conventional veterans of the Gold Rush to California. Instead, the county contained outcroppings of limestone and granite at which, by 1868, a number of quarries had been opened on Point Reyes and in Olema Valley. Copper also had been discovered in Olema Valley as early as 1863, the mining of which continued until after World War I.[1]

A. Limestone Quarries

The earliest known mining in West Marin County occurred in 1850, when Rafael Garcia gave two prominent and wealthy county officers, James A. Shorb, a county judge and one of the first

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1. Quartz croppings were mined on a spur of Mount Tamalpais between Point Bonita and Rocky Point, on the S.S. Randall Ranch in Olema Valley in 1889, on the Morse Ranch to the east of Bolinas Bay, and near the North Pacific Coast Railroad about four miles west of San Rafael. A silver lode, named the Payne Quicksilver claim, was mined in Point Reyes' Drakes Bay District, on lands of Charles Webb Howard, in the early and mid-1870s. On the ocean side of Tomales Point a deposit of auriferous black sand, reached only at low tide, excited some attention in the 1880s but because of its uncertain supply and poor quality, was abandoned. [California State Mining Bureau] Eighth Annual Report of the State Mineralogist (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1888), p. 343; Eleventh Report on State Mineralogist (Sacramento: State Printing Office, 1893), p. 252; Miscellaneous Book A, pp. 41-44; Deed Book D, p. 517, RDO, MCC; Marin County Journal, Jan. 29, 1880; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 91; [Charles H. Swain] Report of the San Rafael and Coast Range Mines (San Francisco: F.W. Coudace & Co., 1879), pp. 1-5; Mason in Last Stage, p. 62 noted that in 1891 Leonard Nott discovered coal near Woodville, causing a short-lived boom. No mention of coal mining, however, was made in the state mineralogist's reports. Oil and gas deposits at Bolinas were also briefly mined in 1865 and 1900. Eleventh Report, State Mineralogist, p. 249; Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 165: Florence Donnelly, "Bolinas, Olema Hold Memories," San Rafael Independent-Journal, Marin Magazine, October 9, 1965, p. 145

members of the County Court of Sessions, and William F. Mercer, clerk of Court of Sessions, the right to quarry limestone on his rancho. The ten-year lease, signed July 13, 1850, also gave the partners title to cut any timber or wood on Garcia's ranch, as well as "the privilege of building lime kilns," to be heated by burning wood. Garcia, on his part, agreed to provide ox carts and Indian labor to haul the lime to the embarcadero, where it would be loaded onto vessels. The arrangement guaranteed Garcia one third the lime for his own use.

Most likely Shorb and Mercer constructed the lime kilns in Olema Valley, the ruins of which have been nominated to the National Register of Historic Places. These kilns, located on the east bank of the Olema Creek, just at the southern arm of the marked bend in the creek, about midway down the valley, only operated for a brief time, based on recent examinations of the kilns' charcoal dumps which gave evidence of only a few firings. Probably the poor grade of limestone combined with the financial depression of 1855, prompted the investors to discontinue their limestone quarry. Local tradition maintains that the kilns were afterwards fired to furnish lime for neighborhood needs, one of which may have been at Samuel Taylor's paper mill on Lagunitas Creek, where in 1862 2400 pounds of rags were were being bleached with lime on a daily basis.[2]

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2. Bliss Brown, "The Old Limekilns of Marin County," California Historical Society Quarterly 19, Number 4 December, 1940), pp. 320-321. Brown attributed the establishment of the lime kilns to the construction boom in San Francisco due to the Gold Rush. Lime, used for plaster in brick buildings, could not be brought any great distance by boat, so that all the areas near the city were scouted for limestone deposits. James Stanley Olds to Mrs. Josepha Stewart, February 23, 1943, Stewart Collection; "The Pioneer Paper-Mill of California," California Farmer March 28, 1862, p. 2; Treganza, "Old Lime Kilns," p. 69; Interview, writer with Benevenga, et. al. The embarcadero most likely was at Bolinas, the only active port in West Marin County in 1850, due to the growing lumber industry.

Although not the only lime kilns in West Marin county, the four on Olema Creek south of Five Points appear to have been the largest ever constructed, and the only ones identified on early (1858-1867) county and area maps. Burning of lime also occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century at today's Inverness Park, where there was one kiln; near Haggerty Gulch Creek and the road to Inverness where three pits were dug into the ground; and at one small kiln just southeast of Henry Strain's first residence, about one mile north of Bolinas Lagoon. No doubt still more lime kilns operated briefly in other locations on Point Reyes peninsula, for an 1861 description of the Shafter, Park, and Heydenfeldt estate noted the abundance of timber and limestone, both of which were being manufactured extensively at that date. But limestone "large and pure enough to be of commercial value" was rare in the bay region, making quarrying of available deposits brief and, apparently, unprofitable as was the case at the Olema lime kilns.[3]

B. Granite Quarries

Sometime around 1854 a construction contractor for Fort Point opened a granite quarry at Point Reyes. "The granite from Puerta de los Reyes is but little inferior to the celebrated quincy

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3. Bliss, "Old Lime Kilns," p. 317; Gates, California Ranches, p. 208; Deed Book B, p. 312, described the sale of seventy-eight acres of land from Gregorio Briones to Henry Strain on January 22, 1857, one boundary of which passed four chains southeast of Strain's house to a stake near "The Little Lime Kiln." RDO, MCC. United States Geological Survey, Geologic Atlas of the United States (Washington: 1914), p. 22; In 1858 and 1859, the Olema lime kilns were identified as "Large Lime Kiln," on "Plat of Rancho Punta de los Reyes," August 1858; and "Field Notes, Punta de los Reyes," Filed November 1859. From 1860-1867 they were called simply "lime kiln." "Map of Marin County," 1860; "Plat of Rancho Tomales y Baulinas," October 1865; "Map of Region Adjacent to San Francisco Bay," 1867. The 1872 and 1873 county maps no longer marked the kilns.

stone," a city reporter explained. By June of 1854 the only problem with its quarrying had been the seams running through it, and they were disappearing as the stone cutters removed the surface deposits. The exact location of this early granite quarry on Point Reyes, and the extent of its workings were not determined by this research. In 1868 Cronise described a belt of granite which appeared along the west side of San Francisco peninsula; on the extremity of Tomales Point; on the end of Point Reyes peninsula; and at Bodega Head, but, he made no mention of granite quarrying. Apparently the Point Reyes granite quarry was short-lived, like the scattered limestone quarries to its east.[4]

C. Copper Mining

The prospect of striking it rich by mining captivated more than one of the early residents of Bolinas township, many of whom had come to the county having had a disappointing few years in the gold fields. In 1863 three companies were organized by local Bolinas citizens to mine copper in the gulches which had only recently been shorn of their redwood trees. William Ewing, who owned a carpenter shop in Dogtown (later renamed Woodville); Pablo Briones, son of rancho owner, Gregorio Briones; U.M. Gordon, San Rafael banker; Charles Lauff, pioneer and early lumberman in Bolinas; Edward Nelson, and William Miller were among the organizers and stock holders of the Union Copper Mining Company, located in Union Gulch (due east of Woodville), about one mile north

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4. San Francisco Daily Alta California, June 12, 1854, p. 2; which gave the Fort Point contractor's name as Mr. W.B. Farwell. Cronise, Natural Wealth, p. 409. The 1869 deed which transferred the site of the Point Reyes lighthouse to the U.S. Lighthouse Service, included the right to take material from the granite quarry on Drake's Bay to erect the station buildings. This quarry may be the same as the one opened in 1854 during the construction of Fort Point. N.A., RG26, U.S. Coast Guard, Site File, Point Reyes Lighthouse.

of the head of Bolinas lagoon. Samuel Clark organized and became the first president of the Pike County Gulch Copper Mining Company which set up operations about one mile south of the Union mine, and a third outfit, the Pioneer Copper Company, opened "just above" the Union, the exact location unknown.

Of the three mines, the Union enjoyed the greatest, although modest, success. In 1864 and 1865 the State's Surveyor-General reported that the copper mines near the coast of Marin showed a "fair prospect," but the local stockowners of the Union mine felt far more optimistic. "The holders do not care about selling," wrote a visitor to the Union mine in May 1865, "as they are confident that when the ledge is reached they will have a good thing." At that date a tunnel had been driven into the mountain some 400 feet, and expectations were high that the company would strike the ledge at 600 feet. The tunnel had been timbered to protect the miners from cavings, and a railway had been laid into the tunnel to carry out the earth. "From frequent assays made, there can be no doubt of the richness of the mine," the reporter learned.

The same traveler also mentioned that the Pioneer mine had not progressed to any extent. Some ore had been taken from a shaft sunk in the hillside and had been sold at twenty-seven dollars per ton to the Antioch Smelting Company, which must have spurred on the efforts of the other two companies. The Pike County Gulch mine further south received no mention in the 1865 travel account, and its progress was only referred to briefly in a California State Mining Bureau Bulletin published in 1908 which explained that over a three-year period a 700-foot tunnel was run, "but the enterprise was abandoned."

The Union Copper Mining Company, on the other hand, operated for several years, during which time it shipped several

tons of ore to England for reduction. In 1867 the Union only prospected for a few months during the spring, but by so doing it accomplished the only copper mining that year in California. The residents' high hopes for the mine never came to fruition, however, for the low price of copper combined with the heavy cost of transportation worked against its financial success.[5]

After the flare of excitement over the prospects of copper mining burned out at the close of the 1860's, the workings were abandoned for some thirty years. In the meanwhile, in 1866, William W. Wilkins purchased a 1,397-acre tract which contained the copper deposits, and began a dairy ranch. The Bolinas-Olema Valley area settled down to a sober, rural life, leaving behind them much of the rough, ready, and carrousing spirit evoked by the defunct lumber and mining industries. But copper still lay waiting in the hillside and in November 1895 the copper mine on the Wilkins ranch in Union Gulch, one mile east of Dogtown or Woodville, had been reopened and mined to produce fifty tons of copper worth $45 per ton. A shaft had been sunk either thirty-five or 100 feet, revealing a twelve foot vein "carrying sulphurets of copper and iron between walls of sandstone." The deposit looked promising,

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5. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 419; "Traveling with A Marinite In the Year of 1865," a condensed and edited version of an article by Ai Barney in the Marin County Journal, May 6, 1865, and printed in San Rafael Independent Journal, Marin magazine, January 24, 1976 p. M14; Donnelly, "Bolinas, Olema Memories," p. 147; California, Surveyor General, Annual Reports, Surveyor-General, 1864-65, p. 71; California State Mining Bureau, The Copper Resources of California, Bulletin No. 50 (Sacramento: W.W. Shannon, Superintendent State Printing, 1908), p. 168; J. Ross Browne, Report of J.Ross Browne on the Mineral Resources of the States and Territories West of the Rocky Mountains (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 215; California, Bureau of Mines, Eleventh Report, State Mineralogist, p. 253.

but apparently the workings were abandoned by 1897 when Captain T.P.H. Whitelaw of San Francisco, who summered in Bolinas (which was growing into a fashionable resort), first learned of and became interested in the copper mines. In 1900 he formed and managed the Bolinas Copper Mining Company to continue the prospecting in Union Gulch. As the State Mining Bureau Bulletin 50 of 1908 explained

> The property consists of nine parallel copper-bearing veins encased in serpentine. The veins trend northwest, are vertical, and are from 6 inches to two feet in width. On the western vein a shaft has been sunk 180 feet, and from it 2500 feet of drifts have been driven north and south on the 100 and 180-foot levels. In former times short tunnels were run on the veins to test their values, but these tunnels caved.

Whitelaw's efforts paid off in a few shipments which were said to be satisfactory but not lucrative enough for the company to stay in operation. In the opinion of the California State Mining Bureau, the copper veins in Union Gulch and Pike County Gulch carried "low-grade copper ore," which evidently cost too much to mine in relation to the prices paid for copper.[6]

Despite the undistinguished history of the copper mines and the lackluster evaluation of the quality of ore in the veins by the State Mining Bureau, another outfit reopened the Union Gulch

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6. "Chronological History" 1, p. 254; California State Mining Bureau, Thirteenth Report of the State Mineralogist for the Two Years Ending September 15, 1896 (Sacramento: A.J. Johnston, Superintendent State Printing, 1896), p. 59; and, Report XIV of the State Mineralogist Mines and Mineral Resources of Portions of California (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, 1916), p. 248; The Copper Resources, Bulletin No. 50, pp. 168-169; (California State Mining Bureau), Synopsis of General Report of the California State Mining Bureau, Bulletin No. 20 (Sacramento: A.J. Johnston, Superintendent State Printing, 1901), p. 14; Donnelly, "Bolinas-Olema Memories," p. 147.

copper property late in 1917. The Chetco Mining Company put twenty-five men to work under the management of Theodore R. Heintz and the superintendency of D. Walter Carr. By March 1918 a good quality ore had been struck and over 300 tons had been hauled to Bolinas and then shipped by schooners to the Mountain Copper Smelter at Martinez, on San Francisco Bay. The company in March set up a forty-ton mill with a crusher, Hendy ball-mill, and Overstrom concentrator. Two thousand feet of shafts and tunnels to a depth of 200 feet had been dug. By May three shifts kept the mill in operation processing the ore from the number one level. The company had built a 300-foot flume to carry the mine tailings to a dam while a truck carried the concentrate, as well as the mine employees, to the Bolinas wharf, four miles away. World War I raised the price of copper, giving the Chetco Company added incentive to continue the mining. According to a 1918 report the company shipped 22,500 pounds, or more than twelve tons of copper, from the Bolinas mines, making the venture the first and last financially lucrative copper mining in the county. Since the company withdrew their machinery, presumably late in 1918, the mines have stood idle, but the mine ruins in Union Gulch, long a favorite picnic area for local residents, have kept the copper mining history a popular one in the Bolinas community until the present.[7]

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7. The Mining and Scientific Press 116 (March 30, 1918), p. 457 and (May 4, 1918), p. 630; the March article also explained, "The vein occurs mainly in metamorphic sandstone, although partially in shake. Ore is found in shoots, it being an impregnation. It is a sulphide right to the surface. The copper mineral is chalcopyrite. . . . Ore being dressed carries 4% copper and 1 oz. silver for each 1% copper. A concentrate containing 12% copper is aimed at. No classifying is necessary. An extraction of 90% is expected, according to tests." Donnelly, "Bolinas, Olema Memories," p. 147, quoted a 1918 Marin record describing the Chetco Company mines, which stated that the mines had produced copper, silver, gold, galena and pyrites. Geologic Guidebook of the Bay Counties, Bulletin 154, p. 319; Interviews, writer with Benevenga, et. al, and with James Bourne.

VII. Aids to Navigation and Maritime Commerce

A. Lighthouse Service

Until the advent of the truck and air age in this century the Pacific Coast's commerce and passenger transportation depended largely on ships of every size and description. When Americans first sailed the West Coast during Mexican rule, the shoreline had only been generally charted, had no lighthouses or other standard aids to navigation, and it offered few places of refuge during rough or foggy weather. Especially north of San Francisco Bay, the rugged, rocky shoreline threatened even the saltiest navigators.

In 1849, after the American takeover of California, President Taylor authorized the United States Coast Survey to inspect and recommend sites for lighthouses along the California coast. Although delayed several months in San Francisco without transportation--no doubt due to the frenzy precipitated by the Gold Rush--the surveyors completed their tasks and submitted their recommendations for sixteen lighthouses in California, four of which were located in the San Francisco Bay area. The Treasury Department, in charge of lighthouses, arranged a contract with Francis A. Gibbons and Francis X. Kelley of Baltimore to erect eight of the West Coast lighthouses. Among the eight were Alcatraz, Fort Point, and the Farallon Islands to light the passage into San Francisco Bay, fast becoming the center of commerce and trade on the Pacific Coast. In 1852 Congress also approved an act to create a Lighthouse Board, of nine qualified members selected mainly from the military, which took charge of the administration of the nation's lighthouses, providing a long-overdue avenue to modernize and improve the country's aids to navigation. The opportunity to establish a network of lighthouses on the West Coast thus looked promising, but the vagaries of distance, transportation,

bureaucracy, and law worked against the immediate exploitation of that opportunity.[1]

1. Point Bonita Lighthouse, 1855-1876

a. A Delayed Authorization

Scores of ships had already navigated through the Golden Gate bringing anxious gold seekers and early West Coast settlers to San Francisco before the Lighthouse Board began its inquiry into the best site for a lighthouse--Fort Point on the south shore or Point Bonita on the north shore--to mark the entrance to San Francisco Bay. Asked for their opinions on the matter, S.D. Lucas, Commander of the steamship, Independence, and Robert H. Pearson, Commander of the steamship, Oregon, told Lt. James Alden in May 1852 that they favored Point Bonita because ships approaching the Golden Gate from the south would not be able to see a light at Fort Point, whereas a light on Point Bonita would be visible from all directions.

Although the Lighthouse Board adopted the local mariners' recommendation, it took almost another year to receive Congressional authorization for the Point Bonita Lighthouse. In the meantime, the perilous coast adjoining the Golden Gate remained unmarked and on March 6, 1853, the urgent need for a light and fog signal at Point Bonita was dramatically underscored when the steamer Tennessee went to pieces on a reef just north of

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1. Francis Ross Holland, Jr., America's Lighthouses, (Brattleboro, Vermont: The Stephen Greene Press, 1972), pp. 153-155; for a history of the lighthouse service administration; see Ibid., pp. 26-38. Holland, "Lighting the West Coast: The Story of the Building of the Pacific Coast's First Sixteen Lighthouses," Typescript manuscript due to be published by Stephen Greene Press in 1977, pp. 1, 6-7. The Lighthouse Board was established by act approved August 31, 1852. Checklist of United States Public Documents 1789-1909.

the Golden Gate while trying to navigate into San Francisco Bay in a dense fog. Even though the more than 1,000 passengers and crew made it safely to shore in Indian Cove (renamed Tennessee Cove in memory of the shipwreck), the possibility of other more tragic disasters prompted Lt. T.A. Budd of the U.S. Navy to write the Inspector of the Twelfth Lighthouse District on April 24, 1853 urging prompt action to be taken to provide a light and fog bell at Point Bonita. No doubt Lieutenant Budd had not yet heard the news from the East Coast that Congress on March 3, 1853 had already authorized and appropriated $25,000 for the Point Bonita Lighthouse.[2]

Problems must have arisen in Washington, D.C., however, for in August 1853 Richard P. Hammond, Superintendent of Lights and Collector of Customs at San Francisco, wrote directly to the Secretary of the Treasury to try to expedite the construction of the light. "The erection of the Lighthouse at Bonita Point . . . is of great moment and importance to the commerce of this port," he wrote, and then requested permission to contract locally for its construction so that it might be completed before the onset of the rainy season. But another four months

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2. S.D. Lucas, Com[r] Steamship Independence to Lt. James Alden, Lt. Comg. U.S. Navy and Asst. U.S. Coast Survey, May 27, 1852; Robert H. Pearson, Comg. P.M.S.S. Oregon, to same, May 29, 1852; E. Rodman to Lt. T.A. Jenkins, Secretary, Lighthouse Board, enclosing letter from Lt. T.A. Budd, Apr. 26, 1853, NA, RG26, Coast Guard, Lighthouse Board, Engineer and Inspector, 12th District, 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856. Hereinafter cited, NA,RG26,CG,LHB, Eng. and Insp., 12th Dist. NA,RG26, CG, Clipping file, Point Bonita Lighthouse. The clipping file for each lighthouse contains a record of Congressional appropriations and a compilation of information from the Lighthouse Board annual reports. Hereinafter cited, Clip file, Pt. Bonita. Fred M. stocking, "How We Gave A Name to Tennessee Cove," Overland Monthly 17, 2nd ser. (Jan.-June 1891), pp. 351-53.

slipped away while Hammond tried to prepare all the necessary information and arrangements for the light's official endorsement. In reply to the Secretary of the Lighthouse Board's letter of December 5, 1853, Hammond explained, "it is believed that the claimant under the [Sausalito rancho] grant will donate 100 acres or such quantity of land as may be necessary for Light House purposes," and that within forty days of authorization he could have the tower erected by a local contractor of brick for $16,500, or of stone for $17,500, using the best materials and the contractor's own means of transportation. Again stressing its importance, Hammond concluded that the light was "essential to the safety of vessels approaching this harbour, and should be constructed as speedily as practicable."[3]

Not until May 27, 1854, however, did the Lighthouse Board finally direct the inspector of the Twelfth District, Campbell Graham, to give his full attention to the erection of the Point Bonita Lighthouse. A $7000 second-order fresnel lens had already been ordered and the remaining $18,000 of the appropriation now was to be spent for the tower's immediate construction.

Graham, laboring under an enormous responsibility, having to supervise the construction of eight currently funded lighthouses within his district, which stretched from the British border south to the Mexican border, did not send plans and specifications for the light for another two months. Evidently during the interim he had studied the site and found that the crest of the hill where the lighthouse would be built was quite

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3. Hammond to Sec. of Treasury, James Guthrie, Aug. 15, 1853; to T.A. Jenkins, Sec. of Lighthouse Board, Dec. 30, 1853, NA,RG26, L.H.B. Eng. and Inspect, 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856.

narrow and needed to be cut down about twenty feet. He, too, advised the work be done by local contractors who were "good builders" and who would complete this job for $16,000.

Another two months passed with no action, prompting the Branch Pilots of San Francisco, in conjunction with merchant ship masters "and all others connected with the trade and commerce of the City and the navigation of the coast generally," to petition the Secretary of the Treasury on September 29, 1854, urging that there be no more delay in the construction of Point Bonita lighthouse. They also offered their opinion that the lighthouse proposed for Point Lobos on the south shore of the Golden Gate--for which $25,000 had recently been appropriated by Congress--did not compare favorably with the Point Bonita site:

> With the Light at "Point Lobos," it could not be approached in thick weather, without great risk of coming in contact with the dangerous rocks . . . it would not become a Point of departure from which a straight course could be steered to the anchorage. Point Bonita can be safely approached within 150 yards and the left side of the channel is entirely free from detached rocks.

The petitioners, like the lighthouse inspectors, recommended local builders and contractors to construct Point Bonita--as well as Point Reyes--lighthouses because they would complete the job within four months and "for a sum much less than that which is named in the appropriation Bill."[4]

Pressure on the Washington authorities may finally have done the trick. On November 15, 1854, a little more

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4. Capt. Campbell Graham to Edmd L.H. Hardcastle, Sec., LHB., Aug. 1, 1854; (Petition to James Guthrie; Sec. of Treasury) Sept. 29, 1854, NA., RG26, L.H.B. Engr. and Inspect., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856.

than two weeks after the petition was sent, Inspector Graham received plans for the Point Bonita lighthouse and authority to contract locally for its construction. A critical step had been taken and the long awaited action soon followed.[5]

b. The First Lighthouse and Fog Signal Site

Inspector Graham wasted no time in arranging a contract for Point Bonita lighthouse. On December 8, 1854, he wrote to the Lighthouse Board Secretary that he had concluded a contract with Ephraim McLean of San Francisco to furnish materials and build the lighthouse and keeper's dwelling at Point Bonita for $16,000. The contract specified that the buildings would be completed on or before March 1, 1855, and the illuminating apparatus would be installed on or before May 1, 1855. Three weeks later Graham wrote again to report that McLean had sold his contract for Point Bonita Lighthouse to Hofras and Cowing for $2,000, and that their reputation as builders was good. The Board in return addressed a letter to Graham reprimanding him for not sending the contract to Washington to receive official approval before concluding the agreement with McLean. Graham, it seems, had decided to take matters into his own hands to prevent further delays in the construction of the strategic harbor lighthouse at Bonita Point.[6]

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5. Capt. Edward L.F. Hardcastle, Sec., LHB, to Captain Graham, May 27, 1854, NA, RG26, L.H.B., Letters sent to the Corps of Topographical Engineers, December 1852-December 1873; Holland, "Lighting the West Coast," p. 71.

6. Graham to Hardcastle, Dec. 8 and 30, 1854; Hardcastle to Graham, Jan. 4, 1855, NA, RG26, L.H.B. Eng. and Inspect., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856.

In lieu of the standard plan of a tower within a Cape Cod style house used for the other early West Coast lighthouses, at Point Bonita the Lighthouse Board chose a separate site for each of the structures. The tower stood at an elevation of 260 feet near the edge of the cliff which had a steep drop down to the ocean below, while the house stood about 440 yards inland to the southeast, at a lower elevation. Graham visited the site on February 14, 1855 and found the construction well underway. In accordance with his expectations, the contractor was ready to install the illuminating device about two weeks later, but rains and heavy seas prevented Graham from delivering the apparatus to the contractor at Point Bonita until after the sixth of March. Having inspected the construction site, Graham on April 24, 1855 sent the Board a description of the station's setting and accessibility:

> The site . . . (on which the) Point Bonita Light House and Keeper's house are built, is a hill of tolerably easy ascent on the Bay side, descending in a North easterly direction. The surface is covered with a luxurious growth of grass and wild flowers. The soil is remarkably fine and well adapted to cultivation. The landing is about fifty feet above the sea level, which presents considerable difficulty in placing supplies upon the bank. On the sea side, the bank is almost perpendicular and composed principally of rock.

The lighthouse, he continued, contained a fixed light of natural color "of the second order Catadiaptric of the system of Fresnel." Rising from the bluff, the tower stood 295 feet, and the lantern 306 feet, above sea level. Having given the measurements for the tower, its rooms and lens, Graham explained that the light's brick tower had been left unpainted and that the light would be ready for service on April 30, 1855.[7]

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7. According to one set of plans for Point Bonita lighthouse, originally designed for Point Lobos, the construction would have been the standard tower and residence in one building style, "12th

On May 2, 1855, Point Bonita sent its welcome beam of light out to sea for the first time. Almost immediately the Lighthouse Board turned its attention to providing a fog signal for the point. Major Hartman Bache had taken over Graham's duties as district inspector in July 1855, at which time he wrote explaining his selection of a site for the twenty-four pounder cannon and seige carriage which the Benicia Arsenal had turned over to him as a fog signal for Point Bonita. Because preferable sites at lower elevations were too rough, "requiring much labor and expense to prepare the ground," Bache placed the fog gun about 600 yards to the north of the tower, at an elevation of 180 feet. Bache planned to construct a powder house about 100 feet and to windward of the gun, and calculated that the annual order for powder would be 11,520 pounds, which, he suggested should be requisitioned on the East Coast and shipped to San Francisco to save fifty percent of its expense if purchased on the West Coast.

On August 6, 1855, Sgt. Edward Maloney of the Ordnance Department, who had been assigned the job of firing the gun at an annual salary of $650, received his instructions from Major Bache. Maloney was to proceed to Point Bonita with the powder, store it in the new powder house, and prepare to fire the gun every half hour during fog, night or day. The gun was to be degressed in the trunnion plates five to six degrees to compensate for the high elevation of its site. Every twenty-four hours Maloney

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7. Light House District, Light House Point Lobos Replaced by Bonita Point 1855"; "12th Lighthouse District Lighthouse; Point Bonita, Cal. . . . 1855," Twelfth Coast Guard District, San Francisco, Civil Engineering Branch map files, Point Bonita Lighthouse. Hereinafter cited, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., Pt. Bonita; Graham to Lt. Thornton A. Jenkins, Sec., LHB., April 24, 1855, enclosing description by Graham dated April 18, 1855, NA, RG26, L.H.B. Eng. and Inspect., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856.

was to keep a record of the firings and file a report at the first and sixteenth of each month.[8]

When Maloney reported for duty on August 7, 1855, the first fog signal on the West Coast went into service. Its effectiveness, however, came into question only shortly thereafter. Bache, restricted by very infrequent communication with the isolated point, was unable to say whether the fog gun had even been fired in the week after its activation. In order for the keeper or Maloney to contact Bache's office, they either had to walk five or six miles "over hills of the most rugged character' to Sausalito where they then caught the water barge across the bay to San Francisco, another five or six miles, or they had to wait for a passing boat to give them a ride to the City. To alleviate such hardship and improve communcations, Bache recommended that a boat be authorized for the station.

If communications with Point Bonita lighthouse created problems for Bache, the fog gun soon contributed to his concerns. Sea captains began reporting that they could not hear the gun when entering the Golden Gate and Bache himself did not hear it when returning to San Francisco on a steamer in the fog. On September 15, when the gun had only been in service for a little over a month, Bache asked his superiors whether it wouldn't be more practical to install a fog bell or buoy instead of the gun.

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8. Maj. Hartman Bache, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., to Jenkins, July 26 and 31, 1855, and Aug. 6, 1855, NA, RG26, Entry 33, Correspondence of Hartman Bache, June 30-December 17, 1855; Jenkins to Bache, May 2, 1855, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. Sent to Corps of Topgr. Engrs., Dec. 1852-Dec. 1873. Bache Correspondence hereinafter cited, Bache Corres.

Bache's problems, however, had only just begun. On October 4, 1855, he forwarded to Secretary Jenkins Sergeant Maloney's doleful letter explaining his desperate situation as fog gun keeper. First of all, he needed more powder, but more importantly, Maloney explained,

> I can not go to town I can not find any person here to relieve me not 5 minutes, I have been up 3 days and nights had only 2 hours rest I asked Mr Colson [the lighthouse keeper] to relieve me for a little time, told me he could not. I was nearly used up. All the rest I would require in the 24 hours is 2 if I only could get it, the Major might remember he told me to let him know if I could not be relieved when I needed it.[9]

Although Bache could remedy Maloney's main complaint by instructions to Colson that he or his assistant must relieve the fog gun keeper, the problem with hearing and supplying the gun went beyond his control. In December 1855 Bache reported that powder in San Francisco had risen a full thirty-three and one third percent in price, and the following summer he found himself unable to find a ready supply of percussion primers for the gun.

In the meanwhile, serious complications had arisen during the fall of 1855 with the lighthouse and its keepers. In August Keeper Colson had reported that only forty-three of 125 glass chimneys remained for the lantern. Since the light was first lit on April 30th, a period of 120 days, eighty-two chimneys had

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9. Bache to Jenkins, Aug. 13, Sept. 15, and Oct. 4, 1855, NA, RG26, L.H.B. Eng. and Inspect., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856 and Entry 23, Bache Corres., June 30-Dec. 17, 1855. Bache thought the fog bell would be more economical and efficient than the fog gun. A few reports came to Bache that the gun had been distinctly heard, one of which was from the keeper of the Farallone Island lighthouse. Bache to Jenkins, August 27, 1855, NA, RG26, L.H.B. Eng. and Insp., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-1856.

broken and, in Bache's opinion, the problem lay in the quality of the glass. Disregarding Bache's opinion, the Lighthouse Board concluded that the keeper must be at fault. By October only eight glass chimneys remained and the supply ordered from the East had not yet arrived. Emergency lamps (Cornelius land lamps) were sent out to the lighthouse to serve until the shipment arrived.

Problems with the lantern were compounded by serious complaints from the lighthouse keeper, Edward A. Colson, who wrote to the district Superintendent of Lights, William S. Latham, on October 1, 1855 to state that his salary was "entirely inadequate" to compensate him for the trouble and expense of getting to market. "This keeper is a most industrious and useful employee," Latham wrote when forwarding Colson's letter to the Lighthouse Board, "and ought to be encouraged to remain at his post." Colson's letter explained that no one lived within five miles of the lighthouse and that he had to go by mule over a mountainous trail to Sausalito, catch a steamboat from there to San Francisco which ran only once a day, and then purchase his provisions at the city's exhorbitant prices. Transporting his supplies back to the station not only added to the expense but to the exceptional inconvenience of his employment. His assistant keeper had also found the salary inadequate and had only accepted the position on the condition that he receive the same wages as Colson, and even with that, he had left after four months, requiring Colson to locate two other assistants. Until an adequate salary was offered, Colson felt, the station could not secure the faithful and industrious employees required for its proper operation and maintenance.[10]

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10. Bache to Jenkins, Aug. 28, Oct. 17, Dec. 19, 1855; June 28, 1856; Latham to Jenkins, Oct. 4, 1855, NA, RG26, L.H.B. Engr. and Insp., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856, and Bache Corresp., June 30-Dec. 17, 1855; Holland, "Lighting the West Coast," p. 71.

Important improvements in 1856 brightened some of the dismal scene at Point Bonita. In January the mystery of the breaking lantern chimneys was solved. The keeper had not been at fault; instead, the problem had arisen from the improper way the lantern had been assembled and centered. After the correction was made, the breakage ceased, but Keeper Colson nonetheless resigned, apparently as a result of the Lighthouse Board's opinion that he was responsible for the breakage. Bache, like the Superintendent of Lights, was in complete sympathy with Colson, explaining to Jenkins that the resignation was "not considered a punishment" as the salary was so low that the newly appointed keeper already was threatening resignation.

Bache made several attempts by mail to convince the Board to the dire need to raise the wages for light keepers on the West Coast, but to no avail. In his letter to Jenkins of March 26, 1856, he underscored his argument with the fact that since his assumption of the position of inspector nine months earlier, Point Bonita Lighthouse had gone through two keepers and five assistant keepers, and Alcatraz had lost three keepers and two assistants, all but two of whom had resigned over the matter of poor wages. Bache never found satisfaction on his appeal and the problem persisted for more than a century more.[11]

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11. Bache to Jenkins, Jan. 15 and 19, March 26, and July 5, 1856, L.H.B. Eng. and Insp., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856 and Bache Corresp., Vol. 2, Dec. 18, 1855-June 16, 1856. Holland in "Lighting the West Coast," explained that the Light House Board recommended for several years the increase of salaries in their annual reports but that nothing was done until 1859, when they reduced the West Coast keepers' salaries.' p. 112; In 1916 the maximum salary for keepers at difficult offshore stations was $1000. In 1917 many Pacific Coast keepers signed a petition addressed to Congress urging them to alleviate their "indigent circumstances" by granting an increase in salary enabling them "to maintain a decent

Bache was able, however, to improve Point Bonita Light Station in other ways. In January he informed the Board he planned to whitewash the light tower, because from outside the heads the tower's brick material blended with the color of the vegetation on the hills behind it, making it difficult to see as a day mark. In April Bache reported that the fog bell which he earlier had recommended for Point Bonita had arrived and a site halfway between the tower and the brink of the precipice had been selected for it and the frame shed which would be constructed for its shelter. Also, he noted, he had ordered certain changes and improvements on the tower and dwelling to reduce the dampness in those buildings, and he had purchased a whitehall boat for $150 for the use of the station. The numerous structural improvements to the buildings during the year must have cheered up the keepers, but the whitehall boat did not serve long, as by June it already had wrecked on the rocks, an accident no doubt cause by the difficult landing site on the east side of Bonita Cove, and the very high waves characteristic of that point.[12]

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11. standard of living." As quoted in Ralph C. Shanks, Jr., and Janetta Thompson Shanks, Lighthouses of San Francisco Bay (San Anselmo, Costano Books, 1976), p. 43; George R. Putnam, Lighthouses and Lightships of the United States (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), p. 238; in 1954 keepers at Point Bonita put in about seventy hours each week and made only some $100 per month. The San Francisco News, Feb. 5, 1954, p. 17.

12. Bache carefully listed all the station improvements in his letter to Jenkins, May 29, 1856, and, more generally, in his fiscal year 1856 annual report for Point Bonita Lighthouse sent to the secretaries of the Lighthouse Board on Sept. 22, 1856; Bache to Hardcastle, Nov. 10, 1855; Bache to Jenkins, Jan. 17 and April 3, 1856, NA, RG26, L.H.B., Eng. and Inspect., 12th Dist., 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856, and Bache Corresp., Vol. 3, June 20-Oct. 30, 1856.

On August 6, 1856, a notice to mariners informed the public that a 1500-pound fog bell that day had gone into service at Point Bonita, to be struck six times at intervals of sixteen seconds each, with a pause of forty-four seconds, during foggy weather. The fog gun would also be fired as usual until further notice. The gun, however, continued to present problems, as supplies for it never seemed to be on hand when needed, and in 1857 it was discontinued on account of undue expense.

By the close of 1856 all the major mechanical problems at Point Bonita Light station seemed to have been ironed out and for the next thirteen years the station, except for minor maintenance repairs, remained in generally good order.[13]

c. Aids to Navigation Move to Point Bonita's Lands End

During the decade of the 1870s major construction projects at Point Bonita light station resulted in the erection of a modern fog siren, a new boat landing, a tramway, water systems, and the removal of the light itself to "Lands End," the narrow, rocky peninsula at the tip of Point Bonita which projects into the Golden Gate. Work began in 1871 after Congress appropriated $10,000 for a first class steam fog signal, and after a thorough examination of the point had been completed in June.[14]

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13. Putnam, Lighthouses, p. 126; NA., RG26, Pt. Bonita, Clip file; Lt. Col. R.S. Williamson, Engr. of Lights, 12th Dist., to Rear Adm. William B. Shubrick, Chairman, L.H.B., Sept. 22, 1868, NA, RG 26, L.H.B. Engr., 12th and 13th LH Dists., 235, July 1868-May 1869, p. 82; Williamson to Shubrick, Oct. 15, 1870, NA, RG26, L.H.B., Correspondence, Letters Received from Engineers, 12th and 13th L.H. Dists., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285, p. 336, hereinafter cited, LHB Corres., Lttrs. Rcd. from Engrs. The tip of Point Bonita was then called Lands End. It is not to be confused with today's Lands End at Point Lobos, south of the Golden Gate.

14. NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita Clip File.

The location selected, although extremely difficult of access, was on the eastern extremity of Lands End. Construction of a road to the site had already gotten underway in the fall of 1871, when a Saucelito Herald reporter visited Point Bonita. From conversations with Keeper Murphy and from his own observations, he learned of the many perils and mishaps already met in construction:

> But a faint idea can be given of the work experienced, and the dangers through which the workmen passed in making their way to the terminus. At few places could a foothold be gained on the ridge, and to fall was certain death, as beneath at the water's edge there is nothing but a mass of jagged rocks. Many gangs of men were brought over, when the work was commenced of cutting a pathway, but few were equal to the situation. Commencing at the main land, a narrow path has been cut to the leeward, a slow and perilous undertaking, as but one or two men could work at a time. About half-way where the rocks take a sharp angular turn, it was found necessary to construct a little bridge. From here the path is cut right on the side of the hill, which is composed of a sort of rotten rock--to the front beyond, where the necessary excavations are about completed . . . During the cutting of the path, quite a number of slides occurred, and consequently there were a number of narrow escapes.[15]

The reporter joined keeper Murphy on a walk out this new pathway and when they came to the bridge he found it to be only the width of a single plank "with no support, and only a rope to hold on to." Below, he dramatically, observed, was a drop of over 200 feet to the ocean shore. Despite any fears, the two continued on out to a new landing built on a solid rock located in a

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15. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Nov. 5, 1871, p. 1. The same account originally appeared in the Saucelito Herald, and was subsequently reproduced in Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 393-5.

basin halfway between the fog signal site and the mainland. To construct the necessary supports and planking for the landing, workers had been lowered by ropes from the pathway above. A small derrick had then been placed on the landing, and during the reporter's visit, carpenters were busy constructing a way up to the pathway, where a winch was to be placed to haul up the supplies and equipment for the lighthouse station. Next, a track for cars was to be laid from the winch to the fog signal building to carry the signal boilers, the shipments of coal, and other necessary items to their final destination at the tip of Land's End.

The boilers for the Brown's Steam Fog Siren on order for Point Bonita required a steady water supply, so some workmen were in the midst of constructing a 3,000-gallon spring-fed reservoir on the lawn near the lightkeepr's dwelling. A windmill would pump the water up from the spring located in a ravine below, and from the reservoir, pipes were to be laid out to the signal. Even though at his visit the reporter noted that forty men made up the work force, the required construction and installation of machinery and equipment for the fog signal continued until May 29, 1872, when the first class siren went into service at Point Bonita.[16]

Keeper Murphy had also given the reporter a tour of the lighthouse. Much impressed, the reporter gave his readers some idea of the workings of Point Bonita's lighthouse in 1871 and throughout the close of the century:

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16. Ibid.; NA, RG 26, Pt. Bonita, Clip File; "Brown's Steam Fog Signal for L.H. Point Bonita California," architect drawing, 12th CG Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.

> Everything here is a model of neatness and order, and this requires no little amount of work, on account of the quantities of oil used around it. This oil is kept in large tanks near the entrance, and is drawn off as required. Up one flight of stairs and we find a small room, occupied by the keeper when on watch and in which are kept all the tools, glasses, etc. Up another flight, and we came on the lamp . . . It is a Fresnel light, manufactured in Paris. It consumes five quarts of oil each night . . . A small tank overhead connected by a pipe with the lamp supplies the oil used each night.[17]

Not long after the reporter's visit one of keeper Murphy's predictions to him came true: the loose rock overhanging the road to the fog signal gave way after the rains set in, causing a series of damaging landslides on January 6, and 7, 1872. The pathway bridge--which had, since the reporter's visit, been remade into a solidly constructed post and rail bridge--had collapsed under the weight of the fallen rock. If the construction foremen and workers felt discouraged at the sight, they would have despaired had they known how frequently the rotting rock would slide in the century to follow.

The most disastrous slide affecting the new construction on Lands End occurred during a severe storm on February 9, 1874, when a "a portion of the bank sustaining the trumpet of the fog-signal . . . fell into the sea, endangering the foundation of the signal-house and machinery." To remedy the precarious situation, workers took down one of the trumpets, and sloped off the bank, but the signal-house and machinery, located on the top of a narrow ridge with nearly perpendicular banks on either side, remained in a dangerous position. To make the

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17. San Francisco Daily Alta California, Nov. 5, 1871, p. 1.

building safe, another major construction project had to be undertaken: On October 1, 1874, the fog signal was stopped so that workers could raze the building, cut down the entire point twenty-five feet and grade it off, and, finally, erect a new fog signal structure and install its machinery on the stabilized site. According to plans, the new fog signal building was much like its predecessor, containing an engine room, coal room, tool closet, pantry, kitchen, living room, closet, and water closet.[18]

No sooner had the new fog signal been completed than the Light House Board recommended the removal of the lighthouse to the western extremity of Lands End, below the usual line of coastal fogs and haze. Pilots had frequently reported passing Point Bonita without seeing the light because it stood enshrouded by fog which usually hung about 100 feet or more above the water. "A good light on this point is very necessary," the Board concluded, "and an appropriation of $25,000 is asked for moving the Point Bonita lighthouse to this point."

Congress appropriated the requested funds on July 31, 1876, but at Point Bonita work crews had already been called in to repair the damage done to the roadway by another slide which occurred in late May at about the same location as the 1872 slide. Two safety measures were devised: where the slides hit the pathway, about midway between the fog signal and lighthouse, a

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18. NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita, Clip. File; "Diagram Showing Location of Bridge before the Land Slide of January 6th and 7th, 1872 at Point Bonita," and, "Diagram Showing Condition of Bridge after the Land Slide of January 6th and 7th, 1872 at Point Bonita;" "Plan of Fog Signal at Pt. Bonita Showing Present Condition of Rock," and "Plan of Fog Signal for Pt. Bonita 25 feet below present location," Feb. 20, 1874, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F. Civil Engr. Br.

tunnel was driven through the tock, thereby avoiding the most dangerous stretch of roadway, and the most unstable part of the crest above was properly sloped to avoid a repeat slide during the next rainy season. When completed the tunnel stood 118 feet long, six feet, six inches high, four feet wide at the top, and six feet wide at the bottom. All but some twenty feet had been cut through hard rock.[19]

While the roadway repair and tunnel construction were in process, work had proceeded on the removal of the light to its new site 363 feet northwest of the fog signal. Instead of a single tower design, the new lighthouse consisted of a tower with two one-story wings, one for keepers' night quarters and the other for an oil and storage room. The lantern with its second order fresnel lens was removed from the old tower and placed on the new, giving the light a focal plane of 140 feet--instead of 306 feet--above sealevel. The old tower was enclosed with a brick dome, covered over with cement, and retained as a daymark. Around the new lighthouse concrete was laid on the face of the bluff and on the pathway between the light and fog signal. Also, for the fog signal, a 12,000-gallon water tank was constructed on a firm foundation close by the fog signal and pipes laid to a nearby spring.

On February 2, 1877, the new Point Bonita Light operated for the first time. The San Francisco Daily Alta California announced to its readers that the light would be a second

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19. NA, RG 26, Pt. Bonita, Clip File; "Point Bonita" forwarded with letter of May 27, 1876 (shows slide areas, line of tunnel, and recommended areas of rock removal), Twelfth C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.; Chief Clerk William Wilson to Lt. Col. John Biddle, Corps of Engineers, March 16, 1908, NA. RG 26, Twelfth District Correspondence, Box 1, Point Bonita #4, hereinafter cited 12th Dist. Corr., Box 1, Pt. Bonita #4.

order fixed white one, illuminating five-sixth degrees of the horizon, and that in clear weather the light could be seen from the deck of a vessel fifteen feet above the sea, for eighteen nautical miles. The county history showed great interest in the light and in 1879 described the lighthouse structure, its components, and operation:

> The building on which the tower rests is twenty-four by fourteen feet, and the tower extends sixteen feet above the roof, and is twelve feet in diameter. The lamp is a Funk's Hydraulic Float, U.S.L.H., 1873, and has three circular wicks, ranging in size from one to three inches in diameter. The lamp, including oil chambers is seven feet high. The lower chamber holds five gallons of oil, and the upper the same amount, the latter having a register attached which indicates the amount of oil in it. The average amount of oil consumed each night during the year is one and a half gallons. The reflecting apparatus consists of a series of prisms, arranged so that all rays are thrown on the focal plane, or bull's eye, and there are four series of these prisms, two above and two below the focal plane. Of the upper series twelve are open and six are closed. The bull's eye is nine inches in diameter, and on the opposite side of the light there is a silver-plated reflecting concave, two and one-half feet by two and one-sixth,[20] which throws the light to sea south-west by south.

The years 1879 and 1880 witnessed important maintenance restoration at Point Bonita. A duplicate fog signal boiler was installed in an addition built for it in the signal building; extensive repairs were made to the old boiler and the two fog sirens; the dwellings were repainted outside and in; a new cage for hauling supplies to the platform landing and a new rope for the

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20. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 395-6; San Francisco Daily Alta, Jan. 23, 1877, p. 1; N.A., RG26, Pt. Bonita, Clip File; "Plan of Lighthouse for the new Site at Point Boneta, Cal." forwarded with letter to L.H.B., Sept. 24, 1876, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.

derrick and horsepower hoist which got the supplies up the eight-foot incline to the pathway were provided; the tramway from the landing platform, up the incline to the storehouse, and on out to the fog signal, was repaired, giving it a new iron track; and the coal room at the fog signal was enlarged. In 1880 the light station stood in excellent repair and for over two decades no further major construction was needed at Point Bonita's lighthouse.[21]

During the 1880s and 1890s the station received several changes and repairs. In 1883 the lightkeepers substituted mineral oil lamps for the lard oil ones at the lighthouse, and in 1888 a new 12,000-gallon water tank was erected and that year, and again in 1901, the tramway was in large part, rebuilt. Maintaining an adequate water supply for the station presented problems to the keepers who had to build new windmills in 1884, twice in 1894, in 1899, and again, in 1900, either to improve the mill operation or to replace a mill after damaging heavy windstorms. In 1899 the station received a telephone system to replace the outmoded electric bell system. Extensions were placed in the quarters of the keeper and his three assistants, as well as in the lighthouse and fog signal. In 1900 a heavy slide carried away one of the bridges which spanned a gulch along the trail near the tunnel. Reconstruction of the bridge and the blasting off of overhanging and loose rock remedied the immediate problem. In 1902 a small engine installed at the top of the incline from the landing replaced the horsepower used from the early 1870s to haul supplies up from the lighthouse wharf. That year, also, the assistant keepers' quarters--a stucco building built in 1856 which the Lighthouse Board for three years

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21. NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita, clip file. "Description of Point Bonita Light Station California, April 1, 1914," 12th CG. Dist., Aids to Navigation Branch, History Files, Point Bonita Lighthouse, hereinafter cited, 12th C.G. Dist., Aids to Navig. Br., Pt. Bonita.

had recommended be replaced with a new frame double dwelling, but to no avail--received a frame addition with two rooms, as well as general repairs, to make the building "fairly comfortable."[22]

Point Bonita Lighthouse stood within the Lime Point military reservation purchased by the United States from Samuel Throckmorton in 1866, and by the turn of the century the War Department considered the land on which the lighthouse station had developed as one of the strongest and most important positions in the line of outer defenses for San Francisco Harbor. Although established eleven years prior to the military purchase of the tract, the Point Bonita lighthouse reservation possessed no available records defining its boundaries or land acquisition. A potential conflict arose in 1900 when the pending construction of two twelve-inch guns at Point Bonita resulted in the Engineer's decision that the lighthouse keepers' dwellings had to be moved to a new site. As the old stucco building was not worth moving, all the keepers and their families--three men, three women, and two children--would temporarily have to live together in the frame quarters until a new keepers' dwelling was constructed. With no available funds for a new set of quarters, the prospects looked pretty grim, crowding three families into seven rooms indefinitely. Oddly enough, however, the issue blew over.[23]

The last major construction at the station occurred in 1903, after the Lighthouse Board, having apparently

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22. NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita, Clip file.

23. Lt. Col. T.H. Handbury, Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., S.F., to L.H.B., Sept. 24, 1902; Maj. Charles E.L.B. Davis, S.F., to Brig. Gen. J.M. Wilson, Chf. of Engrs., June 8, 1900; Major Davis to LHB, Oct. 22, 1900, NA, RG77, OCE, Gen. Corres. 1894-1923, #44946 and #35392.

conferred with the War Department, approved plans on August 28, 1902, for the construction of a new fog signal building at a site in front of the lighthouse where the two sirens would have a wider sound range, particularly for ships approaching San Francisco Harbor from directly seaward and from the north. On November 28, 1902, Thomas H. Handbury, Engineer of the Twelfth Lighthouse District, recommended W.H. Wickersham of San Francisco, whose bid was $8,882, as the contractor. On January 6, 1903, Wickersham was approved for the work and within six months the construction was completed, but not without difficulty. Wickersham had expected to complete construction in November and December, before the rainy season, but Washington did not approve his contract until January. The delay proved critical: the brick manufacturers refused to deliver their materials directly to the site from January through March, fearing to lose one of their cargo-laden schooners in the rough waters around Point Bonita during that time of year. Wickersham, then, had to reship the bricks from San Francisco at his own risk and at additional cost. To make matters worse, Wickersham's contract was written for 120 calendar days, instead of the customary work days, and the Engineer, anxious to get the work underway, refused to make a correction on the contract because it would then have to be sent to Washington for approval. Laboring under an agreement with the engineer that an allowance would be made for the time lost in a calendar time limit, Wickersham sent his workers to the point. The brickmasons, however, went home when it rained, delaying the construction, and finally went on strike, forcing Wickersham to seek out independent workers, only two of whom he could locate and hire. So, with two men the brick fog signal and work room, the brick chimney and the erection of the boilers were completed, and on August 11, 1903, the Lighthouse Board published its notice to mariners:

Bonita Point Light-Station

Located on the westernmost extremity of Bonita Point, seacoast of California, and on the northerly side of the entrance to San Francisco Bay.

Notice is hereby given that, on or about August 25, 1903, the fog signal at this station will be moved to and established in the structure recently erected on the extreme end of Bonita Point, 335 feet S. 61° 30' W. (SW. by W. 7/16 W.) from its present position, and 65 feet S. 76° W. (WSW. 3/4W.) from the light-house. The new structure is 13 feet lower than the light-house and 90 feet above the water.

The structure is of brick, whitewashed, and red roof, and a whitewashed brick chimney in rear of the light-house.

No change will be made in the characteristics of the fog signal.

Bearings are magnetic and given approximately.[24]

In addition to coal, the new fog signal was fueled with crude oil, for which a 5,000-gallon iron tank with a 1500-foot pipeline to the fog signal was constructed on the hill above the landing. The brick chimney as the notice explained, stood behind the lighthouse so as not to interfere with its signal, and a smoke pipe connected the boilers with the chimney. A liberal application of concrete made the pathway from the old signal to the

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24. Sec., LHB, to Lt. Col. T.H. Handbury, August 28, 1902, NA, RG26, LHB, Letters to Engrs., 12th L.H. Dist., 875, July 2, 1902-June 30, 1904; "Notice to mariners;" "Specifications August 15, 1902 for construction of a brick fog signal building, brick chimney, erection of boilers, etc., at Point Bonita Light-Station;" Lt. Col. T.H. Handbury to LHB, Sept. 16, 1902, and Oct. 16, 1902; W.H. Wickersham to Lt. Col. T.H. Handbury, May 9, 1903, NA, RG26, 12th Dist. Corres., Box 1, Bonita Point #1; NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita, Clip file.

new, as well as the edges of the bluff, safer. Iron pipe railings were put up along the narrow pathway out to the lighthouse and fog signal, and along the bluff's edge, to add more to the station's safety. Supplies still came out by a one-horse-drawn cart along the tramway, having been hoisted up the forty-five degree incline from the wharf landing. Provisions for the light keepers were also landed at the wharf and hauled to the residential area by a one-horse truck custom made for the narrow road along the cliffs and through the tunnel.

By the close of the next fiscal year, June 1904, Point Bonita's fog signal, with its various first-year problems, had been put into smooth working order. Oil proved to be a much cheaper fuel, so all the kinks in the system were ironed out. Still, the station staff looked forward to cutting their operating expenses even more once the oil could be piped directly from the barges to the storage tank on the hill above, instead of being delivered in cans, which required time-consuming handling.[25]

For the next four years the district lighthouse engineer waged a battle to get Point Bonita's keepers properly housed. The Lighthouse Board had, since 1899, continuously supported his effort by recommending funding for new quarters, but in 1905 they asked Engineer Handbury whether he considered it

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25. NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita Clip file; J.M. Scanland, "The Watchers of the Fog. A Summary of California's Lighthouse Service," Overland Monthly 42, 2d ser., No. 2 (Feb. 1903), p. 84; "Part Map of Reservation, Point Bonita, Calif." accompanying Engineer's letter of Aug. 6, 1902; "Fog Signal House, Pt. Bonita Light Station, Cal." Aug. 6, 1902 (two sheets of working drawings of elevations, plans, and sections), 12th C.G. Dist, S.F., Civil Engr. Br. According to the LHB annual report for 1907 (in clip file citation), the oil storage capacity at Point Bonita had increased to 14,200 gallons and the necessary pipeline for the barge to tank unloading had been completed.

suitable for them to drop the recommendation for this $15,000 appropriation. Handbury emphatically responded that the Point Bonita lighthouse and fog signal were "by far the most important aids to navigation in the vicinity of San Francisco," and that they required four keepers to operate them. At the date of his writing, May 18, 1905, four keepers with their families were crowded into quarters for two, and it was his recommendation that a double set of quarters be constructed on the former fog signal site. At the close of the 1906 fiscal year, the assistant keepers had instead moved into the old fog signal building itself, where quarters were temporarily set up for them, because the earthquake of April 18, 1906, had rendered their double quarters uninhabitable. On June 30, 1906 Congress approved a bill introduced in January 1906 to appropriate $6,000 for a double dwelling for the assistant keepers. Building plans were already being drawn up in June, but a year passed without any noticeable action, possibly because the War Department again announced the probability that lighthouse station buildings would have to be removed, this time to make way for certain fire and mine control stations proposed for Point Bonita. Although the only structure which had to be removed in 1907 to comply with the military's plans was the old light tower which still was serving an important role as a day mark, the Lighthouse Board very likely delayed their decision to erect keepers' quarters until the War Department's demands were satisfied.[26]

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26. NA, RG26, Pt. Bonita, Clip. file; Col. T. H. Handbury and Comdr. H. T. Mayo, U.S.N., Inspector, 12th L.H. Dist., to L.H.B., May 8, 1905; John F. Ingersoll, Keeper to the Lighthouse Engineer, April 19, 1906; Comdr. H. T. Mayo to L.H.B., May 24, 1907, NA, R.G. 26, 12th Dist. Corres., Point Bonita, #1, #2, #3; U.S. Congress, Senate, Keeper's Dwelling at Point Bonita, California, Rpt. 248, 49th Cong. 1st sess., Jan. 18, 1906; Maj. C. N. McKinstry, Corps of Engrs., Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., to L.H.B., March 4, 1907, NA, RG 26, Point Bonita Light Station, Site File; the old towers removal began July 17, 1907. Maj. C. H.

On May 31, 1907, Major McKinstry forwarded the plans and specifications for a one and a half-story frame double keepers' dwelling at Point Bonita, with an explanation that the structure would be erected on the site of the former double quarters, and a request that the work be contracted locally at the earliest possible time so that the two assistant keepers without quarters could move into their residence before the coming winter. Even the lowest bidders for the contract, however, submitted estimates exceeding the $6000 appropriation, so that in August 1907 McKinstry requested permission to construct the building with hired labor, a request which clearly was granted, for in fiscal year 1908 the dwelling was completed for $6000. Now the station had a keeper's dwelling, a double assistant keepers' house, and quarters for a third assistant keeper in the old fog signal building, an arrangement which continued for many years.[27]

In 1910, Congress abolished the Lighthouse Board, replacing it with a Lighthouse Bureau under the Department of Commerce and Labor, instead of the Treasury Department. The reorganization placed naval officers in charge of the aids to

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McKinstry to himself, as Engineer, 12th LH Dist., July 16, 1907, Federal Archives and Record Center, (hereinafter cited as FARC), San Bruno, Cal., RG 77, OCE, S.F. Dist., Press Copy Letter Books, No. 2, May 18-Aug. 23, 1907.

27. Maj. C. H. McKinstry to LHB, May 31 and Aug. 10, 1907, NA, RG 26, 12th Dist. Corr., Box 1, Bonita Point #2 and #3. The old double quarters were razed during f.y. 1907. NA, RG 26, Pt. Bonita clip file; in 1910 the quarters in the old fog signal consisted of three rooms in an L-shape. The space being inadequate for the keeper and his family, the engineer recommended a modern addition be built but whether his recommendation was carried out did not appear in the records investigated by this researcher. Lt. Col. John Biddle, Corps of Engrs, Engr., 12th LH Dist., to Commissioner, Bur. of Light-Houses, July 23, 1910, NA, RG 26, 12th Dist. Corr., Box 1, Pt. Bonita #3.

navigation, resulting in rapid modernization of many lighthouse stations. At Point Bonita the fixed light, which had been characteristic of the signal since its establishment in 1855, was provided with an occulting devise which gave a flash for twenty-five seconds and an eclipse for five seconds. The power of the light moreover, was increased seven-fold, all the work completed by June 1912. Fourteen years later, in June 1926, Point Bonita's light was again stengthened to 40,000 candlepower when electricity, provided by Fort Barry Military Reservation, was installed in the lighthouse as well in the fog signal. The conversion to electricity cut down on the amount of maintenance needed at the station, making the need for four keepers increasingly obsolete. Other modern aids to navigation followed: in 1938 a radio beacon tower to contact ships at sea was constructed just behind and to the east of the lighthouse. In 1950 a watchroom was added above the west wing of the lighthouse, and a radar tower constructed. In 1954 a suspension bridge was built across the gap in the path made by a landslide in 1939 and 1940. In 1960, the light once more was increased in power, this time to 60,000 candlepower. Although as late as 1972 five men manned the station, by 1976 modern technology had taken over, leaving Point Bonita lighthouse and fog signal completely automated and the reservation lands under the transferred control of the National Park Service as part of Golden Gate National Recreation Area.[28]

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28. Arthur H. Dutton, "California's Lighthouses," Overland Monthly 59, 2d Ser. (Jan.-June 1912), pp. 149-51; Copy of permit granted by Secretary of War and accepted by Department of Commerce, June 17, 1926, to install and maintain an electric transmission line. NA, RG 26, Pt. Bonita, Site File; "Point Bonita Light Station, Radio-beacon Tower Location & Footing," Jan. 19, 1938, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.; Holland, America's Lighthouses, p. 24; "Description of Point Bonita Light Station, April 1, 1914," 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Aids to Navig. Br., Hist.

d. Notes on the Keepers

Little has been said about the Point Bonita lighthouse keepers other than they were poorly paid and, often, inadequately housed. Many of the early keepers resigned in protest, while others, possibly responding to their isloation and poor communications with San Francisco, left under fire for irresponsibility or drunken behavior.

By the 1870s, when the aids to navigation were being moved out to the peninsula, the keepers at least had frequent company with work crews arriving to construct new station buildings or repair the damage done by landslides. The keepers, in fact, often were ordered to house the workers in their dwellings. Nearby ranches, too, had been established by the 1870s and the

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28. files, Pt. Bonita LH; Independent-Journal, Marin Magazine. Sept. 24, 1966, M5; Berkeley Gazette, July 29, 1972; "Occulting Devise, Bonita Point Lt. Sta. Cal." March 29, 1910, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br. In 1939-40 the path from the old fog signal to the lighthouse and fog signal fell into the ocean, requiring the station hands to set up a breeches buoy to cross the gap. First a wooden causeway was built out to the light and fog signal, and in 1954 it was replaced by the existing suspension bridge. The keeper's quarters in the old fog signal building also was "razed because of dangers resulting from crumbling cliffs. Shanks, Lighthouses, p. 44. General Services Administration, Periodic Report of Federal Real Property, as of June 30, 1955, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., Pt. Bonita Light Station. In this decade of the 1970's, a century after the rocky point first served the lighthouse station, the landslides continue. In March 1971 the commander of the Twelfth Coast Guard District reported that "the entire face of the cliff along the trail to the lighthouse "was sliding into the sea. R. Adm. Mark A. Whalen, U.S.C.G., to Dr. J. Hugh Visser, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Aids to Navig. Br. Point Bonita Light Station through 31 Dec. 1975. In 1911 the War Department also constructed two high-powered searchlights at Point Bonita. The small galvanized iron house which sheltered one of the spotlights still stands just below the fog signal building. Shanks, Lighthouses, p. 41.

ranchers came down to Point Bonita often to use the old lighthouse landing on the east side of Bonita Cove to ship their products to market. In 1899 a life-saving station established at Point Bonita added more residents to the area and within the next few years Fort Barry's fortifications brought yet more workers and officers to Point Bonita, where, in the cove, an engineer's wharf and tramway to the hilltop near the old lighthouse site was built.[29]

Monotony characterized the life of a lighthouse keeper whose long watches and many routine maintenance duties never changed. Cleaning the lens and its parts, whitewashing the buildings, repairing structures, water lines, and cisterns, and

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29. Holland, "Lighting the West Coast," pp. 111 and 196-198. On the latter pages Holland lists the keepers and assistant keepers at Point Bonita Lighthouse between 1855 and 1879. The list shows that during that period, five of ten principal keepers resigned and three were removed. Of the thirty-eight assistant keepers, five were removed and fourteen resigned. Keeper Murphy, who gave the Saucelito Herald reporter a tour in 1871, was removed from service in February 1872; in September 1874 an assistant keeper who had fallen asleep while on duty, letting the light go out, was fired. FARC, Suitland, Maryland, NA, RG 26, Point Bonita Lighthouse Journal, Feb. 2, 1872 to June 29, 1894, entries for Feb. 6, 1872 and Sept. 10, 1874. On Sept. 5 and Oct. 12, 1887, Point Bonita's third assistant keepers were removed, as was a second assistant keeper on Feb. 1, 1890. Naval Secretary to Comdr. Nicoll Ludlow, Insp., 12th LH Dist., Sept. 5, Oct. 12, 1887 and Feb. 1, 1890, NA, RG 26, LHB Lttrs, to Inspectors, 12th LH Dist., 447, July 1, 1887-June 30, 1889 and July 1, 1889-Dec. 31, 1891. Maj. N. Michler, Eng., 12th LH Dist., on Nov. 18, 1872, explained in a letter to Professor Joseph Henry, Chairman, L.H.B., about the use of the wharf by the rancho owners "bordering on the reservation." NA, RG 26, 12th Dist. Corr., Box 1, Bonita Point, 1902-1910. The Point Bonita Lifesaving Station was completed in September 1899, with quarters on the hill nearby the lighthouse dwellings. Charles M. Cornell, Asst. to Supts. of Construction to Supts. of Construction, Life Saving Service, Pacific Coast, Sept. 8, 1899, NA, RG 26, Life Saving Service, Lttrs. Rcd., #66017; "Map of Point Boneta and Vicinity Showing location of Structures etc., as they exist September 1902, "NA, RG 26, Point Bonita Life Saving Station, Site File.

keeping daily journals offered little excitement or challenge to the keeper's life. Occasionally, however, as recorded dutifully in the lighthouse journals, the keepers performed outstanding or heroic rescues of shipwrecked persons off Point Bonita. On October 3, 1874, the steamtug, Rescue, went ashore and was totally wrecked in a thick fog and all but one of nine hands were rescued by the lighthouse keepers, who put up the ship's captain and engineer for the night. Sometimes the rescue required manning the station boat, as in April 1876, when two men on a capsized boat were floating out to sea and needed help. Once on land again, the keepers gave the men dry clothing and a place to sleep.

Numerous violent storms, earthquakes, and other natural phenomena must have at least jolted the keepers from their standard schedules. On October 11, 1891, the keeper recorded, "We had an Earthquake at 10:29 P.M. it was a pretty good shake." The storm of February 20, 1878, which totally wrecked the schooner, Fourth of July, loaded with lumber for Point Reyes, and killed Captain Joseph Smith, his assistant, and a boy on board, impressed Keeper John B. Brown as "the worst Storme I have seen at point Bonita for Six years."

Unexpected visitors also dropped in on the keepers on occasion. On January 15, 1887, seven weary and soaked crew members of the schooner, Parallel, who had hurriedly left their dynamite-ladened ship on the rocks below the Cliff House and rowed across the Golden Gate to Point Bonita, received coffee, shelter, and breakfast the next morning before they departed for Sausalito. Little did Point Bonita's keepers know until later that the Parallel finally exploded without warning to the residents of the Cliff House area, causing considerable damage to the structures, and public censure for the seven crew members. On August 11, 1877, the keepers' unexpected visitor was dead--an unidentified body had washed up on shore, during the night. Officers and

their relatives or friends also stopped at the lighthouse during the 1870's for a night's shelter while hunting the abundant wildlife on the vast stretches of natural grasslands characteristic of the area. On other occasions, the keeper hosted newspaper reporters, such as the one from the Saucelito Herald in 1871 or another from the San Francisco Examiner in 1893.

But the keepers also had more peaceful outlets for breaking the monotony of their work. At Point Bonita the keepers in 1887 had raised a flourishing garden in a sheltered spot behind the fence surrounding their residential quarters. Their roses and other varieties of flowers did well as long as they were protected from the strong winds which so often swept the point. Finally, the Lighthouse Service provided the light stations with rotating libraries which for some keepers must have offered many hours of enjoyable distraction during their moments of leisure.[30]

To catch just a brief glimpse at the family side of Point Bonita's lightkeepers, the recollections of Mrs. R. L. Grandi, daughter of Keeper John F. Ingersoll, survive. In an article for the Independent Journal Marin Magazine for September 24, 1966 (p. M5), Mrs. Grandi remembered that she and Keeper Ingersoll's four other children went by spring wagon to Sausalito to stay with their grandmother during the school week and returned each weekend to the lighthouse. The older children took the train

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30. Scanland, "Watchers of the Fog," p. 83; Lt. Hse journal entries for Oct. 3, 1874, April 28, 1876, Aug. 11, 1877, Feb. 20, 1878, Jan. 15, 1881, Oct. 11, 1891, Mar. 10, 1893; for references to the rotating library, this writer only made sporadic notations of the following dates: Aug. 9, 1878, Oct. 8, 1879, July 2, 1880, Dec. 22, 1881. FARC, Suitland, RG 26, Pt. Bonita Lt. Sta. Jour., Feb. 6, 1872-June, 29, 1894; Marin County Journal, Special Illustrated Edition of October 1887, p. vi; Daily Alta California Jan. 17, 1887, p. 1.

from Sausalito to San Fafael to go to high school. Keeper Ingersoll served at Point Bonita from 1901 until after 1920, so all his children must have spent much of their time traveling to and from the lighthouse which even today by private vehicle takes about twenty minutes to reach from Sausalito.[31]

2. Point Reyes Lighthouse, 1870-1976

Although not among the first eight lighthouses authorized for construction on the West Coast, Point Reyes figured as a dangerous spot on the Pacific mariners' coastal routes, and as an important landmark to set bearings for San Francisco harbor. After San Francisco harbor had its principal lights lit or under construction, Congress gave recognition to the need for a lighthouse at Point Reyes on August 3, 1854, when it appropriated $25,000 for its construction. In February 1855 the Light house Board informed Captain Graham, inspector for the Twelfth District, that Point Reyes stood first in a list of five lights on the Coast which should be built without delay. Ten thousand had been earmarked for the illuminating apparatus, so that fifteen thousand would cover the construction expenses. Campbell accordingly arranged a contract for the work within the subsequent four months, not anticipating the problems which lay ahead; fourteen

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31. Mrs. Grandi in 1966 lived in Fairfax, Marin County; Keeper Ingersall took over for John B. Brown on July 1, 1901. FARC, RG 26, pt. Bonita Lt. Sta. jour., July 1, 1894-March 31, 1912. John F. Ingersall was mentioned as keeper at Point Bonita in U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of Lighthouses, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses to the Secretary of Commerce For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1920 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1920), p. 60.

years were to elapse before the government purchased the site selected, and fifteen before the lighthouse went into operation.[32]

a. A Shotgun Start

Preparations for the Point Reyes lighthouse continued under Maj. Hartman Bache in the spring of 1855, egged on in large part by the West Coast mariners. As explained in a letter from the Board's secretary in May,

> This light is asked for by the navigating interests, & it has been represented to be of great importance--which is not readily understood when it is remembered that the point is so very near the Farallones, 1st order--Point Bonita 2nd order and the Point Lobos, which will be a 2nd or 3rd order apparatus. The site has been selected--land reserved and the Inspector instructed to use all diligence in arranging for the commencement of the work.[33]

By August plans for a keeper's dwelling like that at Point Bonita and for a tower like that at the Farallones had been approved, and bids had been received to build them, the lowest of which was from William Nagle for $10,500.

Bache planned to accept. The light would be a second order flashing signal Bache explained on the plans and

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32. Holland, "Lighting the West Coast," p. 44; NA, RG 26, Clipping File, Point Reyes Lighthouse, hereinafter cited, Clip. file, Pt. Reyes; Lt. F. A. Jenkins, Sec., LHB, to Capt. Campbell Graham, Inspector, 12th LH District, Feb. 17, 1855, NA, RG 26, LHB, Letters Sent to the Corps of Topographical Engineers, Dec. 1852-Dec. 1873, hereinafter cited, Lttrs. Sent to Corps of Top. Engrs.

33. Lt. T. A. Jenkins to Maj. Hartman Bache, Corps of Engrs, May 2, 1855, NA, RG 26, LHB, Lttrs Sent to Corps of Top. Engrs., Dec. 1852-Dec. 1873.

elevations forwarded with his letter to the Board on August 16, 1855. On the same date, however, Bache sent another letter to the Board's secretary expressing his surprise that the United States did not have title to the site, and that he had been informed that day of a court decision declaring the land private property.

Andrew Randell, claimant to Point Reyes under a Mexican rancho title, agreed to let the lighthouse be built and the land title settled later, once the United States patent assured his own title. Bache, however, passed the reponsibility for a decision on the matter to the Board. The Lighthouse Board took its position on October 24, 1855, ordering the work at Point Reyes lighthouse site suspended unless the claimant relinquished all rights to the land proposed for the station. Bache, in reply on December 4, optimistically anticipated that by the close of the rainy season the question of title would be settled and the work shortly thereafter completed.[34]

Months went by, however, and Bache could make no headway in securing a title. By March he realized that prospects for continuing work at Point Reyes were "far from encouraging," because Randell's title to the land really belonged to his creditors. Another year passed and Thomas G. Richards, who

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34. Major Bache to Capt. Edmd. S. Hardcastle, Sec., LHB, July 30 and Aug. 16, 1855; Major Bache to Lt. T. A. Jenkins, Oct. 16, 31, and Dec. 4, 1855, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Engr. and Insp., 12th Dist., Feb. 1853-June 1856; Maj. H. Bache to Lt. T. A. Jenkins, Aug. 16, Sept. 19, 1855, and to Samuel W. Inge, U.S. Attorney, N. Dist. of Calif., Aug. 20, 1855, NA, RG 26, Entry 23, Bache Corres., June 30-Dec. 17, 1855; "Light House; Punta de los Reyes or Point Reyes," to accompany lttr. of Aug. 16, 1855, Hartman Bache, FARC, San Bruno, RG 26, #5, Point Reyes. The Lighthouse Board had two secretaries, one from the Army and the other from the Navy.

had purchased title to the land through a sheriff's sale, negotiated with Bache to sell eighty-three acres to the government for the site at a cost of $1000. A deed was drawn up on March 18, 1856, but the promising sale never was completed. On March 19 Bache wrote to Secretary Jenkins to explain that Richards had first offered to sell for $2000. Considering $1500 an ample price for the land and a right of way from Drakes Bay, Bache had counter-offered $1000, which Richards had declined to accept. The two parties, reached an agreement the next month, however, and on May 2 Bache forwarded the deed to the United States Attorney General for approval.

Indefinite postponements followed, as the District Attorney for Northern California prepared a reply for the U.S. Attorney General. Still optimistic, Bache continued his plans for the lighthouse. Hayward, Bartell and Company of Baltimore in 1856 were due to complete the light's lantern and in May Bache received twenty-nine cases of second-order illuminating apparatus shipped from the East in September 1855. In April 1856 the Board authorized Bache to accept William Nagle's construction bid as soon as the title was confirmed. Late in 1859 the engineer submitted the architectural drawings for a Cape Cod-style house with the tower enclosed on one side. All stood in readiness for the final step--land acquisition--which had to be accomplished with great care, as Congress had forbidden the Lighthouse Board, under heavy penalty, to erect any lights without a confirmed title to the property.

As explained earlier, the several claimants who purchased title to Point Reyes during the 1850s through debts owed them by two former rancho owners fought long legal battles in California's courts for final rights to the land. By 1858 the San Francisco law firm of Shafter, Shafter, Park, and Heydenfeldt had, by conveyance, assumed the legal title to the land. The Lighthouse

Board, through its local officers, resumed negotiations for the lighthouse site with the new owners, but the lighthouse records for the decade from 1857 to 1867 remain curiously silent on the particulars of the transactions which held up the purchase during that period. In their fiscal year 1867 report, the Lighthouse Board finally explained that "the exhorbitant [sic] price asked by the owners of Point Reyes for a site there has delayed operations at that point for several years."[35]

Despite the legal entanglements delaying a lighthouse for Point Reyes, Congress in 1860 showed faith by appropriating an additional $40,000 for the lighthouse and $2,500 for a fog signal. The action may have been hurried by California's Senator William Gwin who had taken an active role in trying to get the Government to condemn property at Point Reyes for a lighthouse. Gwin's remarks before the Senate in April 1860 help to explain the predicament over the Point Reyes site:

> There is a lighthouse that ought to have been built at Point Reyes years ago. We had an appropriation of $25,000. The parties owning the ground, knowing the necessity of having a lighthouse there, asked $25,000 for three and two-thirds acres, the amount of the entire appropriation, when it was not in fact, worth twenty-five cents an acre. The Lighthouse Board would not give it; and the appropriation lapsed back into the Treasury.

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35. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Thomas G. Richards to U.S. Government, March 18, 1856 and Summary of the certified abstract to the Rancho Punta de los Reyes Sobrante, prepared by U.S. Attorney Delos Lake, no date, NA, RG 26, Site File 67, Point Reyes Lighthouse, hereinafter cited, Site file, Pr. Reyes; Major Bache to Lt. T. A. Jenkins, Oct. 31, Dec. 18, 1855, Jan. 2, 30, March 1, 7, 19, April 4, and 17, May 2, Aug. 22, and Sept. 17, 1856, NA, RG 26, LHB Engr. and Insp., 12th Dist, 23, Feb. 1853-June 1856 and Bache Corres., Vol. 2, Dec. 18, 1855-June 16, 1856, and Vol. 3, June 20, 1856- Oct. 30, 1856; "12th Light House District Light House; Point Reyes, Cal.," map sent with Engr's letter of 18 Mar. 1859, 12th CG Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., San Francisco Daily Alta California, Nov. 26, 1857, p. 2.

Without the lighthouse, Gwin, added, "the commerce between California and Oregon is suffering constantly."[36]

Gwin based his urgings for condemnation on an act passed by the California legislature on February 14, 1859, providing "for the relinquishment to the United States, in certain cases, to title in lands, for sites of lighthouses and for other purposes." For some unexplained reason the Lighthouse Board delayed taking such legal steps until November 1868. During the interim, Congress had shown its serious intentions by appropriating another $15,000 for the lighthouse on March 2, 1867, and the district engineer, Lt. Col. R. S. Williamson, had made several attempts to bring the Shafters and their recent partner, Charles W. Howard, down to $5,000. The negotiations were complicated by the fact that the District Attorney, Delos Lake, advised Williamson that the new proposal from the Shafters and Howard to sell the twenty-three acres at issue for $10,000 was not far from what a jury would appraise the land. Furthermore, the owners, in their letter of July 8, warned that they were on the verge of disposing of their lands; if they did so without making a deed for the lighthouse, negotiations would then have to be continued with the new owner, causing yet further delays.

For his part, Williamson strongly felt that the land in question was "intrinsically worthless"--not worth $100--were it not for the lighthouse site there, The Lighhouse Board backed Williamson on his offer of $5,000 and finally authorized him in November to proceed with the condemnation of the land. The

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36. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; William Henry Ellison, ed., "Memoirs of Hon. William M. Gwin," California Historical Society Quarterly 19, No. 4 (Dec. 1940), p. 359.

advertisement, by law, had to run for four months in the daily papers, causing yet further delay. In San Francisco the Board of Marine Underwirters reacted to the endless postponements by forming a committee to inquire into the problems and potential solutions. While the Lighthouse Board was giving consideration to the Shafter and Howard proposal of $6,000 for the land which Williamson forwarded on December 17, 1868, the Board of Marine Underwriters sent their own petition to R. Adm. William B. Shubrick, Secretary of the Lighthouse Board, urging the Board to accept the Shafters' $6,000 offer and to proceed immediately with the construction of the lighthouse at Point Reyes. In their letter they provided the Secretary with a list of shipwrecks within the past decade at Point Reyes, and their damages:

1860	American steamer Oregon damaged	$ 20,000
May 1861	American Ship Sea Nymph loss	300,000
Nov. 1862	American schooner Monterey	7,000
July 1863	American ship Bengal, damaged	18,627
Sept 1863	Russian steam corvette Norvick	250,000
April 1866	British Steamer Labouchere	160,000
March 1868	American Schooner S.F. Blunt, damaged	1,000
	Total property lost	$756,827
	Average loss by each of seven casualties	$108,118

On January 27, 1869, less than a month later, the Lighthouse Board authorized Williamson to accept the $6,000 sale price for the Point Reyes tract and on July 28, 1869, the deed was signed transferring to the government: the lighthouse site of 120 acres, the right of way to Drakes Bay, a convenient embarcadero on Drake's Bay, the right to land supplies at any point between Drake's Bay and the tract for the lighthouse, the right to take firewood for the keepers' fuel and water from the spring most convenient to the site, and the right to take material from the granite quarry on Drakes Bay to erect any portion of the lighthouse and associated buildings. Finally, after fifteen years'

negotiation, the construction of the Point Reyes lighthouse could proceed.[37]

b. Construction and Maintenance: Man Against Nature

(1) The Lighthouse and Dwelling

At the close of fiscal year 1869 the Lighthouse Board had $49,288.12 for the construction of the Point Reyes light and fog signal, and had applied for an additional $45,000. Surveys of the point had again been undertaken by the district engineer and the hydrographic inspector of the Coast Survey, who both agreed on the same site for the lighthouse. And in July 1870 the requested $45,000 appropriation received approval by Congress, indicating the concern of all parties in the expeditious construction of the Point Reyes lighthouse.[38]

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37. A copy of the condemnation notice was found in NA RG 26, Site file, Pt. Reyes, and in Shafter Family Papers, Vol. 4, p. 1, Bancroft Library, U. of Cal, Berkeley; NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Lt. Col. R. S. Williamson to Messrs. Shafter and Howard, May 11, Sept. 17, 1868; to R. Adm. Wm. B. Shubrick, July 15, Sept. 10, 17, 22, Oct. 1, Nov. 23, Dec. 17, 1868 and Mar. 12, 1869; to C. T. Hopkins, Pres. of Calif. Ins. Co. and Sec., Board of Marine Underwriters &c of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, Dec. 12, 1868; Delos Lake, U.S. Atty. to Williamson, July 9, 1868; Shafters and Howard to Delos Lake, July 8, 1868; Memorial to Adm. Wm. B. Shubrick," undated from Board of Marine Underwriters, NA, RG 26, LHB, Engr., 12th & 13th Dist., 235, July 1868-May 1869 and Lttrs Rcd., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285; "The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins," part 17, California Historical Society Quarterly 27 (1948), p. 71. A copy of the deed from Oscar L. and James McM. Shafter and Charles Webb Howard to the U.S. Government is in the Point Reyes Lighthouse Site File, NA, RG 26.

38. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Report of Benjamin Pierce, Chairman, Committee on Lighting, April 23, 1869, NA, RG 26, LHB Journal, May 3, 1867-May 28, 1869, vol. 4; Col. R. S. Williamson to R. Adm. William Shubrick, June 17, 1869, NA, RG 26, LHB, Lttrs Rcd., Engr. 12th & 13th Dist., 235, July 1868-May 1869.

Construction commenced in late January 1870 when a force of men opened a road from the Drakes Bay landing west across the sandy, hilly bluff to the extremity of the point, about 500 feet above sea level. The next step was more difficult. The lighthouse site stood some 200 feet down a rocky cliff leading to the sea, making a tramway necessary for lowering the construction tools and materials safely down the slope. At the site a suitable flat space had to be blasted out of the rocks to set the foundation of the light tower. The work turned out to be dangerous and expensive.

While this arduous work progressed, another team of laborers hired by contractor Marston arrived in April 1870 to construct the keeper's dwelling. The dwelling site stood about 450 feet inland from the edge of the bluff where the tramway down to the lighthouse site began. Its inland location gave the house protection from the strong ocean winds which swept the Point almost constantly. The two-story frame structure with a cellar and brick floored kitchen was built "in most thorough and substantial manner" with materials "of the best quality," and was well painted inside and out with three coats of paint.

The grounds of the keeper's dwelling seemed to require more tasking labor than the construction of the house. In order to provide a garden space for the keepers on the sandy, windswept site, the contractor hauled in stone, likely from the Drakes Bay quarry, to build a 217-foot long retaining wall, ranging from four to thirteen feet high, behind the house and then filled in all the enclosed area with earth. On top of the wall for its entire length the workers then put up a wind fence which also extended north and south to protect the west face of the house. A wood house and other outbuildings were constructed within the back yard. Whitewashing followed for the outbuildings and wind fences. For the use of the keepers, two cisterns, each with a 5,000-gallon

capacity, were erected just to the northeast of the house. Finally, the necessary grading in front of the house required considerable labor.

With the construction of a four-foot high picket fence 1300 feet along the boundary line of the lighthouse station by the close of August 1870, Mr. Marston's contract had come to a close, and shortly thereafter the first keeper, Mr. Bull, and his wife, who served as assistant keeper, moved onto the lighthouse reservation.[39]

In July 1870 the engineer forwarded to the Lighthouse Board a contract made in April with a San Francisco machinist, Joseph Bien, the only man who Williamson could find in all of California capable of putting up a lantern and lens according to specifications. Having a monopoly on the work required by the Lighthouse Service, Bien asked and received high wages which irked Colonel Williamson, but Bien's satisfactory results could not be overlooked. Bien's contract specified that he build an iron tower like the one he had completed for Cape Mendocino's lighthouse, and that he place the tower on the site, and install the lens apparatus on the tower. For his work Bien was to be paid

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39. Regrettably, the letters sent to the Lighthouse Board from the district engineer during the first year after the site was purchased, from June 1869 to June 1870, were missing. NA, RG 26, LHB, Lttrs Rcd. from Engr, 12th and 13th Districts, June 1869-June 1870. Most of above construction information comes from two letters damaged by fire and, in cases, unreadable, found in NA, RG 26, LHB, Lttrs Rcd. from Engr. of 12th and 13th Dist. July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285. Although in both letters all identification of writer were obliterated, they undoubtedly came from Col. R. S. Williamson, the engineer, whose letter to Maj. George H. Eliot, Sec., LHB, on Oct. 20, 1870, in the same volume of letters, provided a small part of the above data.

according to the weight of the iron tower, receiving eighteen cents for each pound. Early in July Bien got his first installment, $8,000, to proceed with his work.

While Bien was constructing the tower, the lens apparatus arrived in San Francisco. The shipment, however, turned out to be incomplete and for several anxious weeks in July and August the engineer tried to locate the missing case of lens apparatus, as its loss would cause a serious delay in the completion of the light. The Pacific Steamship Company finally delivered the case in time for Mr. Bien to place the lantern on the tower without any interruption in the scheduled work.

Machinist Bien found it necessary to alter the tower on three occasions during its construction, the first time in response to directions given in April that the height from the watch-room floor to the lantern floor be increased to conform with the difference between the Mendocino and Point Reyes lenses. In late June, when Colonel Williamson was out of town, a letter from the Lighthouse Board arrived recommending further alterations to the tower. Taking the letter as orders, Bien proceeded to dismantle the completed tower and rebuild it to conform with the height of the Mendocino light, at considerable cost and labor. Finally, having inspected the lantern, Bien discovered deviations from the plans and specifications which required him in August to make changes in the attachment of the lantern to the tower. Extra work also had to be carried out to repair the damages to the lighting apparatus suffered during shipment from the East Coast. On September 15, 1870, the tower finally was ready to be shipped to Drakes Bay, where it was unloaded along with the lantern and its apparatus, and then hauled to the tramway on which an overseer and six men, specifically hired for the assignment, lowered the materials down to the site. The men then laid a concrete foundation and through it they bolted the tower's bed plates to the

solid rock below. By the close of November 1870 the lighthouse was completed, the work having been done in a substantial manner. Although engineer Williamson acknowledged that Bien was a good worker, he found him to be a "disagreeable man and as a contractor quiet [sic] objectionable." Even suspecting that Bien may have made work during the June alterations to the tower, Williamson concluded in a letter to the Lighthouse Board that Bien's long experience with West Coast lighthouses made him more valuable than any new man that the Board might send out to California and that he thus would pay Bien's bill for additional expenses at Point Reyes if the Board approved.[40]

In the notice to mariners made available in November 1870, the Lighthouse Service provided the basic data on the Point Reyes light and announced that on December 1, 1870, the light would begin operation. The first order fresnel lens revolved, giving a flashing white light every five seconds. The light stood 273 feet above mean level of the sea and illuminated a 360 degree arc which could be seen at a distance of twenty-three and a half miles at sea when looking from a ship's deck fifteen feet above the

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40. Co. R. S. Williamson to R. Adm. William Shubrick, July 8, Aug. ?, 4, 17, 1870; to Edridge and Irwin, Agents, Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company, July 1, 1870; to Maj. Geo. H. Elliot, Sec., L.H.B., Oct. 20, Dec. 7, 1870; Report of Operations, Nov. 4, 1870; Joseph Bien to R. S. Williamson, Aug. 10, 1870; J. F. Best, Lighthouse Clerk, 12th Dist., to R. Adm. Wm. R. Shubrick, Sept. 10, 1870; damaged letter, presumably Williamson to L.H.B., ca. Oct. 1, 1870, giving summary of construction work to date, NA, RG. 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. Rcd. Engrs. 12th & 13th Dist., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285. A San Francisco Chronicle of Sept. 25, 1887, ran an article on the Point Reyes lighthouse in which it explained that during construction in 1870, the workmen's tools reportedly blew off the cliff on several occasions, and "once the breeze lifted bodily a carpenter's kit and hurled it over the cliff." p. 8.

water. The iron tower measured twenty-three feet two and a half inches from the bottom to the focal plane and was painted white. The white, frame, two-story keeper's dwelling stood 215 feet higher, at the top of the steep slope and 750 feet inland. From the lighthouse, bearings could be fixed with the lighthouses at Point Bonita, twenty-seven and a half miles southeast; at South Farallon Island, seventeen and three quarters nautical miles south and east, and at Point Arena, sixty-seven miles northwest.[41]

(2) The Fog Signal

While the lighthouse construction was underway, plans began to be made for the Point Reyes fog signal. In late July the Board requested information from Williamson on steam fog signals on the West Coast and in his response of August 12, 1870, Williamson explained that the mariners agreed that the nearer to the water the signal could be built, the better, but that it should be at least at an elevation of fifty feet to prevent damage from pounding waves during storms. A steam fog signal for Point Reyes would cost a considerable sum as the nearest water supply stood more than two miles distant from the station. Anxious to get on with the work, Williamson requested permission in August to clear a way down to the proposed site of the fog signal, some 100 feet below the lighthouse, and to start cutting out a foundation for the building. He hoped to get this work, which required considerable blasting, finished before Mr. Bien began his work at the tower site. On September 2, however, the Lighthouse Board

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41. "Notice to Mariners, No. 115," Nov. 11, 1870 , NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. Rcd. from Engr., 12th & 13th Dist., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285. An 1880 map showed the lighthouse at an elevation of 301 feet. "Sketch of Point Reyes from tower to the Fog Signal" to accomp. report dated Nov. 30, 1880, FARC, San Bruno, RG 26, #5, Pt. Reyes. The most commonly accepted figure is 294 feet above sea level.

wired Williamson not to commence the fog signal construction until the spring,when the weather improved. That did not stop the Board's Secretary from writing to Williamson the following month with a "pointed suggestion" that he personally examine the site as soon as possible. "My dear fellow I can't," Williamson replied with obvious restraint. "The descent is so steep, so rugged, and so broken that it would be impossible for me to undertake it. A road or trail will have to be blasted out in order to slide down anything." Passing the responsibility back to Secretary Elliot, Williamson then proceeded to ask specific questions about the Board's plans for a signal, obviously seeking basic information he still needed in order to make arrangements for its construction.[42]

By December 1870 Williamson clearly had concluded that the Lighthouse Board was pursuing a mistaken course in choosing a steam fog signal for Point Reyes. Having joined the Coast Surveyors in the opinion that "this Point, above all others on the coast, should have a first class fog signal," Williamson expressed his concern over the sparsity of water at Point Reyes. In making a detailed study of the amount of fog in the Bay Area as a means to estimate how much of the year the signal would be in operation, Williamson visited the private aid to navigation at Point Lobos near the Cliff House, where the Pacific Mail Steamship Company had provided a fog trumpet sounded by compressed air produced by a coleric engine which burned coal and required no water. Obviously impressed with his findings, Williamson described the trumpet in careful detail, evidently hoping to offer the Board

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42. Williamson to Elliot, Aug. ?, Oct. 20, 1870; to Shubrick, Chairman, L.H.B., Aug. 12, 1870; J. F. Best to Shubrick, Sept. 10, 1870, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs rcd. from Engr., 12th & 13th Dist., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285.

an option for its choice of a steam fog whistle for Point Reyes. At the same time, he discussed the probable water needs at Point Reyes light station in case the Board retained its original plans. Based on figures which showed that a first class steam signal boiler required four cubic feet of water every hour of full operation, Williamson calculated that 3,480 cubic feet, or 28,000 gallons of water, would be needed in a year, allowing for at least forty days of uninterrupted fog. In conclusion Williamson frankly admitted that he knew little about fog signals other than the familiar fog bells set up at Point Bonita, Alcatraz, and other lighthouses around the district, and he wished to receive full instructions sent with the plans and specifications for Point Reyes' signal.[43]

By mid-January 1871 Williamson had appointed P. F. Marston as overseer of the fog signal construction. Admitting that he still had not inspected the site himself because his lungs and constitution were too weak for him to clamber up and down such steep and jagged rocks, Williamson was able to report that Marston had gone down by rope and had brought back the needed information on the signal's site. Two elevations appeared to offer a likely location for the signal, one at eighty-one feet above the sea, and the other at 103 feet above the water, the latter which was more than 100 feet below the site later selected. In their annual report for the fiscal year 1871 the Lighthouse Board described in unusual detail the five months of dangerous construction which culminated with a first class fog signal ready for operation.

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43. Williamson to Shubrick, Dec. 10 and 16, 1870, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. Rcd. fr. Engr., 12th & 13th Dist., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285.

> On February 1 the work of preparing a site for the Steam Fog-signal at this station was commenced. A large cistern was constructed, which, with a basin around it, will hold 100,000 gallons. A water-shed, ten thousand square feet in area, was made, from which water enough will be collected in a year to fill the cistern, even in a season in which the rain fall will be much below the average.
>
> The water from the cistern is conducted to the Fog-signal by means of a galvanized iron pipe, which is securely fastened to the sides of the cliff. A chute has been built from the site of the tower to the Fog-signal. The chute is constructed in the most substantial manner, and is for the purpose of conveying fuel to the Fog-signal. A winding roadway has been constructed from the cliff to the signal site. Much blasting was done before it was completed. The work of preparing the site for the signal-house, coal shed, &c, was very slow, difficult and dangerous. Huge masses of rocks overhanging the signal site had to be blasted off, so that at the rear of the signal is a vertical wall of rock, one hundred feet high. An iron railing was put around the edges of the plot prepared for the signal, to keep any one from rolling off into the sea, as on all seaward sides of the signal the cliff is very steep and jagged.
>
> On June 12 the work of taking the boiler and signal apparatus from the top of the cliff down to its position was successfully accomplished. The boiler was put in position the apparatus fitted to it, and on June 14 the signal was tried and found to work satisfactorily. On June 30 the work of housing the boiler and signal apparatus was completed.

And in conclusion, the Board reported, "The signal is now ready for operation, and can be started as soon as the rains of next winter shall have sufficiently filled the cistern with water," a conclusion which referred to a problem that was to plague the station for more than a century to follow.[44]

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44. Annual Report, 1871, in NA, RG 26, Clip file, Point Reyes; Williamson to Shubrick, Jan. 18, 1871, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs.

(3) A Struggle to Operate an Efficient Station, 1870-1890

Even with the 10,000 square foot water shed and the 100,000 gallon reservoir to store water for the fog signal boilers, a water shortage at Point Reyes in the summer of 1873 caused the signal to be shut down. The summer before the fog whistle had not been in operation because on April 28, 1872, a fire, supposedly caused by spontaneous combustion, had destroyed the signal buildings. With an appropriation of $10,000 approved June 10, 1872, a team of workers rebuilt the signal and coal chute that summer, while machinists came to repair the machinery. Falling rocks from the cliff face above the signal had threatened the safety of the men and buildings, so that considerable blasting and drilling were needed to remove dangerous shelving rocks and boulders. The cistern leaked and the water shed showed cracks, supposedly because of an earthquake that year. So much work on the fog signal in 1872, and still it could not be put into operation until after the rains began to supplement the station's water supply. And when Keeper Bull finally received instructions to fire up the boilers, he could not without an assistant keeper. On January 16, 1873, he sent E. W. Bull, presumably his spouse, to San Francisco to explain his circumstances and on the 29th George Seaver arrived as assistant keeper. On January 30, Bull started the signal but the twelve-inch steam whistle could not be heard three rods, or sixteen and a half yards. The following day the two men descended the scores of steps down to the fog signal and finally put the whistle into working order. The months of delay

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44. Rcd. fr. Engr., 12th & 13th Dist., July 1870-Jan. 1871, Vol. 285. This letter also explained that the roadway down the slope was six feet wide which on one side had a nearly vertical rock wall and on the other a "dizzy descent to the ocean." Ranger Diane Skiles at Point Reyes recently attempted to walk the trace of the path down to the fog signal and can attest to the breathtaking drop down to the ocean.

in sounding the signal in 1872 set a precedent of unreliable service for the fog signal among navigators plying the coast past Point Reyes' foggy shores.[45]

In July 1873 the water shortage at Point Reyes again shut down the signal, this time for six months. Although the rains during the winter of 1874 exceeded their average, the Board requested a $3,000 appropriation to increase the watershed to 15,000 square feet and cover it with asphaltum, which would require fewer repairs and thus would secure a greater water supply for the cistern. On March 3, 1875, Congress authorized the $3,000 and at the completion of the work, the watershed supposedly furnished the station with sufficient water storage for the fog signal after only eight inches of rainfall, the average rainfall being three times that amount. Even back in operation, however, which it was beginning January 20, 1874, the fog signal failed to prevent the wreck of the English ship, Warrior Queen, which went ashore on north beach July 19, 1874.[46]

Physical adjustments had to be made as well at the dwelling during the 1870s. Boards were laid around the house to keep down the blowing, shifting sands and extensive

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45. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Point Reyes; Point Reyes Lighthouse Journal, July 19, 1872-December 31, 1896, loaned to Point Reyes National Seashore by Charles Zetterquist of Inverness, Cal., son of Gustav Zetterquist, who served as a keeper at Point Reyes from 1930 to 1951. Hereinafter cited, Pt. Reyes L.H. Jour., Pt. Reyes N.S. My thanks to Diane Skiles, historian at the park, for arranging to have a xerox copy sent to me in Denver. Jack Mason, ed., "Lighthouse Souvenir," Point Reyes Historian 2, No. 1 (Summer 1977), p. 132; U.S. Department of the Treasury, Annual Report of the Light-House Board 1874 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875) p. 87.

46. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Pt. Reyes L.H. Jour., Pt. Reyes N.S.

repairs had to be made on the retaining wall and wind fences on the windward sides of the house. In 1878 the roof of the house had to be replaced after a severe gale blew it away.

The major defect of the Point Reyes station, however, continued to be its first class fog signal. Even with the improvements to the watershed in the summer of 1875, the cistern ran out that fall, requiring the keeper to contract to have water hauled to the station. From September 20 to October 27 the contractor brought 20,170 gallons to keep a suitable supply available for the fog signal. In 1877 more dangerous overhanging rocks had to be blasted away from the vicinity of the signal and the face of the vertical rock cemented. To improve the signal a new boiler and engine were installed in 1877, requiring alterations to the building. in October 1880 the Light House Board authorized the substitution of duplicate first class sirens in place of the fog whistle and in January 1881, the construction of an additional 40,000 gallon water tank to prevent further need to haul water to the station during the dry season. The fog sirens, Lt. Col. R. S. Williamson, inspector of the district, explained to the Board, would give Point Reyes a badly needed improvement in its signal service:

> Great complaint has been made, and is now made of the inefficiency of the signal at this place, which at times cannot be heard a mile distant; this, too, when the signal is being properly run with a pressure of from 65 to 70 pounds. I have frequently investigated complaints made by masters of vessels of not hearing the signal when passing within a mile of it in thick weather; and I am convinced that the fault does not lie in the way the signal is run, but something in the signal itself or its locations.

And when recommending the change to double fog sirens at a cost of $12,000, the inspector added, "Point Reyes is one of the most

important points on the coast, and the needs of navigation require that its fog signal should be in efficiency second to none."[47]

All stops seemed to have been pulled in 1880 and 1881 to improve the Point Reyes lighthouse station. A small storehouse was constructed at the head of the incline for oil and other supplies, and another storehouse went up at the government landing on Drakes Bay. In April 1881 work began on the new fog signal house which was needed to shelter a new double-dome boiler made for the double sirens. One old boiler was heaved over the bluff after its valuable parts were removed, while the other boiler was moved to the new fog signal house and connected with the sirens which went into operation on June 1, 1881.

The station received in 1881 not only the authorized 40,000 gallon water tank but also about 9,000 square feet more of watershed. Repairs were made to the old watershed, as well as to the stairs from the fog signal to the top of the cliff, to the coal chute, coal bin, fences, roadway to the government landing at Drakes Bay, to the tower and illuminating apparatus to the electrical call-bells, and to the dwelling and outhouses.[48]

Despite the bad reputation the fog signal had earned during its first decade of operation, Point Reyes

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47. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Secretary, L.H.B., to Lt. Col. R. S. Williamson, Oct. 9, 1880 and Jan. 12, 1881, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. to Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., July 1880-May 1885; "Sketch of Point Reyes from tower to the Fog Signal," to accompany Report dated Nov. 30, 1880. FARC, San Bruno, RG 26, #5, Point Reyes; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887, p. 8; Pt. Reyes L. H. Jour., Pt. Reyes N.S.

48. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes.

represented "one of the most notable light-house stations on the Pacific Coast." In accordance with this evaluation, the Marin County history in 1880 provided a detailed description of the lighthouse and its operation which greatly supplemented the information provided by the notice to mariners of 1870.

> The station is Number 495, and the light is a first order Funk's Hydraulic Float. There are four circular wicks in the lamp, whose diameters are as follows: Three and one-half inches, two and one-half inches, one and three-fourths of an inch, and seven-eighths of an inch. The lamp consists of two chambers for oil, one above the light and one below. The oil is pumped from the lower into the upper, whence it passes through a chamber in which there is a regulating float, which governs the flow of oil to the lamp. The flow of oil is in excess of the amount consumed to the extent of one hundred and twenty drops each minute. The object of this is to prevent the charring of the wick. This overflow is conducted to the lower chamber, and pumped again into the upper. In this way there is no wastage. The upper chamber is pumped full of oil every two hours. This is what is known as a "flash light," i.e., the lenses revolve around the light in such a manner that the focus of each lens appears as a flash. There are twenty-four of these focal lenses, and the entire revolution is made in two minutes, thus causing the flashes to appear every five seconds. A very complete reflecting arrangement is constructed about the light, so that every ray is brought to the focal plane, and passes thence across the surging billows to warn the mariner of dangers, and to guide him safely into the quiet harbor. These reflectors consist of a series of large glass prisms, divided into segments, varying in length as they approach the apex of the cone. Of these prisms there are eight horizontal series above the lenses, and the same number below them. Then there are eighteen series on the concave surface above the light, and eight series on the concave surface below, making a total of forty-two series of reflecting prisms, and the height of the reflecting apparatus, including the lenses, is eight feet and ten inches, and it is five feet and six inches in diameter. Viewed from the outside, the outlines are very similar to a mamoth pineapple. The reflector is revolved by a clock-work arrangement, and requires weight of one hundred and seventy-five pounds to drive the machinery. There is a governor attached to the gearing for the purpose of regulating the motion and speed of the revolving reflector. This weight requires to

> be wound up every two hours and twenty minutes. The lenses are of the La Pute patent, and the gearing was made by Barbier & Fenestre, in Paris, in 1867. This light is on a sixteen-sided iron tower, and it is twenty-three feet from the base of the tower to the focal plane. It is two hundred and ninety-six feet above the sea level, and can be seen at sea a distance of twenty-four nautical miles. It illuminates an arc of two hundred and eighty-five degrees. The oil used is refined lard oil, and the yearly supply at this station is seven hundred and sixty gallons. The lamp will consume seventeen pints of oil, on an average, every ten hours.[49]

Having received so much attention in 1880 and 1881, the Point Reyes light station breezed through nearly five years without arousing controversy. Minor repairs to the station structures and the completion in June 1885 of two frame one-story keepers' cottages built across the roadway and directly to the south of the keeper's dwelling, at a cost of some $5700, made record in the Board's annual reports for these years, but otherwise, operations went on as usual. On August 20, 1885, the pot boiled over once again with the wreck of the English bark, Hoddingtonshire, on the beach north of the light. Accusations that the lighthouse, fog signal, and keepers at Point Reyes were to blame quickly found print in the San Francisco papers. In an obvious attempt to offer a balanced view of the incident, the San Francisco Daily Alta California of August 25, 1885 published not only the allocations set forth in a competitive newspaper but also the District Inspector's reply to them.

> The Charges that the machinery in Point Reyes lighthouse is old and useless; that a worn-out iron pulley had been replaced by a wooden one, that the siren does not keep its time and frequently fails to blow at all during foggy weather, and that the lighthouse employes put in much of their time as farm laborers.

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49. Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 304-305.

> Reply of Comdr. J. W. Philip, Lighthouse Inspector that the machinery in the lighthouse is in good order; that the engine is nearly new; that the "pulley" complained of is an iron drum, which he directed the keeper at the last inspection to cover with a layer of wood to make its circumference larger and give it additional power; that the siren when running, being automatic, must go as regularly as a clock, and that the land about the station is not suited to agriculture.

Even though the Alta's account also reported the surprise expressed by the ranchers near the lighthouse that the beacon and siren had not warned off the Haddingtonshire, the poor publicity in the San Francisco papers no doubt led to the feature article printed two years later in the San Francisco Chronicle. Emphasizing the history of shipwrecks on the Point Reyes coast, especially along the stretch from the lighthouse to Tomales Bay, the Chronicle explained that many vessels had gone ashore there in full sail, mistaking Tomales Bay in a dense fog for the Golden Gate. The English clipper Oxford in 1855, the clipper Sea Nymph in 1861, the Russian Man-of-war Norvick in 1863 or 1864, the Warrior Queen in 1874, the bark Erin Star in 1880, the steamer William Akmann in 1883, and the Haddingtonshire in 1885, all had wrecked on this stretch, as the coast mariners and marine insurance companies well knew. The apparent reason for so many disasters on Point Reyes, the Chronicle reporter continued, was that both fog sirens faced to the west, even though most ships went ashore to the north, on North Beach, where the fog settled "with peculiar density" and where the sound of the fog signal was partly muffled by the cliff on which the station stood.[50]

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50. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; in Sec., L.H.B., to A. H. Payson, Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs to Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., July 1880-May 1885; Chief Clerk, L.H.B., to Comdr. G. W. Coffin, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. to Inspector, 12th L.H. Dist., ? 1882-? 1885

Possibly responding to the criticisms of the Point Reyes fog signal arising after the wreck of the Haddingtonshire in 1885, the Lighthouse Board in December of that year ordered the District Inspector to experiment at Point Reyes with a Daboll trumpet run by a caloni engine, (such as the one set up on Point Lobos by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company), as a possible alternative to the steam siren and steam whistle at Point Reyes when the water supply ran out at the station. The secretary's letter revealed, although never officially mentioned in the Boards earlier reports or correspondence, that Point Reyes may have retained its fog whistle, perhaps to supplement its double fog siren. No further mention of the fog signal appeared in the correspondence until October 1889 when the Board authorized another major substitution for the fog signal: in place of the sirens, two twelve-inch whistles were to be installed at the station. For the change, the signal in 1889 received a new boiler, and in 1890 a larger coal and oil house was built in place of the old one. Finally, in September 1890, the two twelve-inch whistles went into operation.

Meanwhile, the station again required numerous repairs or improvements. Between 1887 and 1889 the keepers built a new barn, replaced seventy linear feet of the stairs and coal chute, extensively repaired the coal chute, renewed 130

(damaged binding); San Francisco Daily Alta California Aug. 25, 1885, p. 1, (3: this account also reported that the volunteer wreckers-"the entire population for many miles around"--had piled up salvageable cargo on the beach under the direction of Deputy Sheriff Abbott so that unauthorized persons could not carry the merchandize away. Aug. 20, 1885, Pt. Reyes L.H. Jour., Pt. Reyes N.S.; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887.

linear feet of the bulkhead which had been put up along the road between the cottages and the double dwelling, patched up the fences, and replaced the old lard lamps of the lighthouse with lamps which burned mineral oil. In addition, a work force at the station in 1889 built additional bulkhead to retain the road, replanked the yards around the dwellings, erected a new smoke stack, constructed a wire fence along the station's boundary line, and repaired the roadway, watershed, and dwellings. The station in 1890 stood in good order, a state of affairs not easily maintained in the face of the harsh natural forces which steadily wore away at the structures and their keepers at Point Reyes.[51]

(4) Fog Signal Problems Continue

Although the station remained in general good order throughout the close of the century, the water needed to keep the fog signal in operation again proved inadequate. In 1896 the supply was increased by the erection of a 35,000-gallon tank on the cliff face near the stairs to the lighthouse, and in 1900 by the construction of a 6,000 square-foot water shed on the hill southeast of the keepers' cottages, as well as a 25,000-gallon tank with connecting pipes. In 1900, also, the fog signal's boiler was retubed and repaired, putting the signal in good order. The following year the old watershed received repair, so that it, with the new watershed, together provided about 18,000 square feet of catchment area, enough to furnish an ample water supply in normal years of rainfall.

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51. NA, RG 16, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Sec., L.H.B., to Commdr. J. W. Philip, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., Dec. 9, 1885, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. to Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., 353, July 1885-June 1887; Sec., L.H.B., to Comdr. Nicoll Ludlow, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., Mar. 5 and Oct. 21, 1889, NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Lttrs. to Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., 396. July 1, 1887-June 30, 1889 and 447, July 1, 1889-Dec. 31, 1891; Sept. 1, 1886, Sept. 1, 4, 28, 1890, Pt. Reyes L.H. Jour., Pt. Reyes N.S.

Nothing was very normal about Point Reyes, however, and in 1903 the station's water supply again fell short, so that water had to be hauled to the station by local contractors, as it had often been in years past. In 1905 the fog signal was fitted to burn fuel oil as well as coal, an improvement of the period which cut operational expenses. But costs for the station rose sharply again in the following few years. The earthquake of April 18, 1906, put cracks in both cisterns which required considerable repair. In May 1907, still greater water storage capacity was added with the construction of a 42,000-gallon redwood tank, and in June 1907, the twenty-three year old fog signal boiler was replaced at a cost of $12000.[52]

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52. NA, RG 26, Clip file, Pt. Reyes; Sec., L.H.B, to Maj. Chas. E. L. B. Davis, Engr, 12th L.H. Dist., May 18, 1900, NA, RG 26, L. H. B., Register to Lttrs. to engr., 12th L. H. Dist., 728, Jan. 1, 1899-Dec. 31, 1900; Comdr. J. B. Milton, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., to James Anderson, keeper Point Reyes Light Station, Oct. 23, 1903, NA, RG 26, 12th L. H. Dist. Corres., Box 16, Point Reyes, 1899-1917; two letters mentioned the construction of a new watershed at Point Reyes in May 1906, but the annual reports for 1906 and 1907 make no mention of same, which suggested to the writer that the cement ordered for the rainshed went towards repairing the old rainsheds. Also, the map of the station for April 20, 1907, showed only two rainsheds. Maj. C. H. McKinstry, Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., to Principal Keeper, Pt. Reyes light-station, May 22, 1906, NA, RG 26, 12th L.H. Dist. Corres., Box 15, Point Reyes No. 73; Sec., L.H. B., to Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., NA, RG 26, L.H.B., Register to Lttres. to Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., 987, Jan. 1, 1906-Dec. 31, 1906; "Point Reyes Lighthouse Reservation . . ." corrected to April 20, 1907, 12th CG Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., May files. The annual report for 1907 mentioned the construction of a 40,000-gallon water tank but the map of Apr. 20, 1907, cited above showed a 42,000-gallon tank on the hillside and a letter of May 7, 1907, from the keeper at Point Reyes referred to the completion of the 45,000 gallon tank. James Anderson, keeper, to L.H. Engr., May 7, 1907, NA, RG 26, 12th Dist. Corres., Box 15, Point Reyes, No. 73, #2; Mckinstry to L.H.B., June 11, 1907, Na, RG 26, 12th Dist. Corres., Box 15, Point Reyes No. 73 #2; L.H.B. to Engr., 12th Dist., June 19, 1907, NA, RG 26, L.H.B. Reg. to Lttrs. to Engr., 12th Dist., 997, Jan. 1, 1907-Dec. 21, 1907.

Sometimes improvements to the fog signal seemed not to be related to shortages or maintenance problems. In 1910 one of the steam plants for the twelve inch whistles was replaced with a gas engine compressed air plant to operate a six-inch standard siren. The remodeling required the work of seven men to rebuild the fog signal building and install the machinery at a cost of around $6000. Construction also included the removal of the coal chute and the completion of a new concrete oil house near the tower, and a galvanized iron pump house, equipped with a four horsepower gas engine and pump near the rainshed. The pump and tank at the small rainshed were connected by pipe, presumably so that water could be available more readily from that more distant water source.

The new fog siren, however, failed to impress the coastal navigators who complained to Inspector Rhodes about its inefficiency. By 1914 the fog signal had gained a notorious reputation for its undependability, prompting Inspector Rhodes to write the Commissioner of Lighthouses recommending that a Type G Diaphone be substituted for the fog siren. At the same time Rhodes reported that Point Reyes held the record for the number of hours of fog per annum (2,070) in its district and that except for the Golden Gate, more traffic navigated by it than any other point in the district. "Marine interests are insistent that a more efficient signal be installed here at once." Rhodes continued, making his argument most persuasive.[53]

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53. Lt. Col. John Biddle, Engr., 12th L.H. Dist. to Comdr. W. G. Miller, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., Aug. 24, 1909; J. Wm. Casey, Sec., L.H.B. to Engr., 12th L.H. Dist., Oct. 6, 1909; Biddle to kpr., Pt. Reyes, May 12, 1910; Thomas Brown Kpr., Pt. Reyes to Comdr. W. G. Miller, Insp., 18th L.H. Dist., Dept. 1, 1910, NA, GR 25, 12th Dist. Corres. 1899-1917. Pt. Reyes L.H.; Inspector Rhodes, 18th L.H. Dist. to Commissioner of Lighthouses, May 26, Aug. 14, 1914; Telegraph, to Rhodes, Jan 9, 1915;

In the spring of 1915 Point Reyes received a Type G Diaphone run by thirty horsepower engines, (in place of the compressed air sirens and fifteen horsepower engines), after a careful study and purchase of this modern fog signal equipment had been completed in Toronto, Canada, where the machinery was manufactured by the Diaphone Signal Company. After nearly five months of operation, the new fog signal was acclaimed a success by mariners when the Lighthouse Service had polled for their opinion on its efficiency. At last Point Reyes had a fog signal which the navigators felt they could trust, one which continued in service for over twenty years.[54]

The diaphone worked so well, in fact, that in 1927 it was still considered the most efficient sound-producing type of fog signal. Although in the late 1920's the Point Reyes staff proposed changes to the signal, its basic efficiency was not at question. Rather, it was the distance of about 100 feet between the light tower and the fog signal which caused the keepers problems. During the frequent fogs two keepers, instead of one, had to be on duty to man the aids, one at each location. To remedy this hardship a new fog signal building was constructed in February 1929 adjacent to the light tower. The diaphone and three main air receivers, however, remained at the old site and were operated by remote control from the power house. Apparently this

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53. description of "Point Reyes Fog Signal Plant," April 5, 1915; NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273; U.S. Department of Commerce, Annual Report of the Commissioner of Lighthouses to the Secretary of Commerce for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1915. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 100.

54. Insp. Rhodes to Commr. of L.Hs., May 25, Sept. 29, 1915, NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-35, Series #273.

system did not prove efficient enough, for in 1934 a proposal was made and approved to build a frame building eighteen by twenty-four feet approximately twenty-one feet west of the tower and fifty-four feet south of the compressor or power house and to erect the diaphone on the outside of the building while the air receivers would be installed in a room in the building. According to one account the diaphone vibrated so heavily in this new location that it set off dangerous rock slides, so that the slope had to be stabilized with many tons of cement. The final recorded improvement to the fog signal came in 1938 when the station received electricity which powered the fog signal as well as the lighthouse and dwellings.[55]

(5) Modernizing the Lighthouse and Station

The lighthouse at Point Reyes, in contrast to the fog signal, operated beautifully over the years. Its improvements arose from advances in technology. In 1911 the oil wick light was replaced by an incandescent oil vapor light which increased the power of the light an estimated twenty-five to thirty percent. That year, too, an oil house was built for safely storing the light's fuel. In the years to come Point Reyes' light power was increased from 80,000 candles in 1924, to 160,000 in 1926, to 170,000 in 1954, to 1,350,000 in 1966, and all the while it retained its original first order lens manufactured in Paris in 1867 and its

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55. H. W. Rhodes, Supt., 18th Dist.; to Commr. of L.Hs., Oct. 8, 1926, Jan 31, 1927, Feb. 9, Mar. 12, 1929; Work Proposal, March 24, 1934; Bureau endorcement, March 22, 1934; Work Proposal, April 14, 1934, Oct. 5, 1938; Telegraph sending approval, Oct. 18, 1938; NA RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273, #273 E; E. Holden, "Little Histories of the Road, Point Reyes," Northwestern Pacific Headlight 98 (April 1927), p. 6; Hans Christian Adamson, Keepers of the Lights (New York: Greenberg Publisher, 1955), p. 228.

original signal of a white flash every five seconds. In 1939 the light was converted to electricity, obviating the need for oil storage and many hours of labor at the station. By 1949 the station acquired a radiobeacon to assist navigation. On June 12, 1975, after 105 years of continued service, the Point Reyes lighthouse was automated, and the grounds of the reservation were transferred to the National Park Service as part of Point Reyes National Seashore.

When transferred many of the lighthouse station structures built in the nineteenth century had already been removed or left to deteriorate. Gone were the old fog signal building, the coal chute down the slope to it, most of the water tanks, all the original dwellings with their planked walks, wind fences, and wooden bulkheads; gone were the wooden steps down to the lighthouse, as well as the barn, blacksmith shop, coal sheds, and other unidentified outbuildings. In 1960 modern duplex quarters, a carport and carpenter shop, concrete steps to the lighthouse bordered by an iron hand rail containing power wires, all were constructed at the station. But the original lighthouse tower and lantern remained, as did the rugged rocky, and windswept setting, to remind visitors of the long and important history which Point Reyes lighthouse still offered to the public.[56]

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56. "Description of Point Reyes Light Station, Cal." April 14, 1924; Information page on Point Reyes Light Station, no date c. 1966 , 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Aids to Navig. Br., Hist. files; Recommendation and approval to change illumination of lighthouse, Jan. 3 and 19, 1926, NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273; "Point Reyes Light Station," an information sheet provided by 12th C.G. Dist., no date c. 1954 , at Pt. Reyes N.S.; Adamson, p. 405; "Point Reyes Light Station April 1945 Revised June 1960," map, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.; Architectural Plans: "First Order Light, Point Reyes Cal." San Francisco April 24, 1907, Revised 9/15/38 to show wiring, FARC, San Bruno, RG 26, #5, Pt. Reyes.

c. The Army at Point Reyes Light Station, 1943-1952

In the midst of World War II, on May 7, 1943, the United States Navy, which took charge over the United States Coast Guard facilities during war, granted a permit to the Army to temporarily occupy part of Point Reyes light station. The Army drilled a well, installed a 6,000 gallon wooden water tank and pump, a barracks building, garage, recreation building, radio building, and power building on the eastern end of reservation. After the Army relinquished the permit and the property was transferred back to the Coast Guard in 1952, these structures were removed.[57]

d. Notes on the Keepers

Keepers came and went frequently at Point Reyes light station during the nineteenth century, reflecting the nearly constant personnel problems plaguing that lonely spot. In March 1876 tension flared between the principal keeper, William Wadsworth, and his second and third assistant keepers, who threatened him with violent language when he tried to put them to work on road repair. In 1875, however, Wadsworth had experienced his greatest trials with Third Assistant J. D. Parker, who threatened the safety of many navigators with his insubordination and neglectful duty. According to the keeper, Parker once shut down the fog signal reporting clear weather when the Point was socked in with fog. Several times Parker failed to start the fog signal for hours after the fog rolled in, or didn't show up for his watch, or was late in reporting to duty. On one occasion Parker blew the fog whistle with little steam, only sounding it on five to fifteen minute intervals, so that

57. Map, "Point Reyes Light Sta." Apr. 1945 Rev. June 1960, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.; Folder on Army Permit in Point Reyes L.H. files, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Real Property Br.

when a steamboat signaled, he was unable to respond, although the station had plenty of water to operate the whistles at full pressure. On another occasion, he tampered with the fog whistles' adjustments without authority, and on a consistent basis he refused to start his duty at the lighthouse one half hour before sundown, although instructed several times to do so by Keeper Wadsworth. Some days Parker would disappear from the station without explanation, and then return drunk, unable to go on watch. On Christmas eve, 1875, Parker attended a ball at a neighboring ranch, where he apparently burst into drunken song to entertain the guests, and to Keeper Wadsworth's disgust, vomited in front of the company.

Irresponsibility and drunkedness were not confined to the station's lowest ranked keepers, however, for in 1887 the Chronicle reported that the principal Keeper, who recently had been "happily deposed," had dipped into the alcohol supplied to clean the lamps when his own store of whisky ran out, and that he had often passed out along the roadside or had fallen into a dead drunk at the station for days at a time. Other similar complaints followed in the years to come.

Many keepers, consequently, were removed at Point Reyes for "neglect of duty." Others resigned, complaining that the work was too difficult. Still others chose to desert, while one second keeper was asked to resign because of a "mental derangement."

The station buildings suffered during these troubled times. When Inspector Casey arrived at the station on February 16, 1877, he "found it in anything but a creditable condition showing in many cases want of care and attention." On January 21, 1888, when John C. Ryan took over as Principal Keeper, he recorded in the journal, "in taking charge of this station I must say, that it is broken, filthy and almost a total

wreck from end to end of it, in the worst condition in every Particular of any station I ever saw, in fact, it is more like an old Saw Mill than a Light Station." Although Ryan for a year worked his keepers hard to whip the station into excellent condition, he, too, was dismissed from duty in February 1889.[58]

The conditions of service at Point Reyes had, undoubtedly, much to do with the record of poor morale at the station. By the twentieth century statistics finally became available showing Point Reyes as one of the highest fog areas on the West Coast. After 176 consecutive hours of fog in 1887 "the jaded attendants looked as if they had been on a protracted spree," for the two steam sirens had been blasting every seventy seconds, for five seconds, night and day. To the reporter, who only visited the fog signal for a brief time, the sound was "enough to drive any ordinary man mad," and even on the hardened nerves of the keepers, he figured that it must "exert a wearing effect."[59]

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58. Quotes from lighthouse journals: Aug. 12, 30, Sept. 5, 15, 17, Oct. 5, 15, 18, 19, 27, Nov. 4, 10, Dec. 8, 9, 24, 1875, Mar. 24, Nov. 1, 1876, Feb. 16, 1877, Nov. 15 and 21, 1887, Jan. 21, Apr. 4, Oct. 24, Dec. 19, 1888; Jan 18, Feb. 11, 13, Mar. 13, 1889, Apr. 14, 1890, Sept. 17, 1891, Point Reyes L.H. Jour., Pt. Reyes N.S. FARC, Suitland RG 26, Entry 80, Box 135, Point Reyes Light Station Journal, 1 Jan. 1897-31 Dec. 1912, entries for July 22, 1899 and Mar. 28, 1900. Thomas J. Brown, Keeper, to Maj. Charles E.L.B. Davis, Insp., 12th L.H. Dist., June 24, 1898, NA, RG 26, 12th L.H. Dist. Corres., Point Reyes, 1889-1917; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887, p. 8.

59. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887, p. 8. Mason, in Point Reyes, p. 117, cites the findings of Dr. Horace Byers who, in his book on wynoptic and aeronautic meteorology, identified Point Reyes as second only to Nantucket Island for dense fogs. H. W. Rhodes, Supt., 18th Dist. to Commr. of L.H.S, Aug. 23, 1926 NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273. This letter explained that Point Reyes had an average of 1500 hours of fog.

The Keepers until 1929 had to work double watches at night during foggy weather as the 100 feet difference in elevation between the signal and lighthouse made it impossible for one keeper to attend both aids at once. The two long flights of steps to the fog signal from the residential area covered some 300 feet of elevation, and required the keepers to climb from 780 to 965 steps--the number varied each account, and no wonder! Moreover, the descent from the light to the fog signal called for "nerve to pass over, even with the stairway for protection."[60]

Besides dense fogs, the keepers had to contend with frequent high winds and cold winters at Point Reyes. To protect the keepers from blowing off the cliff during violent gusts, an iron railing ran the length of the stairway down to the fog signal. Reportedly, the wind swept the point so furiously on occasion that keepers on route to or from the signals had to prostrate themselves against the guard rail so as not to be knocked off the cliff.

Maintaining the station, part of their regualr duty, became an endless task of repairing wind-worn or damaged structures. And then keepers with families had to be concerned that their wives or children not get too close to the dangerous cliff's edge and be blown over. The wind also played havoc with the sands surrounding the residences, and even with planking, concrete ground cover, and bulwarks to hold it in place, the sand still made its way through the double windows of the house.

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60. "A Visit to Point Reyes Light," Marin County Journal, Sept. 12, 1889, p. 3; The Journal reported 780 steps down to the fog signal but Munro-Fraser, Marin County (1880) p. 305, referred to 965.

Explaining in 1926 that Point Reyes had "the greatest annual air movement on the Pacific Coast," with winds that frequently attained eighty miles an hour during clear weather Inspector Rhodes pointed out the unpopularity of Point Reyes as a duty station, "No keepers ever volunteer to transfer to Point Reyes, and almost without exception the keepers on the station are the ones who entered the service there."[61]

Part of the reason for its unpopularity was the poor wages and the extreme isolation of Point Reyes Lighthouse over the years. Until the 1880s the station did not get rations provided, so that the keepers had to go twenty miles over a road of sand or dirt to buy provisions at Olema, the nearest town. Doctors, dentists, and other professionals were even farther away, not to mention the ten to twenty miles distance between the station and the nearest post office and schools during the nineteenth century. Even in 1926 Inspector Rhodes could attribute some of the undesireability of Point Reyes to its isolation, comparing the station to the Farallone Islands or St. George Reef. The combination of isolation and constant and arduous repair work due to high winds at Point Reyes made it difficult for the inspector to get keepers to accept appointment to the station and even greater trouble keeping them in service once they reported there. With these solid arguments

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61. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887, p. 8; Marin County Journal, Sept. 12, 1889, p. 3; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 306; work proposal form filled out by H. W. Rhodes, July 2, 1925; H. W. Rhodes to Commr. of L.H.S., Sug. 23, 1926, NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Sears #273; Adamson quoted the U.S. Weather Bureau's air movement records for Point Reyes in 1915: the station clocked 205,884 "air" miles, which equaled a steady 23.5 mile-an-hour wind around the clock! Keepers, p. 229.

behind him, Rhodes requested and received a salary hike in 1926 for the Point Reyes keepers.[62]

The countryside itself and the poor condition of the roads on Point Reyes contributed substantially to the isolation and hardship experienced by the keepers. In 1887 a San Francisco Chronicle reporter remarked on the change in his surroundings once beyond the ridge of hills separating Olema Valley from the peninsula. "Henceforth his way lies for fully fifteen miles, from ranch to ranch, through a dreary, but not uninteresting country--one might almost say waste, as it appears to consist mainly of sand and sage-brush." His finding "a sort of charm in its very loneliness and desolation" may have been a temporary sentiment, however, for the reporter found himself relieved when the driver finally pulled up in front of the keeper's residence. Two years later a Marin County Journal reporter made mention of a similar experience which obviously taxed his patience. Having crossed the mountain, he and his party soon encountered the sands of Point Reyes,

> Then the wheels of the carriage utter sounds that grate upon the nerves, and the horses soon indicate the labor necessary to cross these sandy spaces by slowing down to a hum-drum walk, and a spiritless movement.[63]

Just to keep the station roads passable the keepers had to work hard clearing the drifting sand and repairing bridges and the plank corduroy road. Not until the late 1920s were

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62. Rhodes to Commr. of L.H.S., Aug. 23, 1926, NA, RG26, L.H. Corr. 1911-35, Series # 273; Munro-Fraser, Ibid.; San Francisco Chronicles. Ibid.

63. San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887, p.; Marin County Journal, Sept. 12, 1889, p. 3.

any substantial improvements made--when the county upgraded the main Point Reyes road as far as Mendoza's or "B" ranch. Finally, in 1927, Congressman Clarence F. Lea visited the station and sympathized with the keepers' isolated conditions due to the difficult travel over the county roads. After Lea expressed his willingness to introduce legislation to improve the Point Reyes roads to Superintendent Rhodes, Rhodes wrote to the Commissioner

> At present the Lighthouse Service is under a heavy expense for hauling supplies between the landing at Drakes Bay and the station, the road being impassable during wet weather, and the westerly half of it being very difficult to negotiate at any time due to heavy drifting sand. The Service keeps the western portion of this road corduroyed at considerable expense in order that supplies may be hauled to the station.[64]

On December 5, 1927, Congressman Lea introduced H.R. 100 to authorize an appropriation for a road to Point Reyes station over a distance of only 3.3 miles of right-of-way. But funding did not come in the following year and the county had no available money to assist in the project until the summer of 1929, when the road down to the intersection with the Lighthouse Service's right of way from Drakes Bay to the station received a rock surface, drainage structures and ditches, and a widening to sixteen feet. Finally, the following summer, the Lighthouse Bureau earmarked $10,000 for the government right-of-way, but nearly another year passed before O. A. Lindberg of Stockton, California, in March 1931 won the contract to build a road of decomposed granite approximately eighteen feet wide and 2.5 miles long. At last, the keepers could reach the area schools, businesses, churches, and social gatherings with relative

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64. H. W. Rhodes to L.H. Commr., Aug. 23, 1926, Nov. 29, 1927, NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-35, Series #273.

ease, even though they still had to cover considerable distances to do so. Improvements had come slowly to the station, and even with them, the government could not control nature's imposing will which influenced so much of the history of Point Reyes lighthouse reservation during its more than a century of service.[65]

B. U.S. Life-Saving Service, 1878-1915; U.S. Coast Guard, 1915-present

Lighthouses and fog signals, however efficient, did not safeguard all ships from peril along the Pacific Coast. Frequent heavy fogs, high winds, strong currents, riptides, and heavy breakers along a coastline strewn with offshore rocks, reefs, and shoals, and with few sheltered harbors, made navigation dangerous even for the saltiest sea captains. Recognizing the need for experienced assistance to save lives and property at shipwrecks, Congress authorized on June 18, 1878, the establishment of the Life-Saving Service under the supervision of a general superintendent.

Prior to that date, the Revenue Cutter Service and the Lighthouse Service crews participated, along with private tugboat and pilot boat crews, in rescues of shipwrecked persons whenever possible. Also, like truckers today, ship captains came to the aid of their fellow mariners in danger by towing them to safety off rocks or beaches, and by taking shipwrecked survivors to port.

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65. G. R. Putnam, Commr. of L.H.S., to Secretary of Commerce, Dec. 29, 1927; Copy of H.R. 100 introduced by Mr. Lea Dec. 5, 1927; Commr. Putnam to Hon. Schuyler Merritt, House of Reps., Apr. 25, 1928; Telegram, Putnam to L.H. Supt., May 31, 1928; Work Proposal for road submitted by H. W. Rhodes, Feb. 11, 1931; how bid of O. A. Lindburg for construction of road, accepted Mar. 19, 1931, NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273, #273 A, and # 273 E.

The Life-Saving Service, however, had an important role to play in the developing network of aids to navigation for the United States. The stations, located near sites of frequent strandings and shipwrecks, provided important warning signals for ships coming dangerously close to shore in a fog or at night. The station crew took turns taking four-hour patrols of the beach, walking around four miles each direction from the station during a shift, watching and listening for ships in distress. The patrolman fired a red flare or coston signal from the beach if he wanted to warn off a ship dangerously close to shore. If a ship signaled for help, either the patrolman or the man at the station lookout notified the life-saving crew, who were experienced seamen and thoroughly trained in rescues. In a matter of minutes the crew could pull the surfboat and its carriage out of the boathouse to the water's edge. Launching the boat in the surf and getting to the ship, especially in high, stormy seas, presented the greatest obstacle to the rescue, and when not possible, the lifesaving crew shot off a lyle gun or small cannon with a hawser to be connected to the stranded ship's mast, if the vessel was within 600 feet from the shore. By means of the hawser and a whip line, both attached to the mast about two feet apart, the life-saving crew could send either a life car, which looked like a small boat and could hold up to six people, or a breeches buoy, which looked like an upside down top hat and held only two people, to the ship to bring the passengers and crew safely ashore. Women and children went first, followed by the crew, starting with the lowest rank and working up to the captain. Finally, if the ship had not broken up, efforts proceeded to salvage the cargo. Dry clothing for the survivors provided by the Blue Anchor Society, an organization formed in 1880 by the Women's National Association to aid shipwrecked persons, was often available at the station, as was hot food, first aid, and lodging. If sailors

received injuries during the disaster, they could get medical attention at the closest United States Marine Hospital.[66]

The Life-Saving Stations in the Twelfth District, which encompassed all or most of the U.S. Pacific Coast, were slow to be established even though the need for them was great. By 1889 only seven stations of 225 in the country were in operation on the West Coast. Of these seven, only one was in the San Francisco Bay Area--the Golden Gate Park Station, established in 1877. Still no stations were in operation between Point Bonita and Point Reyes, Although in 1886 authorization had been given for a station at Point Reyes after numerous dramatic wrecks on the beach north of the lighthouse had attested to the need for a life-saving service crew at that location. At about the same time, plans were made for a station at Fort Point. At the entrance to the Golden Gate, ships enroute to and from San Francisco had often foundered during dense fogs or stormy seas, especially on the shoals of the Potato Patch and the rocks northwest of Point Bonita, or on the ocean beach and rocky coast near Point Lobos and Fort Point. The southern shore had the Golden Gate and Fort Point stations in operation for nearly a decade before Congress authorized the establishment of Point Bonita Life-Saving Station on the north shore in 1898, and after that only one other station was established at the entrance to San Francisco harbor--the Southside Station, constructed in 1900-1 five miles south of the Cliff House, within the boundaries of the former Fort Funston military reservation. In 1917 Bolinas Bay also received a station--the only one between the

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66. Checklist of United States Documents 1789-1909 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), T24; U.S. Department of Treasury, Life Saving Service, Annual Report of the United States Life Saving Service, 1903, pp. 321-25; 1911, p. 111; hereinafter cited, Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S.

Golden Gate and Point Reyes--thirty years after an earlier Bolinas Bay station had burned down. Of these six stations, today only Fort Point remains in operation as a modern Coast Guard Station, and only Point Reyes, of the abandoned stations, still has structures standing to help interpret the valuable aid rendered by the crews of the Life-Saving Service--as of 1915, the Coast Guard--on the shores adjoining San Francisco harbor, the West Coast's largest port until the middle of the twentieth century.[67]

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67. Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S., 1889, pp. 11 and 460; James A. Gibbs, Jr., Shipwrecks of the Pacific Coast (Portland: Binfords and Mort, 1957), pp. 229, 233, 249; NA, RG 26, U.S.L.S.S., Tables of Wreck and Casualties Reports, compiled from Annual Reports, U.S.L.S.S., 1876-1914, on unnumbered microfilm. These tables show the frequent need for assistance for vessels passing through the Golden Gate. Table 66 in the Annual Reports, U.S.L.S.S., lists the places where ships stranded on the U.S. Coast. Dillon, Embarcadero, pp. 203, 206, 208; Olmsted, ed., Scenes of Wonder, pp. 58, 84; San Francisco Daily Alta California Mar. 9, 1868, p. 1; Stocking "Tennesee Cove," pp. 351-357; pilot fees for entrance to San Francisco Harbor in 1856 were so high that captains frequently chose to navigate without a pilot, sometimes leading to disasters. "State of California in 1856," p. 322; for information on wrecks on Point Reyes' north beach, see section on Point Reyes lighthouse. The frequency that passing ships rendered assistance to their fellow navigators in the San Francisco Bay Area was gleaned from the Journals or Logbooks of the Point Reyes and Point Bonita Life-Saving Stations at the FARC, Suitland, RG 26, Boxes 2517-2525 (Point Reyes) and 2509-2516 (Point Bonita). In 1915 the Revenue Cutter Service and Life-Saving Service were combined to form the U.S. Coast Guard. United States Coast Guard Bibliography (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950,) p. 1; Eugene B. Block, "Uncle Sam's Life-Savers at San Francisco "Overland Monthly 58, 2d Ser. (July-Dec. 1911), pp. 376-382. The Bolinas Bay station was first established in 1881 in response to shipwrecks on Duxbury Reef off the coast. The station in 1883 was considered by local opinion to be inefficient. When it was destroyed in 1887, the Life-Saving Service decided not to rebuild it. Probably World War I encouraged the reestablishment of the station, which continued in service until 1941, although it still had no boathouse or launchway and had to depend on local cooperation to operate in an emergency. Mason, Point Reyes, p. 119; Marin County Journal April 12, 1883; Lt. J. A. Smith, Signal Corps to Signal Division, Oct. 11, 1887, NA, RG 27, Weather Bureau, Signal

The Bay Area life-saving stations had many things in common during their first decades of service. Most of the crews turned out to be Scandinavian immigrants--Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians--who had learned about the sea from years as deep water sailors. Discipline at the stations commonly was very strict, requiring sober behavior (no liquor permitted at the stations) and clean, orderly habits. The four-hour beach patrols were arduous during high winds and cold weather. Weekly or biweekly drill practice launching the surfboat and operating the beach apparatus kept the crew skilled in their rescue abilities. Knowledge of the international signal code and in wig-wagging was tested regularly to assure that in an emergency these signals would be properly used. The crew and stations of the Twelfth District impressed the Service's Inspector in 1899 by their orderly appearance and good discipline, indicating the high level of morale and leadership maintained there.

By 1899 certain improvements in the rescue equipment had helped to make work safer for the life-saving crews, especially at the beach stations such as at Point Reyes and Golden Gate where dangerous surf conditions had been responsible for the death of several men during drill practice. In the late 1890s the Service introduced the 2000-pound, thirty-foot Dobbins lifeboat which not only weighed more than the earlier lifeboat models, making it more difficult to capsize in the breakers, but which also quickly righted and bailed itself after over-turning. Still, courage was required by

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Division, Register to Lttrs. Rcd., Jan. 1, 1887-Apr. 30, 1887, hereinafter cited RG 27, Sig. Div., Reg. to Lttrs. Rcd.; Inspection Report, Sept. 26, 1934, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 683; FARC, Suitland, RG 26, Bolinas Bay Logbooks, 1917-1941; J. W. Meryman, Supt. Construction, L.S.S., Pacific Coast, to Sumner J. Kimball, Gen. Supt., Nov. 2, 1888, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., No. 38685.

the men when launching these boats in the unpredictable and dangerous surf as clearly explained by Captain Nelson of the Golden Gate station, who carefully tested the nerve of his potential crew members:

> It is a common occurrence to be capsized. I have a method that never fails of testing the mettle of a man. As you know, when rowing the men have their backs to the front of the boat and cannot see what lies ahead of them. If a man turns his head when he hears a fussing of the water behind him, he is not the man for our work. By turning his head he takes five pounds of effort off his oar at the moment when every pound counts. I pay him off as soon as we reach the beach.

Continuing, Nelson explained, "when we capsize, our boat rights itself so quickly that not a man is dropped out. It is done so quickly that afterward a man couldn't explain how it happened. Once righted, the boat bails itself, and we proceed, none the worse for our ducking."[68]

In 1909 the Life-Saving Service began introducing power lifeboats to its stations. Those with launchways from the boathouse, such as at Point Bonita and Fort Point stations, received powerboats--usually thirty-six feet in length with bows at either end--early in the twentieth century. Without the speed and dependability of these power boats the station crews often were at a disadvantage, as evidenced at the Point Reyes station during the 1920s when efforts to uphold the Prohibition laws by apprehending

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68. "The Keepers of the Golden Gate," San Francisco Chronicle, May 17, 1908, p. 3; This article noted that in 1908 an average of 500 vessels arrived in San Francisco monthly. Photographs with captions of Point Reyes L.S.S. by Henry M. Claussen, a dairy rancher for many years on "E" Ranch. Point Reyes N.S., history files; Inspector, L.S.S., to General Superintendent, L.S.S., Nov. 29, 1899, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., #66017; Block, "Uncle Sam's Life-Savers," pp. 377-378, 390.

liquor runners landing their cargoes on the peninsula, especially at Tomales Bay, met with little success.

More powerful and efficient Coast Guard boats for the stations replaced their predecessors during the 1930s and 1950s, increasingly reducing the isolation and distance between the stations. Modern trucks, introduced in the 1920s, helped to speed up the process. Gradually the usefulness of the stations lessened, especially after helicopter service from Fort Point station replaced manpower for miles around the Bay Area. During the 1950s and 1960s all the stations except Fort Point phased out their operations, so closing an important legacy of what one writer in 1911 labled the life-savers, "a distinct class of men."[69]

During the early twentieth century not only the equipment at the stations began to change but so also did the type of crew. As in the Lighthouse Service, the wages and benefits of the profession were poor, making it increasingly difficult as the price of living rose to secure qualified men at the stations. In 1919, after the close of World War I, Capt. G. L. Carmine reported to his commandant of the Twelfth District that the keepers were having great difficulty getting crews, "owing, in a large degree to the higher scale of wages paid seamaen and boatmen generally for a

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69. Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S., 1909, p. 24; Adamson in Keepers, p. 229, notes that rum runners unloaded whisky cargoes from Canada for San Francisco and Los Angeles. G. B. Lofberg, Supt., 12th Dist., to Comdr., Southern Div., July 23, 1924, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., Box 1785, File 601, Point Reyes; Public Information Division release, U.S.C.G., January 1955; David Kissling, Officer-in-Charge, Bodega Bay C.G. Station, to Ralph Shanks, n.d., letter in history files, Pt. Reyes N.S.; Planning Board Report on Point Reyes Lifeboat Station, April 30, 1964, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Aids to Navig. Br., Pt. Reyes L.B. Sta. file ; Quote from Block, "Uncle Sam's LIfe-Savers," p. 376.

more acceptable class of work on shore." Although the Service did request for many years that Congress appropriate retirement funds for incapacitated life-saving crew members, by 1909 the reiteration had "worn the subject threadbare." Local recognition of the problem prompted San Francisco's Eugene Block to write a sympathetic article on the brave life savers in 1911, explaining that their salary stood at only sixty-five dollars a month plus rations, that they received only one day in nine for leave from the station, and that they badly needed a pension for disabled and aged members.

Nevertheless the crews of the Life-Saving and, (after 1914), Coast Guard Stations, maintained good morale, good discipline, orderly stations and a high proficiency in the skills of their work, according to the inspection reports of 1934. The preponderance of Scandinavian crew members had declined significantly by that year, but the reputation of bravery and ability as rescuers of lives and property had continued, and although the dangers faced by these servicemen have decreased substantially with the development of modern technology, the reputation still applies today.[70]

Although little remains of the nineteenth century stations in the Bay Area, except for the two original buildings of the Fort Point station, somewhat altered and moved from their original site, and only two examples of twentieth century stations survive, a brief summary of the history of the Golden Gate, Point Reyes, and Point Bonita stations follows to illustrate the individual problems and characteristics of each location.

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70. Capt. G. C. Carmine, U.S.C.G., to Commandant, 12th Naval Dist., Apr. 12-24, 1919, and Inspection Reports, 1934, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 683, 1911-1930, 1934; Block, "Uncle Sam's Life-Savers," pp. 378, 382-383; Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S., 1909, p. 25.

1. Golden Gate Life-Saving Station

Even before Congress gave final approval establishing the Life-Saving Service in 1878, the Secretary of the Treasury had received permission from the San Francisco Park Commissioners to occupy 100 square feet of land within the northwest corner of Golden Gate Park with the right of way to the beach on foot or with vehicles for a life-saving station. At the station's construction, the ocean beach area, including the seven-year-old Golden Gate Park (established 1870), stood mostly in sand looking like a sea of rolling white waves. As the popularity of the area's recreational facilities, especially at the nearby Cliff House, Sutro Heights, and Sutro Baths, grew during the 1880s the isolation of the life-saving station melted away, leaving in its stead hordes of Sunday picnicers, ocean swimmers, riders, fishermen, spectators, and tourists. The station drills became a popular attraction for the recreationists on the beach, and, on occasion, the crew would even go through their exercises outside the scheduled practices to illustrate for the crowds the rescue techniques of the service. With so many people at the beach, the patrolmen, as well as the watchman at the small, frame lookout on the crest of Point Lobos, had to keep a keen eye out for possible drownings or accidents and for the numerous attempted suicides in the rough waters along the beach and rocky shoreline. Frequently the Golden Gate crewmen had to apply their skill in resuscitation to revive individuals dragged from the pounding breakers.

Rescue work at the beach also included a certain amount of policing to protect potential victims from harm. Robberies, rapes, unruly crowds, and attempts to steal shipwrecked cargoes before salvaging called the crew from the station, sometimes to dangerous circumstances. On January 15, 1887, the schooner, Parallel, stranded on the rocks below the Cliff House, carrying a cargo of explosives. The captain and his seven crew abandoned ship during the night, fearing the powder would detonate, and

rowed to safety across the Golden Gate to Point Bonita Cove. Three surfmen from the life-saving station, not knowing the contents of the ship, took watch near the schooner to make sure no looting would take place during the night. All three were seriously injured when the Parallel blew up, sending pieces of the ship winging nearly a mile distance from the explosion.[71]

Men and property at sea also concerned the life-savers, especially during foggy weather or rough seas. Signaling ships to warn them of their position too close to shore turned out to be one of the life-savers' most important duties. Although most of their resuce work for endangered or wrecked ships occurred in the general vicinity of ocean beach, by 1891 the Golden Gate Station was participating in joint rescues with the Fort Point Station to the northeast, even though the Golden Gate Station crew had no means of overland transportation other than manpower, reflecting a typical problem experienced by many of the life-saving

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71. Minutes of the San Francisco Park Commissioners, Apr. 4, 1870-Jan. 22, 1884, pp. 157 and 159, Office of the Secretary of the Park Commissioners, McLaren Lodge, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, hereinafter cited, Min. of Park Commrs. Resolution passed at Board of Park Commrs., Oct. 19, 1877, NA, RG 26, Site File 131, Golden Gate L.S.S.; Block, "Uncle Sam's Life-Savers," pp. 380, 382; The Annual Reports, U.S.L.S.S., for 1898, pp. 173, 183, 191; 1899, p. 223; 1902, p. 178; 1901, p. 35, 1909, pp. 155, 185, 192, 205; 1913, p. 28; 1914, pp. 36 and 97; give ample testimony of the frequent rescues of the type mentioned above that were carried out by the Golden Gate L.S.S. crew. After 1914, assistance reports were filed by each station; for Golden Gate, see references to Station 324, NA, RG 26, CG, M-919, Roll 17, Assistance Reports, Index Cards, 12th District; Jan. 16, 1887 listing in NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Reg. of Lttrs. Ecd., Disasters to Shipping, Vol. 7, July 1, 1884-June 30, 1887; Gibbs, Shipwrecks, pp. 248-249; FARC, Suitland, RG 26, Entry 80, Lighthouse Station Journals, entry for Jan. 14, 1887, P. Bonita L.H. Jour., Feb. 6, 1872-June 29, 1894.

stations until draft horses and, later, trucks, were provided for most stations.[72]

On February 21, 1891, the Golden Gate and Fort Point Stations cooperated in one of the most outstanding examples of the brave and perservering rescue efforts made by the bay area surfmen and officers-in-charge. In a severe gale, the ship, Elizabeth, went to pieces on the coast off Rocky Point, some ten miles north of the Golden Gate Station and eleven miles from the Fort Point Station. Before she wrecked the Captain had hoisted distress signals seen by the Golden Gate lookout at Point Lobos who reported it by phone to his station. Captain Hollahan, realizing that his surfmen could not launch the lifeboat in such tremendous breakers on the beach, telephoned the Fort Point Station advising them to launch their lifeboat and proceed to the ship in danger. While receiving a tow across the Golden Gate from the tugboat, Alert, Keeper Henry of Fort Point Station was washed overboard in the heavy seas and lost. The lifeboat was then towed back to the station. Keeper Hollahan of the Golden Gate Station again telephoned Fort Point to report that he and his crew would go with the Fort Point crew, the handcart, and beach apparatus by tugboat to Sausalito and proceed from there overland to the scene of the wreck. Hollahan then arranged for a tug with the merchant's exchange and rushed off at ten p.m. with his six men on foot

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72. In 1919 Capt. G. C. Carmine reported, "The need for some means of hauling boats, beach apparatus gear and all necessary wrecking tackle, to positions of wrecks along the coast line, at distant points from the stations has long been a recognized necessity and some stations are provided with draft animals for the purpose, while others have none and are dependent upon hiring in the neighborhood when needed." Carmine to Commandant, 12th Naval Dist., Apr. 14-24, 1919, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 683, 1911-1930.

running nearly the entire way to the Fort Point station. Taking the equipment in hand, the two crews continued on foot another mile to the Presidio wharf where they met the tug. Arriving at Sausalito at 1:00 a.m. in a raging storm, Hollahan could not persuade either of the town's two livery stable owners to hire out their horses to haul the equipment over the mountain to the scene of the wreck. Seeing no alternative, the report continued,

> Keeper Hollahan secured the services of a guide, directed his men to harness themselves in the drag ropes of the cart, which with its load weighed nearly a ton and a half, and started for the scene of the disaster. The road led them over high hills and through deep ravines of adobe mud and soft slippery clay, but the faithful surfmen tugged on until 5 o/clock in the morning, when they reached a point where the roads forked about eight miles by road from Sausalito, where they halted, and the keeper, with three of his men and the guide, proceeded to make their way to the beach.

The four men found themselves at Tennessee Ranch around 5:30 in the morning and at a loss because the guide confessed he didn't know the country anymore.

The captain hired two men and two horses, proceeded to Tennesse Cove, and sent the riders north and south in search of the wreck. After hours of search in torrential rains and heavy gales up to seventy-five miles per hour, one of the surfmen at noon, February 22, found the broken up remains of the Elizabeth at Big Slide Ranch, about seven miles northwest of Point Bonita. Five crew members had made it ashore and were at a neighboring ranch. As Surfman Smith could find only one body on the rocks and since the ship was completely destroyed, the captain ordered his exhausted men back to Sausalito after they received a meal at Tennessee Cove ranch. At least on the return they didn't have to haul the equipment, as the captain was able to hire a team

of horses for that arduous task. The eighteen-hour effort had been valiantly made with no assistance whatsoever rendered the eleven survivors of the wreck. (Twenty-nine had perished.) Nevertheless, the surfmen wasted no time in returning to their stations, arriving at about six o'clock, "sore and heartsick, though not discouraged."[73]

One of the important features of the Golden Gate station's operations was the Point Lobos lookout tower, the concrete foundations of the last of which towers remains on the hillside today. From around 1898 to 1924 a small frame tower, equipped with a telephone to the station, served as the lookout at a location high on the hill immediately in front of the right flank of Fort Miley's Battery Chester. In 1922 the Commandant of the Twelfth District explained the need for a new location tower on the hillside. The lookout's high elevation of about 300 feet and its great distance from the shore made it impossible for the man on watch to work efficiently. The fog often shut off the view to Land's End and when an accident seemed to occur the lookout had to run down the slope to the shore to find out what the problem was, then, if assistance was needed, he had to run back up to the lookout to telephone the station, thus losing valuable time. Late in 1924, after two years of haggling over details with the Board of Park Commissioners' chairman, John McLaren, an eccentric local hero in his eighties at the time, the Coast Guard constructed a small square concrete lookout just below the roadbed of the railroad around Point Lobos.[74]

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73. Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S., 1891, pp. 69-76.

74. Geo. H. Varney, Supt., 12th Dist. to Maj. F. D. Lamoreux, Commander, Fort Miley, Nov. 30, 1910; W. E. Reynolds, Commandant to Chairman, S.F. Park Commrs., Aut. 24, 1922; Robert C. Padley, Commanding, Hdqtrs., Fort Miley, to Supt. Coast Guard, S.F. Dist., Aug. 4, 1924; Supt., 12th Dist. to

The Coast Guard had yet twenty-five more years in service at the Golden Gate station, in which time several dramatic wrecks occurred near Point Lobos, despite the new lookout and the strong electric spotlight installed at the lookout in 1934. Nature's willful character continued to have its way on such occasions, illustrating that modern technology could not tame or control her, but only react as efficiently as possible to avoid her dangerous temper.[75]

Commandant, June 14, 1924, NA, RG 26, CG, Site File, Golden Gate L.S.S. The last letter from the Supt., 12th Dist., mentioned that McLaren had side-stepped many efforts to receive permission to relocate the lookout on city park property. McLaren, he noted, was "A politician of considerable power in this community," so that it had been necessary "to deal with him in a flattering and coaxing manner." The Board of Park Commissioners approved the Coast Guard's request on May 24, 1924. Min. of Bd. of Park Commrs., 1924, p. 1.

75. At least four ships wrecked at or near Point Lobos between 1925 and 1951, when the station was discontinued: the freighter Coos Bay in 1927; the oil tanker, Frank H. Buck, in 1937; the S.S. Ohioan in October 1936; and the Navy hospital ship, Benevolence, on August 24, 1950. Gibbs, Shipwrecks, p. 252 and photos, chapt. 10; photos at Cliff House Gift Shop, S.F.; Inspection Reports, Golden Gate L.S.S., NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 683, 1934. A news article of Oct. 10, 1951, reported that the Golden Gate station, a San Francisco landmark since 1877, was to close on November 1 because the men were needed elsewhere and that they then were not primarily carrying out Coast Guard duties. Photos, S.F. Dist., Ocean Beach, S.F.P.L., S.F. Hist. Room. For the Angelo Petri, a wine tanker in trouble off Ocean Beach in February 1960, the Coast Guard sent a helicopter for assistance. Early West Coast Lighthouses Eight Drawings and Paintings By Major Hartman Bache 1855-1859 (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1964), n.p.

2. Point Reyes Life-Saving Station

Finally authorized in 1886, after some six wrecks in two decades on north beach, three on the headlands, and five in Drakes Bay, had pointedly signaled the need for marine assistance at Point Reyes, the life-saving station at Point Reyes slowly became a reality. Not until January 1888, however, did the Life-Saving Service acquire the three and one-half acre site on north beach because the landowner, Charles Webb Howard, had "played fast and loose" with the purchasing agent, making it possible for him to secure the deed only "after a great deal of trouble and vexatious delays." The site stood some three miles north of the lighthouse on sand dunes and beach, giving a view of ships off the beach and headlands.[76]

Another year passed before the plans and specifications were received by the construction superintendent on the Pacific Coast and proposals advertised. The following month, in February 1889, J. E. Hannah and Company's bid of $8,195 to construct the station was accepted. But construction could not proceed as scheduled because Charles Howard refused permission to the contractor to haul the construction materials across his land, insisting that his ranch tenants first be permitted the use of the telegraph or telephone line which was to be built by the Life-Saving Service to the station. The problem got ironed out the following month and construction of the buildings and a six-foot, redwood, paling fence, 200 feet by 250 feet, to enclose the station and

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76. Lt. C. H. McLellan, Asst. Insp; 4th Dist., to Gen. Supt. Kimball, Jan. 19 and 21, 1888, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Site File 131, Pt. Reyes; Mason, Point Reyes, pp. 175-6; Robert Becker, "Supplemental History Report," on history of Pt. Reyes L.S.S., in Pt. Reyes file, DSC; Becker, "Point Reyes," p. 47; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 25, 1887, p. 8; San Francisco Morning Call, Aug. 22, 1885, p. 1.

protect it from the cattle and ocean winds, was completed by late August 1889. Having inspected the dwelling, boat house, and outbuildings, the Superintendent of the Twelfth District was much pleased with the appearance of the materials and workmanship throughout." The contract had run only a few days over the deadline, despite a delay in getting the detailed plans of the buildings, a three-week period of heavy fogs and bad weather in July, and the twenty-mile distance to the nearest post office.[77]

For seven months the station stood vacant with a single caretaker to watch over it. Finally, in April 1890, the first keeper arrived, and spent nearly three months cleaning, shoveling sand, planting a small garden. unpacking furniture, and keeping watch for ships too close to shore or in distress. Seven crewmen arrived on June 27 and four days later three left, refusing to sign the articles of agreement and claiming that the beach and surf were too rough. Three more men arrived on July 8, 1890 and signed the articles, putting the station at last in full operation.[78]

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77. T. J. Blakeney, Supt., 12th L.S.S. Dist., to P. I. Kimball, Gen. Supt., L.S.S., Mar. 4, 1889; Chas. W. Howard to Major Blakeney, Mar. 5, 1889, NA, RG 26, L.S., Site File 131, Pt. Reyes; J. W. Meryman, Supt. Constr., Pacific Coast, to Sumner J. Kimball, Nov. 2, 1888; Adv., Jan. 2, 1889, for sealed proposals, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., No. 38685; list of proposals and Treas. Dept. approval, Feb. 16, 1889; Blakeney to Kimball, Apr. 17, 1889; Hannah & Co. to Blakeney, Ap. 27, 1889; Henry Phillips, Asst. to Supt. of Constr., to Supt. of Constr., L.S.S., Pacific Coast, Aug. 24, 1889; Capt. J. W. White, Supt., 12th L.S.S. Dist., to Meryman, Aug. 27, 1889; Hannah & Co. to Kimball, Aug. 28, 1889, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., #39325.

78. Blakeney, to Kimball, Sept. 28, 1889, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., #39325; entries for Apr. 5, June 27, July 1 and 8, 1890, Pt. Reyes L.S.S. Logbook, FARC, Suitland, RG 26, L.S.S. Logbooks, S.F. Dist., Box 2517, Pt. Reyes.

The first five years on the beach site proved to be dramatic ones for the Point Reyes life-saving crew. On October 24, 1890, a schooner needed assistance about five miles north of the station and about half a mile from shore, For three solid hours the crew struggled to launch the surfboat through the heavy breakers, but to no avail. In the process one surfman leaped from the boat and deserted the station, possibly saving his own life, for only two months later the surfboat capsized during practice, killing two of the crew. Morale must have dropped after the tragedy, for two weeks later the number one surfman had to be discharged from service for smuggling a case of whisky into the station and getting stone drunk. On top of that, one of the crew fell sick and died in March 1891 without receiving medical attention. Three men deserted the station only months later. A year passed with only one dismissal for neglect of duty, and then a second accident while in drill practice in the surfboat killed yet another surfman, George Larson. About one year later permission was received to build a boathouse on Drake's Bay, where the crew would not have to risk their lives each weekly practice in the treacherous surf. The Drakes Bay boathouse, as well as a keeper's kitchen on the dwelling, and a lookout tower on the bluff some 500 yards north of the station, all were completed in the summer and fall of 1894, no doubt to the satisfaction of all members at the station. The following spring one other modernization helped to ease the duties of the crew when a telephone line between the lighthouse and life-saving station was completed. The weather bureau office at the lighthouse had built a telegraph line to San Francisco and with it they could make fast reporting of shipwrecks or strandings to the city's tugboat companies which sent one of their boats out to tow the disabled vessels to port or take on board survivors of wrecks. Now the life-saving station crew no longer had to walk the three

miles to the lighthouse to pass on the request for assistance, leaving more men available for rescue efforts.[79]

The Point Reyes station crew not only worked closely with the Lighthouse and Weather Bureau employees but also with the neighboring ranchers who hauled needed items to the station, warned the life-savers of ships in distress, and salvaged shipwrecked cargoes. The Point Reyes life-savers experienced similar frustrations as the Golden Gate station crew when attempting rescues, such as on the night of August 11, 1898, when a rancher notified the crew that the schooner, Reliance anchored about six miles north of the station, stood in danger of going on the beach. Because of the distance to the vessel, the station hired a team of horses from a nearby rancher, and hurried up the beach with the beach cart, after burning several coston lights to signal the schooner that help was on the way. In the meanwhile, the Reliance's crew had left the ship by one of the ship's boats, and had rowed past the life-savers. So dark was the night that the surf men couldn't see the boat or the Reliance until dawn broke. Just when they were abreast the ship on the beach, the schooner, Barbara Hernster, came alongside the ship carrying the Reliance crew, having agreed to give the schooner a tow. The life-saving crew then rushed back to the station and on another mile or so to the Drakes Bay boat house, rowed rapidly around the point, and

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79. Entries for Oct. 24, Dec. 12, and 31, 1890; Mar. 2, May 26, 1891; feb. 23, 1892; Mar. 1, 1893; June 11, 23, Nov. 6, and 15, 1894; May 11, 1895, Pt. Reyes L.S.S. Logbook, FARC, Suitland, RG 26, L.S.S. Logbooks S.F. Dist., Box 2517, Pt. Reyes; C. W. Howard granted the L.S.S. twenty square feet for the lookout on May 15, 1894, and a piece of land twenty-two feet by sixty feet in the gulch extending from the "B" ranch buildings for the boathouse site on July 11, 1894. NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Site File 131, Pt. Reyes and, 12th C.G. Dist., San Francisco, Real Property Br., Pt. Reyes L.B. Sta., Title and Juris. file.

headed for the ships, in order to help run a line between them. En route they learned the Reliance had been towed off and had continued on her voyage. The crew had spent a vigorous night trying to be helpful but had accomplished nothing, all the while carrying out their responsibility faithfully.

Another similar incident occurred on May 20, 1910, when the schooner, Charles R. Wilson, stranded six miles south of the station. Learning of the danger by telephone, the crew crossed the peninsula and launched the lifeboat. After rowing some four miles they passed one of the ship's boats with four men in it. When the crew had almost reached their destination, the Charles R. Wilson was hauled afloat by a passing steamer. Turning back, the crew at least were able to assist the four men in the small boat by taking them into the lifeboat and then to the station for the night.

While the available records give no indication what service the life-savers performed at the collision of the schooner John D. Spreckels with the British freighter, Statesman, in a fog off Point Reyes in March 1913, it seems possible that the crew may have had to assume a backseat to the more powerful tugs and ships which usually arrived at the scene of a disaster, but, nevertheless, their rapid response to trouble always provided a dependable and skilled crew of men who frequently went to great extremes to rescue survivors of a wreck or to assist citizens on land or sea who were in need of help. What's more, many a sea captain of the day would have testified to the invaluable help rendered by the Point Reyes surfman when they warned off ships that had sailed too close to the beach.[80]

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80. Numerous references to ranchers' assistance appear in the Point Reyes Logbook 1890-1897, FRC, RG 26, L.S.S., S.F. Dist., Pt. Reyes; NA, Micro. 919, Roll 18, C.G. Assistance Rpts, Dist. 12, Pt. Reyes; Annual Reports, U.S.L.S.S., 1899, p. 79, 1891,

The problems raised by having the station buildings on the ocean beach and the main boathouse on the bay finally led to corrective measures. After making a thorough inventory of the station buildings in 1910 and a survey of a new site in 1912, the Service acquired from Charles Howard's heirs in 1913 three small parcels of land, one for a dwelling, another for the boathouse, and a third for a lookout, on Drake's Bay. The new life-saving station site stood barren, however, for another thirteen years, as World War I and unexplained further complications delayed construction, even though efforts were made within the Coast Guard to get the station established shortly after peace was declared. During the early 1920s the U.S. Navy built a radio compass station just north of the life-saving station, on the ocean beach, which undoubtedly must have assisted the surfmen to be on the watch for nearby ships. The radio compass station crew may even have shared the Coast Guard's lookout, for a map of 1923 shows a small building beside the "old lookout" with a lookout on the sea side and a radio station in a room behind. Very likely the structure still standing on the hill east of the Davis residence, the former Naval Compass Station, is the one depicted on this 1923 map.[81]

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pp. 89, 91, 93, 97; 1910, p. 105; Jim Gibbs, West Coast Windjammers In Story and Pictures (Seattle: Superior Publishing Co., 1968), p. 48.

81. Christopher Hunt, keeper, Pt. Reyes L.S.S., to Andre Fourchy, Asst. to Supt. of Constr., L.S.S., S.F., Dec. 31, 1910; statement of Title to Point Reyes Lifeboat Station by Legal Officer K. N. Ayers, 12th C.G. Dist., Oct. 6, 1961, untitled map of Pt. Reyes L.S.S., March 1923; 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Real Property Br., Pt. Reyes L.B. Sta.; Sen. Capt. G. C. Carmine to Commandant, 12th Naval Dist., Apr. 14-24, 1919, NA, RG 26, C.G., 12th Dist., File 601, Pt. Reyes L.B. Sta.; CApt. J. H. Quinan, Asst. Insp., to Gen. Supt., L.S.S., Apr. 16, 1912, NA, RG 26, CG, Site File 131, Pt. Reyes.

When orders finally came in Jaunuary 1925 describing the forthcoming construction of the station, the old station had fallen into considerable disrepair, as maintenance had been put off for several years in expectation of the new station. The 1935 plans called for a station building to house the boats and crew with hot water heating, electric lights powered by a generator, and a gasoline-powered hoist to haul the boats up the launchway from the water. Also, a cottage was to go up for the Officer-in-Charge and visiting officials. A frame combination garage, workshop and storage building would also be erected on concrete foundations at the dwelling site, and at the station site a small outbuilding was to be constructed to store coal, oil, and other fuel items.

The contract with Fred J. Maurer and Son for the station's construction began at the close of July 1926, his bid of $42,162 being the lowest submitted. During construction the Point Reyes station finally received authorization for its first power life boat for which the first story of the station building had to be raised two feet and the height of the center boatroom door had to be heightened to eleven feet, six inches. On September 17, 1927, the crew received orders to move to the new station, although the construction of the garage, power house, and coal house had not yet been completed. The station building stood a few hundred feet east of the Lighthouse Service's Drakes Bay landing and right of way, in the lee of Point Reyes' eastern headlands. The dwelling site, containing 2.07 acres, stood about 1300 feet northwest of the station building, on a hillside overlooking the bay, and the lookout, within a plot of ground thirty feet by thirty feet, stood about three

eighths of a mile southeast of the station building, on the high ground of the headlands.[82]

Before its eventual disbandment and transfer to the National Park Service in 1969, the Point Reyes Coast Guard station underwent several changes and improvements. A well had been dug and connected with the electric pump in the power house in 1926, but the well gradually lost its supply of water so that by 1934 the station crew of about fifteen men could get only some forty gallons of water from it per day. Water then was hauled to the station from the Naval Radio Direction Finder Station about four and a half miles away, which proved to be an expensive and time-consuming exercise. The station consumed about 1,000 gallons per day and the truck could only carry about 400 gallons each load, thus requiring several trips. Besides, not enough water could be stored in the station cisterns to protect the buildings from fire. The critical water shortage problem continued for over a year, while efforts to locate a reliable source of uncontaminated water near the station were pursued fruitlessly. Finally, the decision was made to drill a well on the station premises.

In 1934 the station also received a second thirty-six foot power boat for which an additional launching carriage had to be constructed. In 1935 a pumphouse was added. By 1936 two cottages had been completed to supplement the two-story officer's

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82. Commandant to Supt. G. B. Lofberg, 12th Dist., Jan. 19, 1925; Commandant to Field Asst. Fourchy, May 19, 1925 and Nov. 1027' Act. Commandant to Fred J. Maurer & Son, Inc., Eureka, June 28 and July 28, 1926, NA, RG 26, C.G., 12th Dist., File 220, P.t Reyes; entries for Sept. 17, Oct. 4-6, 13 and 19, 1927, Pt. Reyes C.G. Logbook, FRC, RG 26, C.G. Logbooks, 12th Dist., Pt. Reyes; Holden, "Point Reyes," p. 6; Act. Commr. of Commerce to Hon. Clarence F. Lea, June 30, 1928, NA, RG 26, L.H. Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273, Pt. Reyes.

residence and the station building's quarters. In 1937 approval came to build a road from the dwelling site down the hill to the station building. The work was delayed briefly in 1938 when Joseph Mendoza, over whose land the road would pass, flatly refused to sign the agreement, stating he was "fed up" with signing papers for the government but giving the Twelfth District commander verbal permission to construct the road. The Works Progress Administrator insisted that the Commander must have a written statement to proceed with construction, so after pleading with Mr. Mendoza to consider the hardship for the station's employees without the road--all supplies had to be slid down the bank on the end of a rope to the station while those taken from the station had to be packed out on the crewmen's backs--Mendoza relented and the forty-foot roadway was built. The next year a lease was signed for a new lookout site for a tower, storm signal tower, and any other necessary structures. In 1941 the station received a steel paint locker and a small, frame pumphouse, and in 1962 a guyed, aluminum tower eighty-five feet high, all of which, with the station buildings dating from 1927, came under the administration of Point Reyes National Seashore in 1969, so closing nearly a century of life-saving service at Point Reyes.

Although details are few on the rescue efforts of this station at their Drakes Bay location, at least one researcher reported in 1936 that in the station's first ten years at its new site, the crew memebers had saved $3,000,000 worth of property and had given assistance to forty-five vessels--not a bad record, and, perhaps, a good indication of the continued service the station provided in its waning years.[83]

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83. Inspection reports, Jan. 23, Aug. 13-14, Sept. 9-12, 1934; Comdr., 12th Dist., to Insp. in Chief, Feb. 2, 1934; Insp. John

3. Point Bonita Life-Saving Station

Subsequent to the wreck of the ship, Elizabeth, off the coast northwest of Point Bonita in February 1891 (as described earlier under Golden Gate Life-Saving Station), and the later wreck of the scow, Jamison, both killing persons on board, the urgent need for a life-saving station on the north side of the Golden Gate, at or near Point Bonita, was widely recognized. On December 17, 1895, Congressman Barham introduced H.R. 1980 to provide for the station and the following April Senator Perkins followed suit with S.2980. The Life-Saving Service's General Superintendent, in the meanwhile, sought out local opinion concerning the best site for the station. Both the Superintendent and Inspector of the Twelfth District recommended a location about three quarters of a mile north of Point Bonita, in a cove locally known as Potato Cove, where the station would be sheltered from southerly storms by a rocky

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Boedeker, Western Area, to Insp. in Chief, Apr. 28, 1934; NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 683, Pt. Reyes L.B. Sta; Bliss Brown, "Point Reyes Coast Guard Station, History and Description," April 3, 1936, Works Progress Administration report, on file at Marin Co. Lib., San Rafael; Comdr., 12th Dist., to Commandant, July 23, 1938, NA, RG 26 C.G., Box 83, Site File 131, Pt. Reyes; Comdr., 12th Dist., to Commandant, Aug. 20, 1934, NA, RG 26, C.G., 12th Dist., Box 1785, file 601, Pt. Reyes; Statement of title, Oct. 6, 1961, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Real Property Br., Pt. Reyes L.B. Sta., Title & Juris.; The Real Property Branch of the 12th C.G. Dist. also has a Board of Survey for the station in February 1969 which lists all the buildings, right-of-ways, land parcels, and structures transferred to the N.P.S. See NA, Microcopy 919, Roll No. 18, Index cards of assistance reports, 12th Dist., Pt. Reyes, 1917-1935, for brief descriptions of several bold rescues made by the station crew on June 27-29, 1929, with the steamer Hartwood, which had been stranded in the fog and wrecked with steamer, Munlean; and on Mar. 14, 1934, with the Norwegian steamer, Tai Yin, stranded in a heavy fog five miles northwest of the station. For his, "Historical Survey, Point Reyes," Becker compiled a list of shipwrecks between Bodega Head and Duxbury Reef from 1595 to 1935. The list gives the name and type of ship wrecked, the date and place of the wreck, and the amount lost by the wreck. p. 47.

projection to the west, and from the sea's westerly swells by the Four Fathom Bank, also called the Potato Patch. In addition to a large boat for Potato Cove, the Inspector recommended that a surfboat, fitted with a davit, be furnished near the lighthouse wharf so that in case of emergency when the larger boat could not be safely launched, the surfboat could be lowered to the water and sent to the scene. A telephone connection with the stations on the south side would complete the essential features for a Point Bonita station.

The station emerged much as the recommendations suggested, except the main station was located near the lighthouse and military buildings alongside Bonita Cove, while a boathouse--"Boathouse B"--with a launchway was built on Potato Cove, near Rodeo Lagoon. The contract to construct the station went to Thomson Bridge Company on March 18, 1899, its bid of $10,493 being the lowest of thirteen submitted. The signed contract included boathouses A and B, a dwelling, cistern, outbuilding, and walks, to be completed within ninety days.[84]

Construction proceeded in the summer of 1899 with great difficulties. Driving the piles for boathouse B on Potato Cove proved to be slow and tedious work, while the rock at boathouse A had turned out to be refractory, making it, too, a slow and expensive operation. Progress on boathouse A was further delayed by the high and rough swells which made it impossible for the

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84. Gen. Supt. to Supt., 12th L.S. Dist., Dec. 30, 1895; H.R. 1980 and S. 2980; T.J. Blakeney, Supt., 12th Dist., to Gen. Supt., Jan. 8, 1896; Capt. W. C. Coulsin, Asst. Insp., 125h Dist., to Gen. Supt., Jan. 15, 1896, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Site File 131, Point Bonita; Schedule of Proposals for the construction of a life-saving station at Point Bonita, March 14, 1899, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Ecd., File No. 66017.

workers to cut the seats for the post footings except at low tide and then only when the water was very smooth. Even with a thirty-day extension, the company failed to meet the deadline, but, nevertheless, the Life-Saving Service's Pacific Coast Superintendent of Construction recommended that Thomson and Company not be held to blame or penalized because the contractor did not received orders to begin construction for one month after the contract was signed. Furthermore, bad weather, poor roads over the mountains used for delivery of materials to the site; and an unfortunate accident in which the contractor had his foot crushed, all had contributed to the brief but unavoidable delay in the station's completion. On September 8, 1899, the project supervisor, Charles M. Cornell, reported the station's completion in strict accordance with the plans and specifications, and to his entire satisfaction.

During construction a separate contract was signed with P. G. MacIntyre, the sub-contractor for the dwelling, to build a redwood picket fence four feet high around the station dwelling site to keep out the area's cattle and to protect the crew and keepers' families from falling over the bluff to the cove shore below.

Shortly before the completion of the station buildings, Assistant Inspector Munger wrote his supervisor warning that the specifications did not provide for all the needs of the station and that special equipment should be authorized on account of its location in Bonita Cove. His request that the Inspector make a personal inspection of the station suggested the extent of his concern, one which bore itself out during many years of problems for the life-saving station at Bonita Point.[85]

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85. Capt. Fred. M. Munger, Supt. Constr., Life-Saving Stations, Pacific Coast, to Gen. Supt., July 19 and Sept. 5, 1899; Munger to

The enduring problems at Point Bonita Life-Saving Station proved to be the rough seas and rocky slopes of Bonita Cove, both of which made the Service's boat launching requirements dangerous and unpredictable. Part of the problem also lay in the Service's slow response to recommendations from the District officers to make the station safer. On October 11, 1901, Captain Munger, the construction superintendent for the district, wrote his superior in New York City that nothing had been done to put boathouse A platform in a safe condition. Reminding him that it would be perilous for a crew member to go on the platform after dark, particularly if stormy, he renewed the request for repairs first made in his letter of November 2, 1899, nearly two years earlier. The following month, in November 1901, Superintendent Kimball authorized the construction of the platform, railing, and boathouse siding, and with its completion, the station apparently operated without any alterations for the following ten years.

The decision to build a boathouse and launchway just to the northeast of the Quarter Master's wharf in 1911, however, suggested that there had been problems with the location of boathouse "A" for launching rescues. To build the new boathouse the hillside behind the site and two pinnacle rocks near the water's edge had to be excavated and cut down to grade. Instead of being solid rock as supposed, the hillside turned out to be largely

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Capt. C. A. Abbey, Insp. and Supt. of Constr., L.S.S., N.Y.C., Aug. 28, 1899; Act. Gen. Supt. Horace L. Piper to Munger, Sept. 9, 1899 and to Thomas Thomson, Mar. 18, 1899; Thos. Thomson to Munger, July 6, 1899; Chas. M. Cornell, Asst. to Supts. of Const., to Supt. of Const., L.S.S., Pacific Coast, Sept. 8, 1899; Voucher of thos. Thomson, 1899; "Specifications and proposal for building a picket fence around the grounds at the Point Bonita Life-Saving Station;" and drawing, "Platform Boat Shed and Boat Hoisting Apparatus, Boathouse 'A'," Sept. 29, 1898; NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., File No. 66017.

decayed lime rock and clay which, when dry, was very hard, making it difficult to pick, while when wet or exposed to damp, foggy air, it turned soft and crumbly, making it prone to slide down on the boathouse site. Construction of the frame, sheathed and shingled boathouse, with its 190-foot, three-rail launchway track into the water, proceeded without further consideration of the potential threat of future landslides. On December 31, 1911, one of several large rock slides seriously damaged the new boathouse, requiring up to $600 to remove about 200 cubic yards of earth and to stabilize and protect the boathouse. When the boathouse finally was ready for service early in 1912, boathouses "A" and "B" were put out of commission the former being kept a few years longer for storage, while "B" was transfered in 1993 to the War Department for a schoolhouse at Fort Barry.

The new boathouse at Point Bonita evidently was built to accommodate one of the first power boats used by the Life-Saving Service on the West Coast, a boat which equipped the station crew to face the dangerous waters around Point Bonita. In February 1914 the station lifesavers took the Majestic out in a storm with seventy-five-mile-per-hour winds to rescue a fishing launch unable to reach the harbor's shelter. Having towed the boat and its on occupant about three and a half miles back to the station during a grueling four-and a-half hours, the keeper proclaimed, "Our power lifeboat Majestic was the only craft of any kind that dared face the San Francisco Bar after the storm started."[86]

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86. As quoted in, Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S., 1914, p. 105. Munger to Abbey, Oct. 11, 1901, General Superintendent Kimball to Supts. of Constr., L.S.S., Pacific Coast, Nov. 26, 1901, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Lttrs. Rcd., #66017; Andre Fourchy, Asst. to Supts. of Constr., to Gen. Supt., L.S.S., Jan. 18, 1912; "Specification for A Boathouse and Launchway to be constructed at Point Bonita, Cal.," n.d.; Dept. Adjutant to Supt., U.S.L.S.S., S.F., July 11, 1913; Board of Survey Report, June 18, 1913; NA, RG 26, L.S.S.,

The Point Bonita Life-Saving Station cooperated closely with the military on several occasions during these constructions years, usually to the station's benefit. In 1911, when the new boathouse was being constructed, the army put in a new road directly past the station's residence and then along the hill to the quarter master's wharf, a road which the life-saving crew undoubtedly made ready use of to carry supplies to the boathouse. In 1914 the station received permission to connect up with the electricity provided by the post's system. In 1915, according to the district assistant inspector, the station not only used the army wharf to tie up its old monomy surfboat but also to store its two power lifeboats and its Dobbins surfboat. While the latter stated that the station's boathouse actually was built on the army wharf, the existing maps showed the boathouse and launchway on the proposed site to the north of the wharf, and later letters confirmed its location beside the wharf. The assistant inspector described the boathouse in order to recommend the construction of a lean-to-for it to store the Dobbins, so that it could be launched quickly and efficiently when needed. This proposal was approved and the lean-to built in 1916.

As one problem was licked, however, another cropped up at the boathouse. In June 1916 the Coast Guard Superintendent for the Thirteenth District reported that the launchway tracks were spreading which might eventuate in a powerboat dropping off and causing injury to the boat and crew. In December 1916 heavy rains threatened to loosen the hillside behind the boathouse so that the superintendent wired Washington on the

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12th Dist., File 222, pt. Bonita; Map, :Proposed Site for LIfe Boat House, Point Bonita Situated North of Quarter Master's Wharf," Fourchy, 1911, 12th C.G. Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., Map files Pt. Bonita.

fourth that 35,000 cubic feet of rock and dirt should be hydrauliced away from the slide area. On December 6 District Superintendent Wellander wrote to explain that a recent slide had banked up material six or seven feet deep back of the boathouse and that the hydraulicing could best be accomplished at that time, when the hillside already was soaked and would thus require less water and expense.

Although specific reference to an approval for the hydraulicing did not appear in research, the boathouse seemed to weather the next thirteen years with few alterations. The approach to the boathouse, however, became the subject of concern in 1920 when the district commandant learned that the crew had to follow a narrow, precipitous path and steep steps without guard rails from the station residence on the hill top to the boathouse. Especially at night or in wet weather the approach along the cliff's edge became dangerous and slippery. To remedy the hazardous situation the commandant authorized the construction of a guard rail, the installation of sufficient electric lights along the path, and its grading and graveling.[87]

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87. Q.M.G. to Adjutant Gen., Oct. 5, 1914; J. M. Moore, Commandant, to Field Asst. Fourchy, Dec. 16, 1920; Supt., 13th Dist. to Gen. Supt., July 15, 1914, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 220, Pt. Bonita. The last letter noted that the two powerboats were called Majestic and Venturesome. Telegram, Dec. 4, 1916; District Superintendent Wellander to Capt. Commandant, Dec. 6, 1916, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 228, Pt. Bonita; Act. Sec. of War to Sec. of Treas., June 2, 1911, NA, RG 26, L.S.S., Site File 131, Pt. Bonita; "Plan for Road to Wharf and Widening of Approach Fort Barry, Cal." July 1911, NA, Cartographic Archives Division, RG 92, OQMG, Blueprint File; R. O. Crisp, Asst. Insp., to Capt. Comm., Aug. 25, 1915; Supt. 13th Dist., to Capt. Comm. Aug. 31, 1915, June 5, 7, 1916, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 222, Pt. Bonita.

Point Bonita Coast Guard Station never really solved the problems with their boathouse and launching facilities. In 1923 a group of ship owners, ship masters, and sea faring men petitioned the Coast Guard Commandant to improve the station. Their letter protested "against the present lamentable and crippled condition" of the station due to its "lack of proper boats, lack of launching facilities, and lack of other equipment" which made the station "utterly incapable of rendering any assistance to vessels in distress." Their protest indicated that the two powerboats had been taken from the station and that the launchway stood in disrepair and was unuseable. In addition, they recommended the construction of a jetty in the cove, which improvement they realized had already been planned for the station but had not been carried out because of the small appropriation available to complete the project.[88]

The following year the Commandant authorized the construction of a wharf and timber trestle to be erected by the Healy Tibbitts Construction for $3,420. Five years later the boathouse was completely demolished by a slide on April 2, 1929, and in December 1929 the bid of J. J. Grodemen and Company of Alameda was accepted to construct a new boathouse for $6,290. Landslides, however, continued to create problems for the station crew. In the summer and fall of 1930 approximately 14,582 cubic yards of dirt were removed from behind the new boathouse after another landslide, and in February 1931 still another slide required more digging and hauling away of the hillside behind the boathouse. In November 1931 the inspector's report found the launchways too

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88. The list of petitioners was long and impressive. The letter is dated March 23, 1923. NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 601, Pt. Bonita.

short so that the rail endings were exposed above water at low tide, making a boat launching dangerous. More to the point, the conditions at the station for launching and hauling the boats were considered the most difficult on the Pacific Coast because of the rough seas which for weeks at a time made it necessary to moor the lifeboat, or, during an onshore gale, to take it to Fort Barry for shelter. Although in 1934 the launchway received repairs and an extension, the basic problems remained, so that by 1939 two studies over a period of several years had been made to determine whether or not to relocate the boathouse and launchway and to construct a rock breakwater or jetty. In October 1939 the Acting Chief Engineer commented at some length on the proposal concluding that "it would be impossible to obtain ideal launching conditions at the site," even with the recommended changes and that the expense of building the jetty and moving the boathouse and launchway was not warranted, especially because the Fort Point Station could always take care of boat calls when launching at Point Bonita was impossible and could so so in the same amount of time, or only five to ten minutes more, than it would take the Bonita lifeboat to reach the scene. As late as 1946 the relocation of the boathouse and the construction of a jetty was still under consideration, apparently in part because of another slide behind the boathouse in November 1943.[89]

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89. Comm. to Fourchy, July 2, 1924, Apr. 16, Nov. 19, Dec. 19, 1929, May 16, Nov. 30, 1931, Oct. 30, 1934, NA, RG 26, CG., 12th Dist., File 222, Pt. Bonita; [Comm.] to Fourchy, telegram, Apr. 3, 1931; Comm. to Comdr., 12th Dist, Feb. 11, 1931; Sec. of Treas. to Comptr. Gen., U.S., June 25, 1930; Voucher of McClure and Chamberlain for excavation of landslide, Aug. 11, 1929, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 228, Pt. Bonita; David K. Robinson, Act. Chf. Civil Engr. to Insp.-in-Chf., Oct. 20, 1939, NA, RG 26, CG, site file 131, Pt. Bonita; "Bonita Point Lifeboat Station, Part Plot Plan," November 1943, Revised as of Dec. 1946 to show details of breakwater. 12th CG., Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., Map files,

Although the boating facilities plagued the station crew, they performed valuable service at the lookout where they not only kept watch for ships in distress but also hoisted storm warning signals for ships at sea. The long list of assistance reports between 1902 and 1935 indicates how frequently the station crew responded to emergencies, both on sea and land. Like at other stations, some of the rescue efforts proved fruitless, although important, as an example of their best intentions. On April 3, 1903, Point Bonita was called to respond to the stranding of the American steamer, Albion River, at Bodega Head, some fifty miles north of the station. The keeper and crew launched the surfboat and put out to sea. Shortly thereafter the tugboat, Defiance, took them in tow but only got to Duxbury Reef before being detained by engine problems. The revenue cutter, McCulloch, then took the crew and surfboat aboard and proceeded to the stranded ship. The tug, Sea Rover, however, already had assisted all but the captain from the wreck. The lifesavers went alongside her to take the Captain off but he refused to leave. Stormy weather during the night delayed further rescue efforts until the morning when the crew landed on shore, hauled their beach apparatus to a point opposite the ship, and connected a breeches bouy to her. The captain still refused to abandon ship so the crew returned to their station, leaving the breeches buoy in place. Although not present to witness it, the crew had provided the captain with his safe escape when the Albion River finally broke up in the rough seas.

On several occasions in the 1920s the station crew received special commendations for their bravery and efficiency

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Pt. Bonita. The Civil Engr. Br. also has a Property Data-Itemization form for Point Bonita Lifeboat Station completed in July 1943 and updated in Dec. 1944, which gives the year built, type, size, and original cost of each structure at the station.

during rescue and assistance efforts. When the Coos Bay, a freighter, wrecked on Point Lobos and the fishing vessel, Three Sisters, went ashore on Tennessee Point in 1927 and 1929, the maritime and municipal communities of San Francisco acknowledged their admiration and appreciation for a job well done. On at least two occasions they provided assistance to military ships in distress, once in 1916, when the crew helped make a line fast for the Quartermaster's barge which had gone ashore on Baker's Beach, and in 1931, when the crew erected a breeches buoy for the destroyer, Delong which had stranded in a dense fog twenty-nine miles southeast of the station. Not only did the Point Bonita crew rescue the officers and men from the ship, but they delivered important messages, assisted in laying out moorings and buoys for the ship, and stood by during the salvage operations. And more and more as the years passed, the crew responded to small recreation motorboats in distress in the bay or the Golden Gate, where fast currents, ebbtides, and rough waters often imperiled the novice navigators.[90]

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90. Annual Report, U.S.L.S.S., 1902, p. 64; 1903, p. 145; 1905, p. 115; 1909, pp. 183, 140, 204; 1910, p. 79; 1913, p. 68; 1914, p. 105; Early West Coast Lighthouses, n.p.; Comm. to Offr. in Chg., Pt. Bonita, Nov. 10, 1923; to J. S. Dunnigan, Clerk, Bd. of Supervisors, City and County of San Francisco, Nov. 9, 1927; Capt., Commanding Mine Planter, Armistead, Fort Mason, to Capt., Pt. Bonita, Apr. 18, 1916, 1929; commendation for assistance, Apr. 15, 1929; NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 650, Pt. Bonita; Index cards, Dec. 1, 1931, Apr. 15, 1929 and others for general trends, 1917-1935, NA, Micro. 919, Roll 18, U.S.C.G. Assis. Rpts., Dist. 12, Pt. Bonita Sta. The station crew also did their part to enforce the Tariff Act of 1922 (Prohibition), as seen in NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist., File 601, Pt. Bonita. In October 1917 the station received a fifty-foot storm-warning tower, and in 1923 the Coast Guard erected a new lookout at Point Bonita in the location of the old one. Flint and Walling Manufacturing Company to U.S.C.G., Oct. 20, 1917, Chf., Div. of Material, to Dist. Supt., 13th Dist., Oct. 17, 1917, NA, RG 26, CG, 12th Dist. File 225, Pt. Bonita Sta.; Liunce to Treas. Dept. to construct and maintain a new lookout at site of old Coast Guard lookout, Apr. 11, 1923, NA, RG 26, CG, Site File 131, Pt. Bonita Sta.; Property Data, Itemization, Point Bonita L. B. Sta., 1943-44, 12th Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br.

The lifeboat station at Point Bonita has been abandoned for at least twenty years, the exact date unknown. The lighthouse crew moved to the residential area evacuated by the station's crew, and in 1961 the Coast Guard tore down the original dwelling built in 1899 for the keeper and surfmen and replaced it with three one-story housing units. In 1958 the Service also tore down the 1930 boathouse and launchway in Bonita Cove, leaving only the old woodhouse and storage building at the dwelling site as a complete structure from the original station. Also remaining is an original marine railway of one of the boathouses. Although so little of the station remains, the history of bravery and frequent rescue efforts endures and harmonizes with the century of service by the nearby lighthouse keepers of Point Bonita, one of the most strategic sites for aids to navigation in the San Francisco Bay Area.[91]

C. Weather Bureau Service

By joint resolution of February 9, 1870, the Signal Corps of the U.S. Army took on the extended responsibility of taking meterological observations at military stations and at other points in the country. The work was originally designed to aid the marine interests by protecting navigation from unexpected storms at sea. Storm signals announced the probable approach and force of storms for ships off the coast, while a telegraph line connected the station with major ports for rapid dissemination of storm warnings to ship owners and captains. As the scope of the work enlarged to include aids to agriculture and commerce, and as the content of study became increasingly sophisticated, the decision was made to create a

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91. General Services Administration, Periodic Report of Federal Real Property as of June 30, 1955; Annual Report of Real Property Owned by U.S. Government, June 30, 1958, July 2, 1962, 12th CG Dist., S.F., Civil Engr. Br., Pt. Bonita Light Station File.

more scientific bureau. On October 1, 1890, Congress approved the transfer of meterological work from the Signal Office to the Weather Bureau of the Department of Agriculture and on July 1, 1891, the transfer went into effect. From that date the Chief of the Weather Bureau took charge of forecasting the weather, issuing storm warnings, displaying weather and flood signals for the benefit of navigation, commerce, and agriculture, and the collection and transmission of marine intelligence, among other things. The Weather Bureau also reported vessels passing exposed points--such as Point Reyes--to the owners and shipping centers when commercial interests did not otherwise carry out this service.[92]

1. Point Reyes Station

A Signal Corps station opened at Point Reyes in 1888 and continued as a Weather Bureau station from 1890 to 1926. Nothing remains of the station building or equipment except for the station's concrete foundations.

Marine interests had petitioned for the urgent need for a Signal Station at Point Reyes as early as 1886 to benefit the commerce from San Francisco. "No other place on the Coast is so situate as to allow of such desirable and reliable reports and its importance as a station cannot be underestimated," wrote the Board of Marine Underwriters of San Francisco in October 1886. Point Reyes, the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco pointed out, was the proper landfall for all ships coming from the north and west, and was, as well, the dividing line in the coast's winter storms, so

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92. U.S. Department of Agriculture, The Weather Bureau, prepared by Henry E. Williams (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 4-17.

that a station there would be of great value to the shipping interests. And the Army's own staff felt that a station at Point Reyes was especially desireable because the one at Cape Mendocino had recently been abandoned for lack of telegraph facilities.[93]

Congressman William W. Morrow introduced the bill to establish the station late in December 1886, and on March 3, 1887, the bill was passed. In 1888 the War Department made an arrangement with the Lighthouse Board to install the necessary equipment in one of the keeper's quarters and to have one of the keepers make the reports and fly the signals. During the spring and summer of 1888 a survey for a telegraph line and the construction of the line to Point Tiburon were completed. (The line then connected with the Army telegraph to San Francisco.) By the fall of the year the station was in operation, although the keeper responsible for the signal service was often not at the station and in December 1888 the operator disappeared, leaving the position unattended. In March 1889, the new operator, a lighthouse keeper, resigned, so that the officer-in-charge decided to fill the position with an enlisted man instead of a keeper.[94]

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93. Board of Marine Underwriters of S.F. to Gen. W. B. Hagen, [Sec. of War], Oct. 19, 1886; Chamber of Commerce of S.F. to Gen. W. B. Hagen, Oct. 20, 1886, NA, RG 27, Signal Office, Ltrs. Recd., File 9431.

94. Wm. W. Morrow, H. of Rep., to Hagen, Dec. 20, 1886; Bill H.R. 10072, Amendment, Dec. 20, 1886; Act. Sec. of War, Hugh S. Thompson, to Sec. of Treas., Apr. 9, 1888; Lt. J. A. Swift, Sig. Corps, to Chf. Sig. Officer, Aug. 13, 1888, NA, RG 27, Signal Office, Ltrs. Recd., File 9431; Lt. J. A. Maxfield, Sig. Corps to Chf. Sig. Offr., Dec. 4, 1888, Feb. 16, Mar. and 15, 1889, NA, RG 27, Registers to Sig. Div. Ltrs. Recd., June 1, 1888-Dec. 31, 1888; James N. Gregory, Sec., LHB., to Comdr. Nicoll Ludlow, Insp., 12th Dist., Mar. 8, 1888, NA, RG 26, LHB, Ltrs. to Insp. 12th Dist., 396, July 1, 1887-June 30, 1889.

On May 13, 1901, the Secretary of the Treasury gave permission to the Secretary of Agriculture to occupy a space fifty by one hundred feet on the Lighthouse reservation "at the extreme northwest end of the high ridge at Point Reyes," for the erection of a suitable structure for the Weather Bureau Station. On January 13, 1902, the new building was completed, as well as the construction of a storm warning tower on the top of the bluff 100 feet east of the station building. The new galvanized steel tower stood seventy-five feet high and replaced the short, wooden flagstaff originally erected for the station.[95]

As early as 1914 the Weather Bureau considered closing down the Point Reyes station but they decided not to, possibly in part because the Lighthouse Service did not want the station building, which was a well constructed frame structure with six rooms and a bath on the first floor, and a large lookout and office room on the second floor. As well, the Lighthouse Inspector found that the station's telephone line was in poor condition and would be of no value to the Service. The San Francisco Chamber of Commerce put pressure on the Weather Bureau to maintain the service at Point Reyes, as did the San Francisco Examiner's Marine Exchange, so that the combination of these factors undoubtedly influenced the Bureau to continue operation at Point Reyes for another twelve years.

In September 1926 the Weather Bureau received permission to close the "first order and vessel reporting station" at Point Reyes, effective on or about November 30, 1926. When

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95. Sec. of Treas., L. J. Gage, to Sec. of Agric., May 13, 1901, RG 26, LHB, 12th Dist. Corres., Pt. Reyes, No. 73 #3; LHB to Engr., 12th Dist., Aug. 12, 1901, NA, RG 26, LHB, Reg. to Ltrs. to Engr., 12th Dist., 802, Jan. 1, 1901-June 30, 1902.

explaining the decision to terminate the station, the Acting Secretary of Agriculture informed the Secretary of Commerce that the increased use of wireless telegraphy on nearly all passenger and freight vessels and the recent and extensive use of radio communication from ship to shore had made the continued full operation of the station unnecessary. In December 1926 the Lighthouse Bureau accepted the transfer of the weather station building with the chicken sheds, small storehouse, and garage (converted from a stable) which adjoined the main building. That month, also, one of the keeper's wives agreed to keep the records and make reports for the Weather Bureau at a salary of $25.00 per month. As an aid to navigation the weather bureau station had passed its prime, after many years of valuable service telegraphing San Francisco for rescue tugs and signaling storm warnings at Point Reyes, a dangerous area for ships of any size for ships of any size, especially in the dense fogs characteristic of the area.[96]

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96. Act. Commr. LH Bur., to Chf. U.S. Weather Bur., (W.B.), June 9, 1914; Chf., W. B., to Hon. George R. Putnam, Commr., LH Bur., June 5, 1914; H. W. Rhodes, LH Insp., Memo, July 2, 1914; Act. Sec. of Agric., R. W. Dunlap, to Sec. of Comm., Sept. 30, 1926; H. W. Rhodes, Supt., 18th LH Dist., to Commr., of LHs, Oct. 8, Dec. 2, 1926; Act. Sec. of Comm. to Sec. of Agric., Oct. 26, and Dec. 9, 1926, NA, RG 26, LH Corres., 1911-1935, Series #273, Pt. Reyes; The W. B. operator recorded many instances of assistance to ships which flew distress flags or which were in need of assistance of some sort in the U.S. Sig. Ser., Abstracts of Daily Journal, California, 1888, 1889 and 1890 and in U.S. Dept. of Agric., W. B., Abstracts of Daily Journals, 1891-1904; These records also indicate the frequency that storm warning signals were flown, and the high speed of the winds which swept the Point. See also, U.S. Dept. of Agric., W. B., Monthly Meterological Report, Point Reyes Light, 1905, 1906, and 1907, all in NA RG 27, W. B., Station Reports, Pt. Reyes. The wind velocity meter on a pole near the station building blew off at 130 miles per hour in the early 1900s, according to the account Henry Claussen got from the station's keeper. Photos and captions by Henry Claussen, Pt. Reyes N.S., Hist. files.

2. Mount Tamalpais Station

Only sketchy facts were gathered on the weather bureau station established in September 1898 on the top of the east peak of Mount Tamalpais. None of the structures or features related to the station's operation remain today.

The Weather Bureau leased a two-story, eight-room house with a basement from the Mount Tamalpais Scenic Railway for $420 per year in 1898. The building shared the summit with the Mount Tamalpais Tavern and its connecting pavilion. The observatory stood 223 feet below the summit and about 350 feet from the Weather Bureau Station. For a year before the formal establishment of the station, a Mr. Fred Crowley at the tavern maintained the weather instruments and made reports but did not keep a daily journal of his work.

The station instruments included a triple-register, barograph, barometer, thermometer, anemometer, and photographic sunshine recorder. In 1906 the observer mentioned that the Pacific Wireless Telegraphy Station which had also been established on the summit had lost its two 300-foot towers, the workshop, and part of the living quarters in a gale blowing sixty-nine miles per hour.

As an aid to navigation the station flew storm signals like at Point Reyes. The duration that the station remained in operation is unknown, but it continued at least until 1907.[97]

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97. All the above data came from the U.S. Dept. of Agric., W. B., Daily Journals . . . Mt. Tamalpais, 1898-1904 and the Monthly Meteor. Reports, 1906-1907, NA, RG 27, W. B., Station Reports, Mt. Tamalpais. These journals and reports also give a good account of the frequent damage to the buildings on the summit by high winds and rains, to the mountainside by numerous brush fires, and to the railroad by accidents. It also makes several references to earthquake shocks, not only on Apr. 18, 1906, when San Francisco suffered so much damage, but also on June 11, 1903, Feb. 22 and Apr. 21, 1904; May 6, 31, June 22, Aug. 29, 1906, and June 5 and 10, 1907.

D. Marine Lookouts at Point Lobos

Marine lookouts have stood watch on Point Lobos since around 1850 to give San Francisco's maritime interests advanced notice of arriving ships and to report, as well, any assistance needed by ships in distress within view of the lookout. The city's first lookout went up on Telegraph Hill in 1849 and shortly thereafter the owners, George F. Sweeney and Theodore F. Baugh, constructed a second lookout at Point Lobos to give their customers some two to three more hours to prepare for the ship's landing at the city's wharves. In 1852 Sweeney and Baugh organized a formal ship exchange on Sacramento Street where, financed by merchants' and shipowners' subscriptions, they furnished shipping news and newspapers from Eastern cities and around the world.

At first the Point Lobos lookout signaled the news of an arriving ship by means of a semaphore system. Each setting of the wooden arms designated a type of vessel--a ship, bark, schooner, warship, or steamer. The Telegraph Hill station at a distance of six to eight miles distance received the message and relayed it to the main exchange, which promptly notified its customers. Because fog sometimes obscured the view between the two lookouts, an intermediate lookout was also built on the Presidio grounds. But the completion of an electric telegraph between the Point Lobos lookout and Sweeney and Baugh's exchange office on Sacramento Street in 1853, revolutionized the communication system for reporting marine arrivals. Jubilant at the construction of California's first telegraph line, some 250 persons gathered at the Point Lobos lookout on the opening day, September 22, and drank toasts to J. S. Henning, the builder of the line.

The first lookout stood near the crest of Point Lobos and was a substantial two-story frame structure with a balcony skirting the second floor and an open lookout perched on the roof. It soon became known as the other signal or telegraph station. The

observer had an increasingly significant responsibility as the marine exchange grew and prospered due to an increase in subscriptions from tugboat lines, longshoremen, newspapers, merchants, insurance companies, and hotels who competed for the business of the escalating number of vessels coming into port at San Francisco. And, in addition to their lookout as an aid to commerce and navigation, Sweeney and Baugh sent out whitehalls to ships becalmed or fog-bound outside the Golden Gate to afford expeditious delivery of mail and other important papers to their city clients.[98]

Sweeney and Baugh operated their lucrative marine exchange for over fifteen years before competition formed to provide improved service. In 1865 several of San Francisco's leading businessmen, including William C. Ralston, R. J. Sneath, Joseph A. Coolidge, Aluinza Hayward, and Thomas H. Selby, financed and organization of the Merchant's Exchange. Having felt considerable dissatisfaction with the Sweeney and Baugh service, which apparently had gotten increasingly careless and lax in its reporting of ships and maritime commerce, the backers of the new exchange applied their united business talents to furnish the most efficient and comprehensive marine coverage possible to its subscribers. So successful were they in their first year that in 1866 they constructed an impressive three-story building at the southwest corner of California and Leidesdorff, near the city's new

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98. Soule, Annals, pp. 465-66; Kemble, San Francisco Bay, p. 12; Robert O'Brien, The Beginnings of the Marine Exchange [c. 1949] reprint ed. [San Francisco: Marine Exchange, 1959], n.p., loaned to writer by William Morrissey, former Marine Exchange lookout and current resident of the discontinued Point Lobos lookout. Hereinafter cited as Morrissey Collection (Coll.); Richard M. Benson, "No More A Semaphore," clipping, no source, Nov. 4-5, 1967, Morrissey Coll.; Hittell, Commerce and Industries, p. 189; Henry G. Carlisle, San Francisco Street Names, Sketches of the Lives of Pioneers for Whom San Francisco Streets are Named [San Francisco]: no pub., 1954, n.p.

financial district. In 1876 the Merchants Exchange built San Francisco's first telephone line from the office to the Meiggs Wharf lookout, indicating the organizers' continued effort to furnish a superlative marine information service.

At some time after 1865 the Merchant's Exchange lookout apparently took the place of Sweeney and Baugh's lookout at Point Lobos. In 1895 the San Francisco Call interviewed John Hyslop, the Exchange's marine reporter at Point Lobos, who had been on duty there for twenty-five years, since 1870. (In two later interviews, in 1908 and 1909, Hyslop changed his first year of service to 1876 and 1879.) Hyslop kept watch at the lookout for forty years or more, giving him sharp skills in sighting ships at great distances and in identifying the ships by their construction, their signal flags, and/or, their whistles. With his fourteen-foot telescope he could see a ship at a distance of thirty miles to sea. Within a year he rarely made more than four mistakes when telegraphing the ship's arrival to the main exchange office. When fog obscured his view, Hyslop climbed down the hill over 125 feet to the beach below the fog line and then returned to his lookout to report on inbound vessels. In 1908 he thus telegraphed in about 500 ships each month from the Point Lobos observation station. Although by 1909 he found the life as a lookout monotonous, the local newspaper, Call, found his work "of vital importance to commerce," and that it called for a "reliability and devotion to duty," traits which his long and dependable service so amply reflected.[99]

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99. O'Brien, The Marine Exchange, n.p.; San Francisco Call, July 29, 1895, p. 7, and Sept. 19, 1909, clippings in Lighthouse file, Society of California Pioneers, S.F., hereinafter cited S. of C.P.; San Francisco Chronicle, May 17, 1908, p. 3; Interview, William and Anna Morrisey with writer, Nov. 10, 1976.

After the turn of the century the Merchants Exchange and the Life-Saving Service lookouts shared Point Lobos with the Marine Exchange lookout which was constructed shortly after this new exchange organized in 1902. According to a 1910 map of Point Lobos, the San Francisco Examiner, the Merchants Exchange, and the Merchants Marine Exchange, all had lookouts on the hill. In 1911 the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce absorbed the Merchants Exchange and several other commercial organizations serving the public. Apparently by 1912 the Chamber of Commerce had also taken over the Marine Exchange, for a map of that date showed only one lookout, the "Merchant Marine Exchange" lookout, which stood just above the railroad tracks to the Cliff House area. By 1922 the Chamber of Commerce, the San Francisco Examiner, and, possibly, other commercial organizations were each maintaining a lookout in the vicinity of Point Lobos when the San Francisco Park Commissioners finally resolved "that all lookout stations in the vicinity of Point Lobos, on Park property, be combined in one building." The Chamber of Commerce thereafter operated the lookout service for the city and in 1925 received permission from the Park Commissioners to construct a new lookout building on the hill. In June 1925 the Board of Park Commissioners approved the plans for the lookout building and on September 16, 1926, they awarded a contract to Elliot and Grant, the lowest bidders, at $9,393. When completed, the three-storied, octagonal stuccoed lookout--the one still standing today--stood higher than the old Merchants Exchange lookout, on a site covered only with sand, wildflowers, and shrubs. The Chamber of Commerce planted cypress trees as a wind shield for Julius Larsen, the lookout, and his family who lived there in the second-story quarters.[100]

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100. S.F., Bd. of Park Commrs., Minutes, 1922-23, p. 3; 1924, p. 45; 1925, pp. 110, 119, 127, 136; 1926, p. 220; Hugh S.

Larsen, a retired ships' captain, served, like Hyslop before him, for some forty years at the Point Lobos lookout, regardless of the administrative changes which the marine exchange experienced during the early twentieth century. His daughter, Anna, met and married Larsen's replacement at the lookout, Bill Morrissey, who followed the skilled example of his predecessors in reporting ships to the marine exchange. Bill first served at Meigg's Wharf lookout in 1927 and beginning in 1930, he relieved Larsen at Point Lobos one day a week. In 1934 he married Anna and about two years later they moved to the Point Lobos lookout quarters, after which time Larsen served as his relief. Bill remained on duty until 1961, even though he had been partially disabled by a stroke in 1953. Radar and telephone by 1961 had nearly replaced the use of lookouts such as Bill Morrissey, so that by 1967 the station at Point Lobos only was used as a standby unit which gave the Morrisseys reason to stay on at their home of some thirty years (except from around 1941 to 1950, when World War II and other factors required that they vacate the building).

Since its deactivation, the Morrisseys have continued to live in the Point Lobos lookout, having first received permission to

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Cumming, Passed Asst. Surgeon, San Francisco Quarantine Station, to Supervising Surgeon General, Feb. 20, 1902, NA, RG 90, Public Health Service (PHS), Gen. Files, 1897-1923, File 5396; Interview, William and Anna Morrissey, San Francisco, Nov. 1976; "Map of Sutro Heights, Sutro Baths, Cliff House Shore Lands and Richmond Blocks and Lots Owned by Estate of Adolph Sutro deceased," A. S. Baldwin, May 1910. Copy in map files, GGNRA; "U.S.C.G., Proposed Site for Lookout for Use in Connection With C.G. Station 309 Golden Gate San Francisco, Cal." Traced Aug. 22, 1922, NA, RG 26, CG, Site File, Golden Gate C.G. Sta.; Map of Ocean Shore Lands, Sutro Baths and Museum 80 acres Offered for Sale to the City," compiled by E. J. Morsey, C.E., Sept. 1912, in map collection, S. of C.P.; Benjamin C. Wright, San Francisco's Ocean Trade Past and Future (San Francisco: A. Carlisle and Co., 1911), pp. 179-80.

stay there from the Marine Exchange, and then from the San Francisco Park Commissioners, and, finally, from the National Park Service. After so many years at Point Lobos--Anna since her youth, and Bill since his early adulthood--the two share a wealth of recollections which contributed to this study and which remain available for further exploration into the history of the Point Lobos marine lookouts.[101]

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101. Ernest C. Ames, "Lookout Bill," Westways 42 (Nov. 1950), pp. 8-9. Ames explains that Morrissey identified ships by their standard types, stack insignia, and color of their hulls, with the assistance of his memory, his telescope, and a list of ships due to arrive at port. When interviewed in 1956 Bill explained that because of the mass designs of ships, which began in World War II, he no longer could tell ships apart by their whistles. A KCBS script, Nov. 1, 1956, Morrissey Coll.; Interview, Morrisseys, Nov. 1976.

VIII. PROTECTION AGAINST CONTAGIOUS DISEASES AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

A. U.S. Quarantine Station, Angel Island

1. Quarantine Legislation

The practice of protecting populations from contagious diseases by instituting quarantine for infected ships dates back at least five centuries, to 1403, when Venice established one of the earliest recorded quarantine stations. The deadly bubonic plague during the Middle Ages prompted the Republic of Ragusa on the Adriatic Sea to force ships and passengers to spend forty days on an isolated island before entering port. The forty-day duration--"quartina"--changed through the years but the word endured to designate the detention of ships from foreign countries or from infected ports to prevent the introduction and spread of contagious diseases such as plague, yellow fever, typhoid, and cholera.

In this country, the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed the first quarantine restriction in 1647 and the Province of Pennsylvania passed a similar law in 1700. Quarantine regulation continued to be the responsibility of local and state governments until the close of the nineteenth century when the Marine Hospital Service finally took over the work in accordance with a series of laws, beginning in 1878 with the National Quarantine Act.

The Marine Hospital Service grew out of an act passed in 1798 to give relief to sick and disabled seamen. The National Quarantine Act of 1878 transformed the Marine Hospital Service from a series of locally controlled hospitals for seamen to one national service under the direction of the Surgeon-General of the United States. By the act, the Marine Hospital Service assisted local health authorities "to prevent the introduction of contagious or infectious diseases into the United States."

With the constant threat of yellow fever at eastern ports, Congress in 1879 passed an act to establish a National Board of Health to report directly to the President on measures introduced to prevent epidemics of contagious diseases. The Board operated for four years, making aggressive progress in establishing quarantine stations and assisting state and local health officers.

In 1883, when the Board of Health expired, the Marine Hospital Service continued to spearhead the establishment of quarantine stations for United States ports. Although the stations were funded and staffed by Service employees, the quarantine work for years after continued to be a cooperative effort with the already established local health officers. The arrangement encouraged conflicts over standards and practices of quarantine regulation, so that in February 1893 Congress passed another quarantine act which gave the federal government the predominant right of quarantine inspection. From that date, quarantine work has been handled primarily by the Marine Hospital Service which, in 1902, became known as the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, and, in 1912, simply the Public Health Service.[1]

2. San Francisco Receives a Quarantine Station

Possibly under the guidance of the newly appointed federal Board of Health, the City of San Francisco in 1880 requested that the War Department set aside a site on one of the bay islands for a quarantine station. Although the army engineers made a study of potential sites for the station, nothing came of the

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1. Ralph Chester Williams, The United States Public Health Service 1798-1950 (Washington: Commissioned Officers Association of the United States Public Health Service, 1950), pp. 63-79, 83, 166-67; Checklist of U.S. Documents, T27. Public Health and Marine Hospital Service.

proposal. Seven years later Surgeon-General Hamilton of the Marine-Hospital Service strongly recommended in his annual report the establishment of a quarantine station for the harbor which supported the West Coast's largest port. Ships that arrived with cases of contagious disease on board had no isolated place of detention, so that the necessary medical care and quarantine were carried out at the risk of infecting San Francisco's growing population.

Finally, in August 1888, Congress authorized the establishment of a quarantine station in the harbor and on April 24, 1889, the War Department formally transferred nearly ten acres at Hospital Cove on Angel Island to the Treasury Department so that the Marine Hospital Service could proceed with the plans and construction of the station. Even though the beautiful cove had already served as the site for an isolation hospital for army sick, the military on Angel Island objected to the quarantine station on the premise that the presence of contagious disease on the island would threaten the health of the troops stationed at Camp Reynolds. The Marine Hospital Service, on the other hand, considered the location ideal for the quarantine work, as the cove not only was practically land locked, but it provided safe anchorage for ships detained during quarantine. The island, moreover, stood a safe distance from the city's wharves. The necessary isolation so well provided on Angel Island, however, proved to be one of the reasons for abandoning the station over fifty years later.[2]

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2. Board of Engineers for Fortifications, Pacific Coast, to Chief of Engineers, Oct. 7, 1880, NA, RG 77, OCE, Land Papers, Box 6; U.S., Department of Treasury, Marine Hospital Service, Annual Report of the Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service of the United States For the Fiscal Year 1892 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), p. 76; the annual reports hereinafter will be cited, Annual Report, Super. Surg-Gen., 1892,

The potential threat which the outbreak of smallpox in Hong Kong early in 1888 posed for San Franciscans no doubt contributed to the concerted effort made by the Marine Hospital Service in 1889 to establish a quarantine station for San Francisco harbor. Architectural plans and specifications, as well as an estimated cost of $103,633 for the buildings, wharf, and disinfecting apparatus, were submitted and ready for approval by September 1889. The following spring the Treasury Department's Supervising Architect selected the San Francisco Bridge Company, the lowest bidder at $111,578, to construct the station, and Lyman Bridges, of the U.S. Central Railway Company of San Francisco, to supervise the work. Construction got underway in late March 1890 and by October was completed in a "thoroughly substantial and satisfactory" manner. When the watchman and engineer went on duty on January 1, 1891, to protect the buildings from fishermen, hoodlums, and island picnickers, as well as from destruction by fire, he had under his care a wharf, disinfecting house and apparatus, a warehouse, a boathouse, a pump house, surgeon's quarters, officers' quarters, lazaretto (pest house) and adjunct

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and after 1901, Annual Report, Surg.-Gen., 1902. The Board of Engineers in their letter of recommendation on Oct. 7, 1880, as cited above, specifically ruled out Angel Island as a possible site for the quarantine station, because of the danger to the health of the Army garrison. On March 19, 1889, the Commanding Officer of Angel Island submitted a letter with accompanying reports in opposition to the transfer of lands which nevertheless took place only a month later. Act. Sec. of War to Sec. of Treas., May 10, 1889; Aug. 30, 1893, NA, RG 90, Public Health Service (PHS), Incoming Correspondence, San Francisco, Box 117, 1872, 1880, 1883-84, 1889; Box 120, 1893-94, 1896. The Supervising Surgeon-General in 1889 reported that the Marine Hospital Service planned to provide San Francisco with a "most complete" quarantine station as the "growing commerce of that port" made its construction "of the first" necessity." Annual Report Super. Surg.-Gen., 1889, p. 112.

building, a barracks building, three or more water tanks and a drainage system, not to mention a steam launch for the station.[3]

The official transfer of the station buildings from the contractor to the U.S. Government on January 28, 1891, was an occasion for the city and federal governments to demonstrate their cooperative interest in and approval of the new quarantine station. San Francisco's Mayor Sanderson, with representatives of the San Francisco Bridge Company, the Marine Hospital Service, the California Historical Society, and the local board of health, inspected the station grounds and buildings. Landing at the wharf, the group first made note of the warehouse for storing the station supplies and the frame disinfecting house which contained three steam cylinders to fumigate the passengers' clothing which was hung on hooks inside. The cylinders were forty feet long and eight feet in diameter and with the boilers and other parts of the plant, cost $25,000.

In addition to the steam disinfection of apparel exposed to contagious disease germs, the station also was equipped to provide medical care and physical isolation for persons inflicted with contagious disease. The lagaretto stood on the western end of

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3. Cyril Williams, Sec., Health Dept. S.F., to Super. Surg.-Gen., M.H.S., Jan. 29, 1889; "Estimate of Cost to Erect the Various Buildings at Angel Island, Quarantine Station, San Francisco, Cal."; Preston H. Bailhache, Surgeon, MHS, S.F. to Super. Surg.-Gen., Oct. 6, 1890, Jan. 20, 1891, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Box 118, Ltrs. Recd. for Marine Hospitals, S.F., 1889-91; Supervising Architect, James H. Windrim, to Lyman Bridges, Mar. 12 and 13, 1890, FARC, San Bruno, RG 90, PHS, Box 67, Vol. 1, Official Letters to Supt. of Quarantine Station fr. Supervising Architect, Mar. 12, 1890-Feb. 28, 1891. The construction cost totaled $97,841, which reflected a savings of $5,045 to construct the wharf along the east side of the cove, instead of in the middle of it. Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1892, p. 77.

the cove, away from the other buildings, and nearby it stood an adjunct building where patients went during convalescence. Those passengers and crew who had noncontagious diseases or had been exposed to the disease on board ship were to be detained at the station in the barracks building which stood by the shore on the eastern side of the cove. The two two-story buildings on the hillside overlooking the cove provided housing and office space for the Surgeon, his family, and his officers. With lunch and ceremonial speeches completed, the visitors departed, having loudly voiced their praise of the quarantine station which was due to open in about six weeks.[4]

The splashy transfer day fell in shadow as the months passed and the quarantine station remained unoccupied, probably because of a shortage of funds. San Francisco in the spring of 1891 still had no quarantine, three years after Congress authorized the construction of the station. Subjected to pressure from local criticism, and forced to make a choice on April 27, 1891, when the steamship China, arrived with two cases of varioloid (smallpox) in steerage, Surgeon Bailhache, in charge of the Marine Hospital in San Francisco, temporarily opened the station to quarantine the 257 passengers and crew for fourteen days and to fumigate the China with sulphur dioxide and manganese. On May 30, 1891, the steamer, Oceanic, arrived in port with one case of smallpox and Bailhache again opened the station to quarantine the 340 immigrants on board and to fumigate the ship. During these quarantines the station was very overcrowded. The Chinese and Japanese immigrants had to be separated from each other, and

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4. San Francisco Morning Call, Jan. 29, 1891, p. 3; for a detailed and technical description of the disinfecting house, see Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1892, p. 78.

since there were only a small number of Japanese in the second quarantine, they were housed in one end of the warehouse. Bailhache wrote to the Supervising Surgeon General reporting the urgent need for more barracks space and explained that the warehouse-type building was much better adapted for the immigrants than the expensive lath and plastered barracks building provided for the station. The advantages were threefold--the immigrants could be better managed, the spread of infection would be lessened by having fewer people per room, and the floors could be more readily washed and flushed after every quarantine.

Bailhache's request apparently went unanswered, to his growing concern. On June 15, 1891, he reiterated his recommendation that the barracks accommodations be enlarged and emphasized its urgancy with, "something must be done to increase the station capacity or the proposed 'model' quarantine station will be a failure."[5]

Bailhache was not alone in his concern over the operation of the quarantine station: conflict and tension had followed the encampment of quarantined immigrants in April, May, and June 1891. Colonel William W. Shafter, post commander on Angel Island, immediately surrounded the station with armed soldiers to make sure no one left the reservation and he made public to the city newspapers his alarm for the safety of his troops because of the negligence of Marine Hospital Service employees, especially the engineer and watchman for the station, Alfred L. Davis. Davis, in his turn, accused Colonel Shafter of

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5. Bailhache to Super. Surg.-Gen., Apr. 27, May 30, June 2, 15, 1891; W. P. McIntosh, Passed Assistant Surgeon (P.A. Surg.), to Super. Surg. Gen., Sept. 23, 1891, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Box 118, Ltrs. Recd., fr. Marine Hospitals, S.F. Quar., 1889-91.

"unwarranted falsehood," and insisted that Shafter's men had fired on the immigrants en route from the barracks building to the wharf. Shafter, he continued, had cursed the quarantine officers and personally ordered them from the island on seven occasions. Shafter concentrated his later critisms on the lack of fencing around the station, arguing that there were not only troops but a large number of civilians at work at the stone quarry on the east side of the island and that there were others working for the Engineer Department on another part of the island, all of whom also needed protection from infection. Funding again turned out to be the reason for delay, but by June 1891 Bailhache could report that Congress had made a special appropriation for a high fence around the station, a fence which still had not been erected in late May 1892 when the Army made another pointed request for its construction.[6]

No doubt due to the adverse publicity which the delayed opening of the quarantine station elicited, the Marine Hospital Service soon after appointed Passed Assistant Surgeon W. P. McIntosh to take charge of the station and put it into working operation. McIntosh arrived on June 13, 1891, and during the subsequent year and one half the station underwent many changes and improvements while the practice of quarantine was systemized. Until September 1892, when the quarantine station received its

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6. Davis to Bailhache, May 10, 1891; Shafter to Bailhache, May 11, 1891, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Box 118, Ltrs. Recd., fr. Marine Hospitals, S.F. Quar., 1890-91; Shafter had staunch support from his post surgeon, W. H. Gardner, as seen in Gardner's letter to Shafter, May 30, 1891; Shafter to Asst. Adjutant Gen., Dept. of Calif., May 31, 1891; Most of the nine endorsements were written by medical officers of the Department of California, copies of these letters were provided by Dr. Elliot Evans, Orinda, Cal. The fence was built by June 1893. Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1893, p. 259.

fumigating steamer, George M. Sternberg, the city quarantine officer supervised the fumigations of all ships from China and all infected vessels, and completed the inspections of arriving ships. Between December 20, 1891, and May 27, 1892, and including the two quarantines in April and June 1891, the station received twenty-five cases of smallpox, two of which died in the lagaretto. During the various quarantines 2,451 were detained at the station, mostly Chinese and Japanese immigrants. All those exposed to smallpox were vaccinated, after having been bathed and their clothing and effects fumigated with chlorine gas or sulphur dioxide in the disinfecting house. The steerage passengers and crew always were required to undergo quarantine, whereas the cabin passengers who had not actually been exposed to the disease, were allowed to leave the station. Each morning and evening the steerage passengers, lined up and received an inspection by one of the medical officers to make sure there were no new outbreaks of the disease and to check for escapes. Every morning the barracks were fumigated by the pot methods with sulphur dioxide, and then flushed out with salt water. The station personnel encouraged the detained to spend as much time as possible in the open air on the wide verandahs of the barracks building, lagaretto, and adjunct building. When the quarantine was over (according to the different contagious diseases, the time varied from a week to two weeks), the personal belongings of all persons were again disinfected before anyone could leave. The lagaretto and adjunct building were then thoroughly fumigated with sulphur dioxide and the bedding and clothing of the patients burned in preparation for the subsequent quarantine. To put these operations into effect the station at first maintained a staff of one medical officer, one hospital steward, and nine attendants.

The overcrowding of the station facilities during quarantines continued until May 1892 when the Occidental and

Oriental Steamship Company received permission to erect two temporary barracks with a kitchen attached for their passengers on the steamship, Oceanic, which was due to arrive with smallpox on board. The station already had in quarantine 916 persons from the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's, City of Peking, so that the accommodations made available by the two new redwood barracks buildings, each which contained 288 stationary bunks for Chinese and Japanese passengers, increased the station's official capacity by 576 persons. The cost of constructing these barracks buildings, as well as for the subsistence and hospital treatment of the quarantined persons, all fell to the steamship company which had transported the passengers and crew to San Francisco.[7]

Although the station also received in 1892 a hospital building for non-contagious diseases, a new road of pounded shell (taken from a nearby Indian mound) to the officers' quarters on the hill, and a new seawall from the barracks buildings north along the east shore of the cove, the station still stood in need of many

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7. Annual Report Super. Surg.-Gen., 1892, pp. 76-85. This report is extremely helpful in documenting the original construction, equipment, and operations of the station during its first year and four months in service. It gives the measurements, construction material, and use of all the principal buildings, pp. 77-79) and describes the water, sewage, and drainage systems (p. 80). The George M. Sternberg, the fumigating steamer, was built by Fulton Iron works in 1891-92, at a cost of $26,500. The vessel measured eighty feet long and sixteen feet nine inches in beam, with a five foot, nine-inch draft (pp. 81-82). When the City of Rio de Janeiro went into quarantine in January 1892, 240 passengers got bunks in the barracks building while 283 others slept on the floor inside, on the front and back piazza, and in the building's diningroom and storeroom. For the 523 detained, there were only two water closets available until a temporary outhouse could be provided. P.A. Surgeon McIntosh to Super. Surg.-Gen., Jan. 21, 1892; Bailhache to same, July 17, 1891; D. A. Carmichael, P.A. Surgeon, to same, May 4, 17, 1892, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Ltrs. Recd., from Marine Hospitals, S.F. Quar., 1892-95.

improvements. The barracks building had been so defaced by the immigrants detained in it, that an interior painting was called for; new latrines, for the immigrants needed to be provided; the station's fresh water supply was inadequate; a cremation furnace for the infected dead was lacking; the station's coal supply needed a protective shed on the wharf; and, the station grounds needed grading.

Most importantly, however, the quarantine station lacked an efficient communication system internally and with the mainland. During quarantine an electric bell system or telephone connection between the station buildings was needed to provide additional isolation for the contagious disease patients, while a telephone or telegraph communication with the mainland six miles away was needed to give the station advanced notice of ships coming into the harbor, especially those ordered into quarantine by the quarantine inspector. Equally pressing, however, according to Surgeon D. A. Carmichael, was the need for a reliable transport system for mail and supply delivery during quarantine:

> Everything is going smoothly but I am greatly hampered by the fact that I have no independent means of communication with the city by which we could obtain supplies. We are absolutely dependent, during quarantine, on the courtesy of the S.S. Co's [steamship company's] tug and that of the State Quarantine Officer, as the state authorities object to our launch going to Tiburon during quarantine. The position is a most humiliating and unjust one in which to be placed.[8]

After making a recommendation to provide the station with a tug which would be moored in San Francisco so that during

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8. Carmichael to Super. Surg. Gen., May 17, and Oct. 11, 1892, NA, RG 90, MHS, Entry 11, Box 118, Ltrs. Recd., fr. Marine Hospitals, S.F. Quar. 1892-95; Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1892, pp. 75, 81.

quarantine it could bring needed supplies and mail to the station three times weekly, Dr. Carmichael found himself describing the situation again less than two weeks later to try to arouse a response from headquarters. To stress his point, Carmichael explained that because of so much adverse publicity for the station in the local newspapers, "the people of San Francisco and vicinity are afraid of it," creating a situation which only compounded the problem of getting supplies during quarantine.[9]

Some of the poor press for the quarantine station had come from a conflict between the local quarantine inspector, Dr. William M. Lawlor, and W. P. McIntosh, the first Passed Assistant Surgeon in charge of the station. Letters of recrimination from both men not only went to the Supervising Surgeon-General but also to the city's newspapers which found fault in the national quarantine station's management. By law the city quarantine officer, appointed for a four-year term by California's governor, acted as the national quarantine officer for San Francisco. The quarantine station, in theory, only served to assist the city and state in the treatment of contagious diseases. With two independently-minded medical men who clashed in personalities, however, the expected cooperation broke down. In April 1892 McIntosh was replaced by Dr. Carmichael who shortly thereafter gained the confidence of everybody.[10]

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9. Carmichael to Super. Surg. Gen., May 17, 29, 1892, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, ibid.

10. McIntosh to Super. Surg.-Gen., Feb. 3, 8, 13, Apr. 30, 1892; Lawford to Super. Surg.-Gen., Feb. 4, Apr. 13, 1892; Lyman Bridges, Chief Engr., U.S. Central Railway Co., to Super. Surg. Gen., Nov. 12, 1892, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Box 119, Ltrs. Recd., fr. Marine Hosp., S.F. Quar. 1892-93; Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1892, p. 83.

Within the next five years the quarantine station's responsibilities and operations expanded, requiring additional quarters, disinfecting equipment, and transportation facilities to handle the work load. In 1893 the Navy transferred to the Marine Hospital Service the retired sloop-of-war, Omaha, to enlarge the sleeping capacity for the station. In 1893 and 1894 the Omaha was decked over and given additional berths to house detained cabin passengers. In 1896 she was moved from Hospital Cove to a mooring off San Quentin and equipped with disinfecting machinery to fumigate quarantined ships, a job formally carried out by the station's steam tug, George M. Sternberg, which in 1896 was remodeled as a boarding launch. In June 1896 the station also received a thirty-six foot steam launch, the Bacillus, to replace the old launch, Marion, which delivered the station's mail and supplies from San Francisco.

In addition to the quarters temporarily provided on the Omaha, the Service also purchased in 1893 the two redwood barracks constructed the year before by the Occidental and Oceanic Steamship Company for Chinese steerage passengers. With 576 bunks for Chinese in these barracks, the original barracks building was officially designated Japanese barracks with a capcity for 220 passengers and crew. The size of the quarantine reservation also was increased in 1893 when the War Department, on request, transferred an additional 14.37 acres, making the quarantine station grounds a total of 24.53 acres. In 1896 the grounds received a temporary bath house near the dock which the following year was replaced by a new two-story bathhouse just north of the Chinese barracks, while the old one was fitted out for a sulphur disinfecting house. A Chinese kitchen also went up in 1896 at a cost of only fifty dollars. The building had a front much like a theater box office so that Chinese could file by to get their meals which they ate outside, rain or shine. That year, too, the station received 200 jean suits for the steerage passengers who wore then during their detention.

Besides new buildings to improve overall operations for detained passengers, a hospital for noncontagious diseases was constructed in 1893 near the shore of the cove, between the original barracks building and the lagaretto. Built in the cottage style of the first station structures, the new hospital building provided another 1,972 square feet of space and filled an urgent station need, as did the small laboratory fitted out that year for the diagnosis of cholera, plague, or diptheria germs.

Finally, in 1896 and 1897, the station grounds received attention, as if to complement and complete all the functional improvements. Grading was followed by the planting and laying out of flower beds, lawns, forty fruit trees, over an acre of vegetable garden, several hundred shade trees, grapevines, and berry bushes. To light the grounds at night, eighteen lamps and posts were installed. At the close of the fiscal year 1896 the Supervising Surgeon-General thus could report that the Angel Island quarantine station was "one of the most complete establishments in the world."[11]

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11. Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1893, p. 259; 1894, p. 220; 1896, pp. 548-552, 956; 1897, p. 504; 1900, p. 641; M. J. Rosenau, P.A. Surgeon, to Super. Surg.-Gen., July 14, Aug. 24, Nov. 7, 1896; map showing acreage added to station, dated July 1893; Act. Sec. of War, L. A. Grant, to Sec. of Treas., Aug. 30, 1893; Specifications for Steam Cutter, Bacillus, and for Bath House [1896], NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Box 120, Marine Hospitals, Incoming Correspondence, S.F. Quar. 1893-94, 1896; Rosenau to Super. Surg.-Gen., Apr. 5, 1898, NA, RG 90, PHS, Box 15, General Classified Records, Bacillus; Reports of Inspection, San Francisco Quarantine Station, Angel Island, April 11, 1900, Jan. 8, 1901, NA, RG 90, PHS, Box 535, Gen. Subject File, 1897-1904, File 5567; [D. A. Carmichael, M.V. Perry, and A. L. Parsons, report on physical and administrative equipment, c. 1915], incomplete typescript, Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal.; Arthur H. Dulton, "The Old Omaha," Overland Monthly 61, 2d Ser. (Jan.-June 1913), p. 301.

At the same time the quarantine station operations were hampered considerably by inadequate funding for the Marine Hospital Service so that the necessary boarding and inspection of incoming vessels was still carried out by the local quarantine officer who hadn't the skill or knowledge in diagnosing contagious diseases that the national quarantine officers had. Appealing to Congress for additional funds in a letter of April 20, 1896, the Supervising Surgeon-General explained,

> The present arrangement by which the Government maintains a national quarantine at San Francisco, but does not inspect the vessels entering, creates a division of responsibility and authority, is dangerous, and should be immediately terminated. A joint resolution was passed by the legislature of California at its last session and forwarded by Senator Perkins to the Treasury Department, requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to assume entire control of the mari time quarantine service . . . meaning the inspection of vessels in addition to the quarantine function now performed. The chamber of commerce of San Francisco passed a resolution to the same effect. During the quarantine season last summer, when cholera appeared in epidemic form in China and Japan and in Honolulu, an infected vessel was allowed to enter at the port of San Francisco without the sanitary precautions which were highly essential for safety. The local quarantine officer was new to his duties, but if cholera had been admitted through that vessel there is no question but the General Government would have shared largely in the censure, because permitting this divided authority to exist.

Further defending the need for the federal government to board and inspect all vessels arriving at San Francisco, General Wyman continued,

> It is the opinion of the sanitary inspector of the Marine-Hospital Service stationed at Yokohama that cholera will appear again in Japan and China during the coming summer. The plague is already epidemic in Hong Kong, and within a few days a cable dispatch has been received from the consul at Yokohama stating that a case of "the plague" had appeared on a vessel bound for San Francisco.[12]

No doubt responding to the news of the deadly cholera and plague epidemics in San Francisco's principal ports of trade, Congress took prompt action, appropriating $6,000 to put the additional quarantine service into operation. On June 20, 1896, the Supervising Surgeon-General directed Surgeon Rosenau to place the George A. Sternberg into service on or about July 1 as a boarding and inspection vessel. On the same day the Secretary of the Treasury directed the Collector of Customs at San Francisco to refuse entry to all ships from foreign ports without a certificate signed by the national quarantine officer appointed to board and inspect.

The new arrangement, however, allowed for joint inspections by both the local and federal quarantine officers which resulted in nearly a year of tension and conflict before the problem was finally resolved. The local board of health evidently backed up their quarantine inspector, Dr. W. P. Chalmers, to oppose the national

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12. Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1896, pp. 955-56.

inspection service. Surgeon Rosenau, in August 1896, informed the board of health of the dangerous practices followed by Doctor Chalmers--among them his issuance of permits to enter port without personally inspecting the vessels and his leaving of signed blank permits in his office for incoming vessels--and requested their cooperation to establish a safe quarantine "at the principal gateway of our Pacific Coast." The situation persisted, however, until President Cleveland officially detailed Doctor Rosenau as the sole quarantine officer of the port of San Francisco on May 20, 1897, thereby discontinuing the joint responsibility for the quarantine service.[13]

Doctor Rosenau's appointment must have been a comfort to many San Franciscans, especially those who read the San Francisco Call's September 1896 article on the quarantine station entitled, "San Francisco's Barriers Against Oriental Plagues. The Best Equipped Quarantine Station in the World." The reporter praised Rosenau's efforts to make the quarantine station "the best of its kind," and assured his readers that although young, Rosenau had "been through a great many plagues," having been on duty in Europe several years earlier during an epidemic and having been in charge of the quarantine station in Texas when 500 Negroes and Mexicans had fallen victim to smallpox. Under Rosenau's charge, the Angel Island station received liberal appropriations towards making it a model institution. Part of the funding went towards equipping a laboratory where Dr. Rosenau experimented with the cultures of germs from contagious diseases. From his testings Rosenau determined the temperatures in which germs thrived and

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13. Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1896, p. 957; 1897, p. 503; Act. Sec. of Treas. to Coll. of Customs, S.F., June 20, 1896; M. J. Rosenau to S.F. Board of Health, Aug. 24, 1896, NA, RG 90, PHS, Entry 11, Box 120, Ltrs. Recd., fr. Marine Hosp., S.F. Quar., 1893-94, 1896.

died, the amount of air needed for germs to live, and the fact that germs carried by a recovered patient still could be infectious. With this knowledge, Doctor Rosenau proceeded to take measures to reduce the possibility of the spread of contagious diseases, to the public's obvious relief.[14]

When news of the black plague epidemic in China reached the United States in March 1896, orders came for the San Francisco quarantine station to take all Chinese passengers to the station for inspection and disinfection, regardless of whether a sickness was found on board the vessel. In 1896, 1,034 passengers were quarantined, while in 1897, 5,540 persons, passengers and crew, were quarantined and 11,765 pieces of baggage opened, sorted, and disinfected. By 1899 the volume of work had increased to the point where 64,943 persons were inspected on board ship and 6,617 Chinese and Japanese steerage passengers were transported to the station for the bathing and disinfection process. With the great increase in the station's operations, the Supervising Surgeon-General urged the Secretary of the Treasury to authorize a telephone or telegraph service to connect the station with San Francisco and particularly with the boarding steamer. Nearly ten years had passed since the first recommendation for such a communication system but it was not until 1900 that the station finally received both a telephone and telegraph connection with the mainland by way of the Army post's lines which were strung that year to the new military facilities on the west side of the island.

The years 1899 and 1900 saw many other improvements at the station to meet the existing and expected upsurge in quarantine

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14. San Francisco Morning Call, Sept. 6, 1896, p. 24. The article also mentioned that Dr. Rosenau had, on several occasions, discovered the symptoms of contagious disease on passengers passed by the local quarantine inspector.

operations due to the plague, yellow fever, and other contagious diseases running rampant in foreign ports. A powerhouse was built to the north of the disinfecting house and the station wired for electricity. Repair to the wharf, which had become dangerous on account of teredo damage to the piles, was completed before a disinfecting shed was built on its western edge, just north of the boathouse. The shed measured 100 feet by twenty-six feet when finished, but was not sufficiently large to afford a space undercover for repacking and storing disinfected baggage. In 1900 Congress appropriated additional funds to enlarge the disinfecting shed and the Marine Hospital Service erected covered passageways between the disinfecting shed, the bathhouse, and disinfecting house so that the bulk of the operations could be done more conveniently in the rainy season. The wharf area also received grading in preparation for a bituminous rock and concrete surface in the wharf area where dust in the dry season and heavy mud in the winter had created not only a disagreeable dirty environment in which to work but also one dangerous to the health of all persons at the station.

New and safer facilities for contagious disease patients also were provided in 1899 and 1900 with the construction of a small hospital for up to six smallpox patients and a crematory for bodies of deceased patients on the point northeast of the station, and with the erection of hospital tents for up to twenty-four plague cases in a ravine about one quarter of a mile from the station, on a site only accessible from the water. Two small cabins, each eight by ten feet in size, were constructed on the hillside above the Chinese barracks for persons suspected of being infected with contagious disease and adjoining them two small buildings were erected for a laboratory and animal house. Around the new hospital buildings and tents, as around the bathing and disinfecting facilities, and the Chinese and Japanese barracks,

eight-foot-high barbed wire fences with four-foot right-angled arms were erected to control and police the passengers and patients alike, thereby reducing the need for guards at the station.

On the south side of the original disinfecting house a shed, twelve feet by thirty-four, was also built to serve as a diningroom for the Chinese steerage passengers who, as mentioned earlier, had previously eaten in the open air, often, during rainy season, in downpours. Because of a shortage of fresh water at the station, all the Asiatic passengers in fiscal year, 1899-1900, began to take salt water baths after arriving in quarantine. For numerous years the supply of fresh water on the grounds had been a problem which, during 1900, was remedied by the weekly delivery of 36,000 gallons of water by the Army steamer, McDowell. Finally, the authorized staff was substantially increased to cope with the work load, so that in 1900 three commissioned officers, five medical officers, one hospital steward, and thirty-one attendants (thirteen temporary) had been assigned to service at the Angel Island quarantine station, including seven crew for the boarding vessel, the Omaha, and the steam launch.[15]

As the station assumed greater responsibility for the control of contagious disease in the port of San Francisco, conflict

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15. S.F. Morning Call, Sept. 6, 1896, p. 24; Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1896, p. 547; 1897, p. 501; 1899, pp. 819-22; 1900, pp. 639-43. According to an inspection report in April 1900, the station had eighteen structures and could provide 956 beds for passengers and crew detained for quarantine, most of which were reserved for the Japanese and Chinese steerage passengers. NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. Subj. File, 1897-1904, File 5567, S.F. Quar. According to the January 8, 1901 inspection report, (same citation as for 1900 report), the lagaretto only took in noncontagious patients. [Carmichael, Perry and Parsons report, c. 1915], p. 11, Dr. Elliot Evans Coll.

with local merchants sporadically plagued the medical officer in charge. In 1900 Dr. J. J. Kinyoun stood ground against a politically powerful assemblage of San Francisco coal operators who imported coal, as well as a large number of Chinese and Japanese passengers, from British Columbia. Frequent outbreaks of smallpox in the mines was reason enough to inspect all the steerage passengers coming from British Columbia, and the only hours of inspection fell between sunrise and sunset. The coal steamers, having had easier times under the local quarantine officer, now had to lie in anchor between San Francisco and Alcatraz to await inspection before unloading the cargo. Complaints that the quarantine inspection caused delays, and thus financial losses for the companies, and demands that inspections at least be carried out at night as well as during the day, found no ground with the Supervising Surgeon-General who backed Kinyoun in his opinion that regulations should be strictly enforced and that night inspections would be costly and far less efficient.

Far more disruptive to the national quarantine operations was the lingering resistance and opposition from the San Francisco Quarantine Officer and board of health. In 1899 relations deteriorated dramatically and on several times the conflict went public. The strife still revolved around the right to board and inspect vessels. Even after the President's proclamation in May 1897 delegating the responsibility solely to the national quarantine officer, the local officer continued to board arriving ships and often granted permission for unauthorized persons to board with him. (No one was allowed on board an arriving ship until the quarantine officer had completed his inspection and given his pass.) Although the local officer created conflicts with some ships' captains, as well, by demanding inspection fees, his illegal actions threatened the health of the port, especially with bubonic plague raging in Asiastic ports and with a large number of troops returning to San Francisco from the Spanish-American War and Philippine Insurrection.

The local officer, however, was only one of many people critical of the national quarantine station. In July 1899 members of the State Board of Health descended on the station to gather information on its operations with the expressed intent to submit "a vigorous protest against its continuance" with the authorities in Washington. As the San Francisco Call reporter viewed it, "the conflict between the State and Federal Authorities over the quarantine matters is not settled, but only just beginning."[16]

But six months later, in January 1900, San Francisco's Mayor appointed a new Board of Health without designating a quarantine officer and harmonious relations between the local and federal health personnel followed. Not too soon, either, for cooperation between the two public health operations helped to strengthen the fight against the spread of the plague after Dr. W. H. Kellogg, the bacteriologist for the city's Board of Health, identified plague germs in a dead Chinese man in San Francisco's Chinatown on March 6, 1900. The Board of Health immediately put Chinatown, containing about twelve city blocks and some 20,000 Chinese residents, in quarantine. Police roped off the area and on May 18 the Board resolved that one one could leave the area until he or she received an innoculation of serum Hafkine Prophylactic.

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16. San Francisco Call, July 27, 1899, p. 5. J. P. Jackson, Collector of Customs, to Sec. of Treasury, Jan. 26, 1900; John Rosenfeld Sons, et. als., to Collector of Customs, Dec. 28, 1899; J. J. Kinyoun to Super. Surg.-Gen., Mar. 8, 13, Dec. 5, 1900; NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. File, 1897-1923, Box 512, File 5396, 1897-1902; Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1899, p. 823; 1900, p. 644.

Dr. Kellogg's analysis of plaque infection in San Francisco was promptly confirmed by Dr. J. J. Kinyoun in the laboratory of the national quarantine station. Kinyoun's medical background in the field of bacteriology and contagious disease prepared him well for the conflict which followed. He had worked with Pasteur in his Paris lab, had served as the first Director of the Hygienic Laboratory now known as the National Institute of Health, and had been especially trained in bacteriology. Nevertheless, his and Dr. Kellogg's diagnosis of plague were rejected by the majority of San Franciscans, from the press, to doctors in private practice, merchants, and shippers, as well as by the Governor of California. The quarantine of Chinatown they considered one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against the city's population and economy. In May 1900 one of Chinatown's wealthy and influential merchants, Wong Wai, brought suit against the Board of Health and Dr. Kinyoun, arguing that the enforced innoculation and physical restraint not only imperiled the lives of thousands of Chinese but also interfered with their personal liberty. He won his case, on May 28, 1900, federal judges Hawley and DeHaven concurring to issue on injunction against the quarantine measures.

In June 1900 the political opposition raised in California against the local and federal quarantine operations effectively put an end to Dr. Kinyoun's control work against the plague. Orders from Washington to that effect left San Francisco in the continued throws of controversy over the existence of a plague in the city and the extent of danger to the health of the population. By December the campaign of villification against Dr. Kinyoun reached a high point as the San Francisco Call, Chronicle, and Bulletin all printed editorials about the recent lawsuit brought against him by the powerful Chinese Six Companies, "The Doom of Kinyoun," "The Trail of the Serpent," and "Falsified Health

Reports," headlined the derogatory accounts which supposedly voiced "the indignation . . . felt by all classes of citizens," because of Kinyoun's deliberate steps to hurt the business of merchants and others effected by the strict quarantine measures.

In the heat of this contention Dr. Joseph H. White was sent from Washington to investigate and determine whether plague did, in fact, exist in San Francisco. In January 1901 he recommended that a special commission be appointed to study the problem. Several medical men from across the country were selected by Surgeon-General Wyman to form the commission and shortly thereafter they set up a special plague laboratory in Chinatown. Within only a few days the commission observed six plague cases and on February 28, 1901, they submitted their report confirming the existence of bubonic plague in San Francisco.

Thereafter the widespread resistance and open opposition to the Marine Hospital Service and, specifically, to the San Francisco quarantine station, disappeared. The Governor, who had led the attack against the Marine Hospital Service, requested that it assume responsibility for all plague control work in California. Dr. Joseph H. White was placed in charge of the fumigation, disinfection, vaccination, and restriction of travel within Chinatown, while operations to inspect arriving ships and to quarantine infected vessels remained in the hands of Dr. Kinyoun. The battle against the plague continued until April 1905, when the Chinatown Laboratory finally closed down.[17]

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17. Annual Report, Super. Surg.-Gen., 1900, p. 655; Williams, U.S. Public Health Service, pp. 121-24; Wong Wai versus John M. Williamson, et al., and J.J. Kinyoun; Kinyoun to Super. Surg. Gen., Dec. 29, 1900, and Apr. 15, 1901, NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. File, 1897-1023, Box 552, File 5608, Surgeon Currie, Kinyoun, Long. Kinyoun's December 29 and April 15, 1901 letters discussed

Although San Francisco suffered another outbreak of bubonic plague in 1907, a year after the earthquake disaster, no problems resulted in the subsequent quarantine measures. In fact, the community gave Dr. Rupert Blue of the Marine Hospital Service complete cooperation in his administration of plague control in the city, while the quarantine station personnel continued their vigilance against further importation of the plague and other contagious diseases from foreign ports. Part of the United Spirit no doubt had originated in April 1906 when the new quarantine steamer, Argonaut, rescued nearly 1,000 refugees from San Francisco and delivered supplies to refugee camps in the aftermath of the earthquake.

So complete had the reversal in sentiment towards the quarantine station been that in early 1907 the Overland Monthly printed an article entitled, "The Guardian of the Gate," which described the "sleepless vigilance of the officers" of the quarantine station against cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, typhus fever, leprosy, and plague. That year the quarantine station had been instructed to disinfect every vessel leaving San Francisco because of the presence of plague in the city. Each ship was fumigated with sulphur dioxide, after which care was taken that all the rats

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his conflict with the Chinese Six Companies over some articles rejected on the steamship, Coptic, from Hong Kong. Kinyoun's pratique excepting the articles from the landing permit gave rise to the lawsuit in December 1900, in which the Chinese Six Companies sued for a full and free pratique. In April 1901 Kinyoun wrote to explain delays in the suit against him and reminded Wyman that the case involved "a vital principal in quarantine procedures," (inspection of vessels) and that it was, in his opinion, "imperatively necessary that the Service win the suit." San Francisco between 1900 and 1905 had 119 cases of plague, 113 of which resulted in death. Annual Report, Surg. Gen., 1909, p. 11.

on board were removed and burned, for during the first plague outbreak it had been discovered that flees on rats carried the plague germs. A species of mosquito, according to studies completed in 1900, carried yellow fever germs so that any vessels arriving from yellow fever infected ports went to the quarantine station to have the baggage fumigated to destroy the insects and their larvae. Flies commonly carried cholera, and thus the same precautions were taken to protect against the possible introduction of that disease. Control against the plague, however, assumed primary importance with the Public Health and Marine Service during the first years of the century, and as late as 1950 this disease continued to be the greatest threat to the public health nationwide.[18]

With the additional precautions required against the plague between 1900-1907, certain improvements for the quarantine station were deemed necessary. In addition to the several structures built in 1900, the station received in 1901 a barracks for the cabin passengers near the shore east of the old lagarette. This

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18. Williams, U.S. Public Health Service, pp. 125-26, 130; Fred A. Hunt, "The Guardian of the Gate," Overland Monthly 49, 2d Ser. (Jan.-June 1907), pp. 63-66; according to Colby Rucker, the President was called on for aid in suppression of the plague in 1907 and he authorized Surgeon-General Wyman to assume charge of the operations. The work in the city cost the Federal Government some $15,000 to $30,000 a month, the measures being considered as part of national defense. Rucker, "Fighting the Unseen Foe," Sunset 22, No 2 (Feb. 1909), pp. 113-15; Passed Assistant Surgeon In Command to Surg.-Gen., Oct. 25, Dec. 7, 1905, NA, RG 90, PHS, Box 61, Gen. file 1897-1923, File 481; W. C. Hobdy, P.A. Surgeon, Chief Quarantine Officer, Territory of Hawaii, to Surg. Gen., Aug. 27, 1909, NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. File, 1897-1923, Box 540, File 5567, Inspection of S.F. Quar. Sta. 1909; Annual Report, Surg.-Gen., 1906, p. 198; 1921, p. 189; 1922, p. 138; 1924, p. 134; 1925, p. 140; annual reports, S.F. Quar. Sta., NA, RG 90, PHS, Box 13, Gen. Classified Records, Group I, Domestic Stations, 1936-41.

two-story frame structure with verandahs along both floors reportedly represented the Service's first attempt to furnish cabin passengers with accommodations similar to those found on board ship, so that they might enjoy the privacy and comfort they were accustomed to during their enforced detention at the station. The barracks impressed writer Fred Hunt in 1907, who found the private rooms "admirable and comfortable." Hunt, in fact, wondered at the reaction of the cabin passengers who found their detention at the station irksome, even though their quarters were very pleasant and the site, as well as the view, beautiful. In his opinion these same passengers would "pay all kinds of charges at an alleged summer resort for quarters not one "tithe as cleanly, commodious or comfortable, where the Cuisine [was] . . . not nearly as good, and where the surroundings [were] . . . not nearly so healthful, cheerful and beautiful."[19]

With the addition of a new laundry in 1906, the quarantine station had acquired nearly forty-five structures, the number which it retained until the station closed some forty years later. In 1913 an urgent deficiency bill passed in Congress to provide the station with a special appropriation of $20,000 to improve the steerage passengers' barracks and mess hall. With these funds a new dining room and kitchen building for the Chinese was built and the number of bunks in their barracks increased. The emergency expenditures resulted from a popular belief that the opening of the Panama Canal would vastly increase the number of immigrants arriving in San Francisco. The opening in 1914, however, coincided with the outbreak of World War I, and the anticipated growth in passenger traffic never occurred.

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19. [Report of Carmichael, Perry and Parsons, c. 1915], pp. 7-8, Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal.; Hunt, "Guardian of the Gate," p. 64.

Nevertheless, an official report on the San Francisco quarantine station around 1915 recommended that $250,000 be appropriated to enlarge and modernize the station which, according to its writers, would "probably always be the most important [station] on the Pacific Coast."[20]

The San Francisco quarantine station, however, never received the necessary funds to fill in the cove for the proposed enlargement and modernization of the facilities. In fact, the critical nature of the quarantine work slowly was diminishing as better communications and operations throughout the Service and in maritime commerce reduced the threat of unexpected contagious diseases arriving at port in San Francisco. Beginning in 1894, Marine Health Service officers stationed at foreign ports inspected vessels to make sure none left with quarantinable diseases on board. During the first three decades of the twentieth century the risk of quarantine cases from the Orient, the major area of contagious disease, were considerably reduced by the vaccination of persons exposed to smallpox; by the repeated and improved fumigation and the ratproofing of vessels; by the use of long-distance radio communication; by the presence of ships' surgeons on board all passenger vessels; by the shorter time vessels spent in transit; and, by the decrease of quarantinable diseases in foreign ports.[21]

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20. [Carmichael, Perry and Parsons report, c. 1915], pp. 5, 11, Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal.; U.S. Congress, House, Amendments to Urgent Deficiency Bill, H. Doc. 648, 63rd Cong., 2nd sess., Jan. 21, 1914; San Francisco Call, July 27, 1912, p. 10.

21. Annual Report, Surg.-Gen, 1911, p. 137; 1913, p. 69; 1916, p. 142; 1920, p. 69; 1924, p. 135; 1925, pp. 140-41; 1926, p. 150; 1930, p. 155; 1931, p. 151; Williams, U.S. Public Health Service, p. 83.

While the station received fewer ships into quarantine during the twentieth century, the station facilities and staff served a variety of purposes for the community at large. During World War I and World War II the station housed alien Germans at the request of the U.S. Immigration Service. In 1914 the aliens detained at the immigration station were bussed to the quarantine station to be bathed and their clothing and effects disinfected. In 1918 the station barracks temporarily housed 452 interned Germans, whereas in 1940 and 1941, the station provided accommodations for from 318 to 451 detained Germans from the S.S. Columbus to supplement the limited facilities at the immigration station. In addition, the quarantine officers, beginning in 1912, assisted the immigration service staff by carrying out the required medical inspection of all arriving aliens to identify any diseases, physical or mental, which by immigration or quarantine law would prevent their entrance into the country. The quarantine station personnel also assisted the army by fumigating transport ships arriving from overseas; by disinfecting clothing and bedding from the Fort McDowell hospital during and after World War I; by bathing and delousing the clothing of 513 men arriving home from Siberia in 1919 and 1920; by receiving in quarantine on February 26, 1920, 510 crew members of the army transport, Mount Vernon, which had arrived in port with one case of smallpox; and by delousing prisoners of war in 1944.[22]

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22. Annual Report, Surg. Gen., 1912, p. 80; 1913, p. 80; 1914 p. 137; 1918, p. 193; 1920 p. 150; 1921, p. 187; Friench Simpson, Medical Director in Charge, to Surg. Gen., June 30, 1940; G. G. Hoydt, Med. Offr. in Chge., to Surg. Gen., Dec. 31, 1941, NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. Subj. File 1936-44, Box 13, Group I, Domestic Stations, Files 1850 and 0125; [Langdon R.] White, Med. Offr. in Chge. Telegram to Surg. Gen., Mar. 28, 1944; Dunnahoo [Surg. Gen.?] Telegram to White, Mar. 29, 1944, NA, RG 90, PHS, Box 14, Gen. Subj. File, Group I, Dom. Stations, File 1960.

In addition to the fumigations at the station, the station crew opened a sub-station at Meiggs Wharf in 1922 as a fumigation headquarters for ships arriving from ports having quarantinable diseases. From 1915 to 1921 the labor and chemicals required for this work had been provided by the private steamship agencies with supervision from station personnel, but to reduce costs to the vessels and make more effective fumigations, the Public Health Service decided in 1922 to reassume this important aspect of quarantine work.

In addition to its work on Angel Island, on board arriving vessels, and at the San Francisco waterfront, the quarantine station staff took on added responsibility in 1927 after the Air Commerce Act of 1926 led to the fumigation of airplanes leaving from San Francisco. In 1936 Pan-American Airways opened the first trans-pacific service from its private airport at Alameda, California. Accordingly the station crew disinfected all departing airplanes to prevent the introduction of malaria by mosquitos to the U.S. territory of Hawaii. (The Bureau of Entymology and Plant Quarantine, Department of Agriculture, inspected all arriving planes.)[23]

Despite the often taxing workload for the quarantine station staff during these first four and a half decades of the twentieth century, as early as 1919 a proposal was submitted to

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23. Annual Report, Surg. Gen., 1922, p. 167; 1936, p. 10; Williams, U.S. Public Health Service, p. 93; C. E. Cooley, District Supervisor, Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, San Francisco, to Dr. H. E. Trimble, Med. Offr. in Chge., U.S.P.H.S., Angel Island, April 1, 1936; Trimble to Surg. Gen., Apr. 2, 1936; Asst. Surg. Gen. to Med. Offr. in Chge., S.F. Quar. Sta., Aug. 20, 1937; Friench Simpson, Med. Dir. in Chge., to Surg. Gen., Sept. 10, 1937, NA, RG 90, PHS, Box 13, Gen. Subj.File, 1936-44, Group I, Dom. Stations, File 0123.

abandon the Angel Island facilities and to establish a new station on the mainland. "Its remoteness from the city of San Francisco and the quarantine anchorage," the annual report of the Surgeon General observed, "entails a needless expense in maintenance and operation." The report's recommendation to centralize all quarantine services in a general reservation at the northern end of San Francisco peninsula reflected the Bureau of Public Health's plan to abandon all remote stations whenever practicable and to relocate the facilities closer to the port being served.[24]

Nothing came of the suggestion during the next fifteen years, however, but instead the Angel Island station received a few improvements, including the addition in 1924 and 1925 of a new barracks building to house 100, a new deep well to increase the fresh water supply, a new lighting plant, and considerable plantings of evergreen, pine, and cypress trees, as well as shrubbery. Ten years later the attendants' kitchen and dining room was demolished and replaced in 1935, with a new single attendants' quarters and mess hall. In 1936 efforts were renewed to move the station to San Francisco, but they got hung up on difficulties met in acquiring a three-acre site within the Presidio grounds. While still attempting to arrange a transfer of lands with the War Department, the Surgeon General authorized the reduction of station responsibility in 1937 by the immediate removal of all arriving quarantinable sick from the vessel to the Marine Hospital "to insure better hospital care and laboratory facilities," leaving the quarantine station on Angel Island to isolate and observe the contact cases alone. In 1938 plans were laid to reduce the station to a caretaker status, and between the years 1937 and 1940, steps were taken to cut down the station payroll and other expenses by

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24. Annual Report, Surg. Gen., 1919, p. 113.

focusing the quarantine work more on the mainland. Because the Army refused to release any land for a quarantine station within the Presidio, the district director in August 1940 recommended that the station be retained, because, on occasion, it was needed for the detention of infected and contacts of smallpox, typhus, and cholera; because the Marine Hospital was "generally filled to capacity"; and because there probably would be no economy in the transfer when the existing station and grounds were substantial and in very good to excellent condition. Within weeks of the director's recommendation the medical officer in charge of the station received word that the consideration of a new location for the quarantine services had been indefinitely postponed. Surgeon Holdt replied by mail that the station therefore needed "rather extensive renovations and repairs," and the grounds also required considerable work (in contradiction to the District Director's opinion). Holdt explained that personnel cutbacks at the station had made it impossible to keep everything in good repair, and that none of the buildings had been painted or redecorated for ten years.[25]

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25. Friench Simpson to Surg. Gen., Oct. 8, 1940, NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. Class. Records, Group I, Dom. Stas., 1936-44, File 1975; R. E. Creel, Dist. Dir., Dist. 5, S.F., Inspection of Service Activities at Angel Island Quarantine Station, Aug. 28, 1940, File 0245; Simpson to Asst. Surg. Gen., Aug. 19, 1938; T. E. Twohig, Supervisor of Properties, Board of State Harbor Commissioners to Langdon R. White, Senr. Surg., Quar. Sta., Foot of Hyde St., S.F., Aug. 3, 1944, File 0245-184; Asst. Surg. Gen. to Med. Offr. in Chge., Sept. 2, 1938; G. G. Holdt, to Surg. Gen., Jan. 20, 1942, File 1960; Simpson to Surg. Gen., July 15, 1936 and July 15, 1937 (annual reports), File 1850; Holdt to Surg. Gen., Sept. 25, 1941; C. V. Akin, Med. Dir. for Asst. Surg. Gen., Foreign Quar. Div., to Med. Dir. in Chge., S.F. Quar. Sta., Angel Is., Sept. 10, 1941, File 2210-95; Annual Report, Surg. Gen., 1924, p. 136; 1925, p. 142; Josephine Roche, Act. Sec. of Treas., to Sec. of War, Nov. 14, 1936, Sec. of War, Harry W. Woodring to Sec. of Treas., Dec. 28, 1936, NA, RG 18, Army Air Forces, Central Decimal File, 1917-1938, Proj. Files, Air Fields, Crissy Field 600-Misc.; John L. Nagle, Dep. Commr. for Real Estate Manage., to Chf. of Engrs., U.S. Army, Sept. 4, 1946, FARC, San Bruno, RG 121, Public Buildings Service, Title Papers, S.F. Quar. Sta.

The station, however, had only a few years more of service. In July 1942 Surgeon Holdt received permission to move the sub-station office from the Fort Mason transport docks (where the service had occupied an office by army permit since 1933) to the foot of Hyde Street. Since the new office space consisted of four large, light rooms on the second floor of the frame stucco building near the beginning of the wharf, Surgeon Holdt requested and received permission to use the San Francisco office to conduct the principal part of station business. Four years later in July 1946, the army turned over its Angel Island facilities as surplus. By the close of the next month the Public Health Service had decided to deactivate and close the Angel Island quarantine station on account of the unwarranted expense of retaining it in service. Although the War Assets Administration leased the grounds in October 1947 for a quarantine station and hospital, the quarantine service, as designed for Angel Island, had passed its usefulness after fifty-six years in operation.[26]

3. Epilogue

In June 1948 the Surplus Property Act of 1944 was amended to allow for the disposal of surplus real property with improvements, to states, municipalities, and the like, for park, recreational, and historical purposes. After several years of study, speculation, and planning, the State of California on March 10, 1954, accepted some 35 acres of Angel Island at the site of the former quarantine station for a State historical park. Only three

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26. Surg. G. G. Holdt to Surg. Gen., July 23, 1942; Surg. Gen. to Holdt, July 30, 1942, NA, RG 90, PHS, Gen. Classif. Rec., Group I, Domestic Stations, 1936-44; San Francisco Chronicle, July 13, 1946, p. 1; Aug. 29, 1946, p. 2; five year lease of S.F. Quar. Sta. by War Assets Admin., Oct. 30, 1947, FARC, San Bruno, RG 121, PBS, Title Papers, S.F. Quar. Sta.

years later 24 buildings of the historic quarantine station were demolished to make room for the park. Park headquarters were placed in the 1935 attendants' quarters and mess hall building, while state park rangers moved into the three officers' quarters on the hill. The operational buildings all were destroyed, however, in the interests of picnic grounds and natural vegetation, seemingly without a mind to the significant contributions the quarantine station made to the health and well being of San Francisco, the State, and the country as a whole during its more than half a century of service.[27]

B. U.S. Immigration Station, Angel Island

When the Angel Island Immigration Station opened on January 22, 1910, most of the major legislation to control immigration had already been passed. The first national legislation affecting foreign immigration occurred in 1819 when the United States began to require ship masters to submit to the local collector of customs a manifest of passengers applying for entry. An 1874 investigation of immigration revealed that some foreign governments were deporting their convicts, paupers, idiots, insane, and those incapable of self-support to this country, so that in 1876 the Supreme Court ordered that all regulation of immigration be transferred from state to federal control. Although in 1882 and 1885 Congress passed legislation restricting immigration, it was not until April 1, 1891, that the Keystone Act regulating the applications of undesirable aliens went into effect. By this law, persons mentally defective, those likely to become public charges, those

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27. Marshall McDonald, Angel Island, pp. 137 and 145; untitled chronology of Angel Island, 1954-1975, provided by Angel Island State Park; photos with dated captions in folders, "Angel Island 1940s and 1950s" mostly from the files of a defunct San Francisco newspaper, the Call-Bulletin, San Francisco History Room, S.F.P.L.

with contagious disease as well as aliens who had responded to advertisements promising employment, were denied admittance. To give force to these restrictions, the act imposed a fine on transporting companies who brought inadmissable aliens; required ship masters to submit more detailed reports on the immigrants on board; and provided for the deportation of unlawful aliens within one year of their arrival. The act also created an immigration office within the Treasury Department and called for medical officers of the U.S. Marine Hospital Service to examine arriving aliens for diseases and mental disorders. The 1891 act was strenthened and amended in 1894, 1895, 1901, 1903, 1907, 1910, 1917, 1920, 1922, and 1924. When the Angel Island station opened in 1910, the 1907 act was on the eve of being amended to forbid entrance to aliens who fit into any of several categories:

> All idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, epileptics, insane persons, and persons who have been insane within five years previous; persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any time previously; paupers; persons likely to become a public charge; professional beggars; persons afflicted with tuberculosis or with a loathsome or dangerous contagious disease; persons not comprehended within any of the foregoing excluded classes who are found to be and are certified by the examining surgeon as being mentally or physically defective, such mental or physical defect being of a nature which may affect the ability of such alien to earn a living; persons who have been convicted of or admit having committed a felony or other crime or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude; polygamists, or persons who admit their belief in the practice of polygamy; anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by

force or violence of the Government of the United States, or of all government, or of all forms of law, or the assassination of public officials; prostitutes, or women or girls coming into the United States for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons who are supported by or receive in whole or in part the proceeds of prostitution; persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women or girls for the purpose of prostitution or for any other immoral purpose; persons hereinafter called contract laborers who have been induced or solicited to migrate to this country by offers or promises of employment or in consequence of agreements, oral, written or printed, expressed or implied, to perform labor in this country of any kind, skilled or unskilled; those who have been, within one year from the date of application for admission to the United States, deported as having been induced or solicited to migrate as above described; any person whose ticket or passage is paid for with the money of another, or who is assisted by others to come, unless it is affirmatively and satisfactorily shown that such person does not belong to one of the foregoing excluded classes and that said ticket or passage was not paid for by any corporation, association, society, municipality, or foreign government, either directly or indirectly; all children under sixteen years of age unaccompanied by one or both of their parents, at the discretion of the Secretary of Commerce and Labor or under such regulations as he may from time to time prescribe.[28]

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28. Williams, U.S. Public Health Service, pp. 102-03; Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Immigration Laws, Rules of November 15, 1911 Second Edition (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 5.

1. Social Climate in San Francisco and California Fosters Anti-Asian Legislation

The immigration officers on Angel Island also abided by legislation and treaties specifically dealing with the majority of Chinese, and later, Japanese, immigrants arriving at San Francisco, as well as other designated ports of entry on the West Coast, legislation which had culminated from years of social ferment. Beginning in the Gold Rush days of the 1850s Chinese had begun to arrive from Kwantung province in Southern China in increasing numbers to work in the mines. Descrimination and hostility quickly arose against these Chinese who worked for lower wages and who so distinctly represented a foreign culture and race. By 1868 pressure to exclude Chinese reflected itself in the Burlingame Treaty which mutually denied the right of naturalization to Chinese in the United States and Americans in China. The treaty, however, did not slow the immigration of Chinese to California, some 60,000 of whom then lived and worked on the Pacific Coast.

San Francisco, the principal port for arriving Chinese, showed signs of unrest as early as 1862 when anti-coolie clubs began to proliferate in the city. By 1867 every ward in San Francisco had its own club and by the close of the decade, the anti-Chinese movement had become one of the most important political issues in California. San Francisco during the 1870s suffered chronic unemployment problems which intensified the bitter opposition to coolie immigration. Coincidental with the labor shortages, Chinese who had worked on the construction of the transcontinental railroads began to migrate to San Francisco, adding fuel to the local prejudices. Investigations of the Chinese Six Companies by the State legislature in 1867 reflected the growing suspicion and hostility felt on the coast against Chinese, as did the continued anti-Chinese planks adopted each year from 1871 by both of California's political parties.

The animosity towards Chinese broke out in violence during San Francisco's centennial year 1877. Mayor Brannan allowed the renewal of the Queve Ordinance, whereby arrested Chinese men would have their hair cut short, a physical abuse of great importance in the Chinese culture. Rumors of riots and outright attacks on San Francisco's Chinatown ran rife, and in July 1877, the Chinese suffered a three-day reign of terror which filled the news and brought state and national attention to the intensity of the anti-Chinese movement. So much adverse publicity and criticism of the Chinese made its mark in Congress several years later with the first national legislation to restrict Chinese immigration.[29]

a) Chinese Exclusion Acts, 1882-1924, and Their Repeal

Although the President had attempted to mollify the ill effects of the violent anti-Chinese agitation by diplomatic means in November 1880 when he concluded a treaty with China whereby that country agreed that the United States might "regulate, limit, or suspend" the immigration of Chinese laborers when the Government decided that their residence affected or threatened the interests of the country, the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882 must have come as a blow to many of that

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29. Daniels, The Politics of Prejudice, pp. 16-17; Daniels points out that the Chinese in 1870 represented about ten percent of California's population; Dillon, The Hatchet Men, pp. 68-69, 80, 91, 115, 118-19; Dillon notes that an investigating committee appointed in 1876 by San Francisco's mayor to report on immigration resulted in the formation of the Anti-Chinese Union which sent a document to Congress entitled, "Chinese Immigration, Its Social, Moral and Political Effect," which argued persuasively against further Chinese coolie immigration; "How Our Chinamen are Employed, The Overland Monthly 2, 1st Ser., (Jan.-June 1869), p. 236; U.S., Congress, Senate, Chinese Exclusion Law, S. Doc. 242, 58th Cong., 2d sess., 1902.

nationality. However the act of May 6, 1882, which suspended all coming of Chinese laborers for a period of ten years with the exception of those who were in the United States on November 17, 1880, the day of the treaty with China, and those who arrived within ninety days after the passage of the act, did not long satisfy the anti-Chinese groups whose ranks were growing in a nation-wide climate of racial descrimination. In 1886 the North American Review labeled the 1882 restrictions against Chinese immigration inadequate and called for the strengthening of the measures to bar further immigration, "The California feeling is spreading," observed the writer. "Those who know China, know her friendship should be cherished; nevertheless, we must be self-protecting. . . . America first of all for Americans!" Further emphasizing the point, the article continued, "The three great families into which mankind is divided--black, yellow, white--. . . should develop within themselves, and toward what apparently are their respective bounds, a half-civilized, civilized, and enlightened condition." Four years later, the eminent historian, collector, and publisher, Hubert Howe Bancroft, editorialized in his History of California that perhaps California might have done better to wait until white labor had cheapened before embarking on the construction of railroads, ditches, woolen mills, and other manufacturing enterprises which Chinese labor had made economically feasible, for, he concluded, "No people can be permanently benefitted by the introduction of low foreign element, black, white, or copper-colored."[30]

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30. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration, Treaty, Laws, and Rules Governing the Admission of Chinese (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926), pp. 1-4; E. W. Gilliam, "Chinese Immigration," The North American Review 143 (1886) p. 33; Bancroft, History, 7, p. 72.

Congress responded to the criticism of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act by passing another act on September 13, 1888, which required Chinese laborers who were departing from the United States to apply for a signed certificate from the Immigration Service's local Chinese Inspector before leaving the country. To return, Chinese laborers had to have a lawful wife, child, or parent in the United States, or property worth $1,000, or debts of that amount due them and pending settlement. Moreover, the immigrant had to return within one year unless illness or some other factor beyond his control prevented his return.

The legislation kept coming from Washington during the next fourteen years to gradually seal off further immigration of Chinese laborers. In 1892 the exclusion act of 1882 was renewed for another ten years and strengthened by the provision that any Chinese alien arrested for illegal residence in the United States would be imprisoned at hard labor for not more than one year and then deported, and by the requirement that all Chinese immigrants register with the Collector of Internal Revenue in their districts for a certificate of residence giving their name, age, residence, occupation, and other facts of identification. In 1898, by joint resolution, Congress prohibited further immigration of Chinese to Hawaii, or to the United States via Hawaii, and in 1900 an act followed reconfirming these provisions and requiring Chinese to obtain certificates of registration in Hawaii.

The avenues for legal entry thus were closing one by one for the Chinese who, feeling the laws unfair, increasingly were finding means to evade them. Although in their 1890s active anti-Chinese politics culminated in the unlimited renewal of the Exclusion Act in 1902, the Chinese still could enter if they fell into the classification of merchants, teachers, students, tourists, persons en route to other countries, and diplomats. Furthermore,

all children born to Chinese aliens in the United States automatically were classified as citizens, although citizenship was denied to the original immigrants. Consequently, many American-born Chinese returned to China, married, and had children who could claim derivative citizenship in the United States through their fathers. Immigration authorities at San Francisco and other ports of entry soon learned that this legality furnished a means for illegal immigration because birth and marriage records were not kept in China, thus allowing persons to buy a false indentification as the son or daughter of a United States citizen. These "paper sons" arrived on the Coast having memorized coaching books provided to prepare them for the interrogation carried out by immigration officers to try to verify or disprove the alien's claim to derivative citizenship. The process of investigation of these immigrants took time, requiring testimony from the immigrant, as well as from available witnesses, usually relatives and friends. If the individual answers to minute questions relating to the applicant's family, house, and village in China corroborated, the immigration officers passed him for entry. If contradictions appeared in the testimony, however, entry was denied. By law, any Chinese so rejected could appeal through the courts but until a decision was rendered he was detained at the immigration station, sometimes for months, and, reportedly, in some cases, for up to two years, until he ultimately received word of his release or deportation.[31]

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31. U.S. Department of Labor, Treaty, Laws, and Rules, pp. 4, 8, 11, 15, 16; U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Immigration, Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration To the Secretary of Labor Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1928 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1928), p. 15; hereinafter annual reports cited, Annual Report, Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1928; H. M. Lai, "The Chinese Experience at Angel Island, Part II, Life Under Detention," East West 10, No. 8 (Feb. 18, 1976), pp. 1-2.

Chinese in the early 1900s took numerous other steps to protest or get around the exclusion acts. In 1905 a boycott was staged against U.S. products, both in China and in the United States, and at various international fairs Chinese from China who were allowed entry to participate later disappeared often into the underground of San Francisco's Chinatown. Many Chinese laborers were also smuggled over the Mexican border or carried by boat from Mexico to San Francisco. These illegal entries and formal protests only managed to strengthen the arguments for further restriction which finally came about in 1924 when Congress, responding to a nationwide appeal to curtail all foreign immigration, enacted legislation which barred entry to all those ineligible for citizenship, or, all Chinese and Japanese, as well as other Asians. This last exclusion act continued in effect until after World War II when Congress, partly as a gesture of recognition for Chinese support during the war, repealed the act and gave all Asians the right to citizenship. Subsequent legislation gradually eliminated immigration restrictions against Chinese immigration, so that as of July 1, 1968, Chinese finally received equal rights to entry with other races and nationalities.[32]

b) Japanese Exclusion by Treaty Agreement and Act of Congress, 1907-1924

With the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the ready supply of cheap Chinese labor began to dry up,

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32. Williams, U.S. Public Health Service, p. 101; U.S. Department of Labor, Treaty, Laws, and Rules, pp. 29, 35, 38; Dorene Askin, "Historical Report, Angel Island," June 3, 1977, rough draft typescript for Interpretive Planning Unit, California Department of Parks and Recreation, p. 48; Lai, "Chinese Experience, Part I, Ellis Island of the West," East-West 10, No. 7 (Feb. 11, 1976), p. 1; Clifford L. Fox, "Pursuing the Smuggler," The Overland Monthly 61, 2d ser. (Jan.-June 1913), p. 531; Dillon, The Hatchet Men, pp. 319-20.

prompting some promoters in California and Japan to encourage Japanese immigration. Even with incentives of promised work in the United States, however, the traditionally isolated Japanese were slow to leave their homeland. By 1890 only some 3,000 Japanese had immigrated to this country, 1,147 of whom had settled in California. During the decade of the 1890s, however, their numbers increased nearly ten-fold, prompting the already hypersensitive San Franciscans and Californians to lump Japanese into their anti-Chinese movement. All Asians now were threats to the economy and social well-being of the country according to labor activists in San Francisco. The San Francisco Bulletin and Call published inflammatory articles deploring cheap Japanese labor, while city officials conducted investigations into contract labor arrangements with Japanese immigrants. Even the astonishing progress of Japan's industrial revolution during the 1890s alarmed Californians, so that in 1896 Senator George C. Perkins addressed the subject, warning that from the available facts even the most skeptical had to be convinced that Japan's industrial revolution posed "a real menace to some of the most important interests of America."[33]

In 1900 the issue of Japanese immigration spread nationwide after San Francisco's mayor, James D. Phelan, led the first large-scale protest against Japanese in California in May, two months after he had placed all the Asian sections of the

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33. Senator George C. Perkins, "The Competition of Japan," Overland Monthly 28, 2d ser. (Jan.-June 1896), p. 403; Daniels, Politics of Prejudice, p. 1; Bill Hosokawa, Nisei The Quiet Americans (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1969), pp. 41-42, 44, 49-51; he also points out, p. 38, that Japanese immigration did not exceed 2,000 until 1898; San Francisco Call, July 4, 1895, p. 9; July 30, 1895, p. 11; John P. Young, "The Question of Japanese Competition," Overland Monthly 28, 2d. ser. (Jan.-June 1896), p. 93.

city in quarantine for the bubonic plague. Two years earlier the United States had annexed Hawaii where thousands of Japanese had migrated to work on the sugar plantations. The annexation freed these laborers to immigrate to the mainland, helping to boost the number of arriving Japanese on the West Coast in 1900 to 12,635. In a growing atmosphere of reaction, even the Commissioner of Immigration for San Francisco and the Northern District, Hart North, showed a hard line against Japanese aliens, rejecting many as potential public charges, until President McKinley sent an agent to the Coast to warn North that he might bring the United States to war with Japan if he continued such practices.

The developing hysteria against Japanese, however, did not slow their immigration during the early 1900s. Between 1900 and 1908 a total of 139,103 Japanese poured into the country, many through San Francisco, where Japanese contractors operated hotels for immigrants until they could continue to their (usually) pre-arranged jobs, mostly in rural California. The contractors also furnished the transportation to the jobs, the necessary tools, and a buffer with the new employers. In fact, so organized, efficient, and aggressive were the Japanese, and so determined to move up on the social scale, that they pushed many lower and middle class whites onto the side of the actively anti-Japanese labor unions, providing a strong united front for the political arena.[34]

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34. Daniels, Politics of Prejudice, pp. 9, 19, and 106; Daniels discusses, p. 9, the effective means whereby Japanese farm laborers demanded better wages through strikes, beginning in 1903; Hosokowa, Nisei, pp. 41, 47, 49, 53, 81, 96. On pp. 45-46, Hosokowa explains that the Japanese government did not encourage immigration. The U.S. Commissioner General of Immigration made a visit to Japan in 1899 and reported that the government would not issue passports without preliminary care taker, as it was felt that the character of the Japanese abroad would reflect the character of

Anti-Japanese demonstrations and political actions in California during 1905 and 1906 finally brought about national legislation to restrict immigration. San Francisco activists led the movement, rallying behind the Chronicle's unexpected outburst on February 23, 1905, with the banner headlines, "The Japanese Invasion, The Problem of the Hour." As the most influential newspaper on the Pacific Coast, the Chronicle could not fail to rouse a reaction. In May, sixty-seven area organizations met in San Francisco to form the Asiastic Exclusion League which pressured the city school board in 1906 to order all Japanese and Korean pupils to transfer to the Chinese or Oriental school, in the face of the fact that Japan's government and citizens had sent the largest foreign contribution for the relief of San Francisco after the earthquake. On the state level, the California legislature in both houses had already voted unanimously to petition Congress to "limit and diminish the further immigration of Japanese."[35]

Realizing the need for such action but reluctant to support an exclusion law which would be taken as a deliberate affront against Japan, President Roosevelt, assisted by Elihu Root, devised a plan to restrict all Japanese immigration from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada. The executive order, issued March 14, 1907, was followed by diplomatic negotiations with Japan which culminated

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the nation at home. Regulations thus required provision for the return of the immigrant should he become a public charge and a close inquiry into his character before passports were granted. Carey McWilliams, California: The Great Exception (New York: Current Books, Inc., A. A. Wynn, Publisher, 1949), pp. 140-41; Hart H. North, "Chinese and Japanese Immigration to the Pacific Coast," California Historical Quarterly 28 No. 4 (Dec. 1949), pp. 343-44.

35. As quoted in Hosokowa, Nisei, p. 83; pp. 83-83, 92; Daniels, Politics of Prejudice, pp. 24-25, 27-28, 32-33.

with the 1907 "Gentlemen's Agreement," Whereby Japan agreed not to issue passports to either skilled or unskilled laborers, except those and their blood relatives who had entered the United States prior to the agreement.[36]

Despite the fact that the Commissioner General of Immigration pointed out in his annual report for 1909 that with the complete cooperation from Japan the number of Japanese admitted to the continent and the Hawaiian Islands had substantially dropped, and that the agreement had "much more completely accomplished the exclusion of 'Japanese laborers,'" than had the Chinese exclusion laws, many Californians continued to campaign against the Japanese and their immigration. Part of the problem lay in Japan's interpretation of the term laborer which did not include farmers. Californians charged that the entrance of these farm workers represented an attempt to evade the spirit of the agreement and in 1913 the state legislature passed the Alien Land Law which barred all aliens ineligible for citizenship, which included immigrant Japanese, from land ownership and limited the number of years they could lease land to three. But many Iseii (first generation immigrants) merely transferred the title to their hard-earned land to their American-born children who, as citizens, could not be forbidden ownership.

The second so-called act of treachery from Japan according to Californians was the immigration of "picture brides." Until 1907 the vast majority of Japanese entering the United States were young men (of 139,103 arrivals between 1900-1908, 118,967 were men) without families. According to Japanese law and tradition, marriages could be arranged by parents

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36. Daniels, ibid., pp. 41, 44.

without participation from the bride and groom. The marriage was legal once recorded in Japan, so that young Japanese wives began arriving in America in increasing numbers, with only a picture and perhaps letters to identify their prospective spouses. Californians resented this steady stream of Japanese entries, feeling that they had been betrayed by their own government, the diplomats of which appeared to be mere dupes of the cunning Japanese. The focus of their alarm and concern concentrated in the fact that Japanese families in this country would produce more Oriental children entitled to citizenship and that they in turn would perpetuate the system of derivative citizenship so effectively employed by the Chinese.[37]

Although from 1913 to 1919 the country witnessed no widespread anti-Japanese agitation, the resentments and prejudices smouldered and surfaced readily in 1924 when the Immigration Act provided for the total exclusion of "all aliens ineligible to citizenship." The racist ideology against Japanese had spread across the nation, in part because of a growing uneasiness towards Japan's military strength and aggressiveness, and in part

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37. Annual Report, Commissioner-General, 1909, in U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor 1909, p. 219; Daniels, Politics of Prejudice, pp. 44-45, 62-63; Hosokowa, Nisei, pp. 92-93, 96, 99; Hosokowa notes that in 1910 there were 72,157 Japanese in this country, only 9,000 of whom were women, p. 59. On pp. 60-61 he discusses the special U.S. Immigration Commission to study Japanese immigration which in 1909 reported that more than half the U.S. Japanese population were working on farms, mostly as hired hands. Between 1909 and 1919 the production in California from Japanese farmers rose from six million to sixty-seven million dollars. The Immigration Committee's report, published in 1911, can be found in U.S., Congress, Senate, Brief Statement of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Immigration Commission, with views of the minority, S. Doc. 783 61st Cong., 3rd sess., 1911, Serial 5943.

because of the unrelenting anti-Japanese propoganda that had come from California during the century. Not until 1943 did the restrictions denying immigration to Japanese and all other Asians lift, leaving a period of nearly twenty years when blanket discrimination ruled the day.[38]

2. Local Pressure and Congressional Action to Establish an Immigration Station at Port of San Francisco, 1902-1910

Evidently at the request of George C. Perkins, Senator from California, the Commissioner General of Immigration visited San Francisco in 1902 to inspect the facilities for arriving immigrants at that port, at which time he promised to recommend the construction of a detention depot for immigrants. In his annual report for the fiscal year 1903 Commissioner General Sargent explained his urgent recommendation for a $200,000 appropriation to build an immigration station at San Francisco:

> At San Francisco there is no immigrant building. The Chinese aliens have been temporarily landed from vessels, by per mission, and placed in detention quarters furnished by the transportation lines. These quarters are so disgraceful-cramped in dimensions, lacking in every facility for clean liness and decency that it was necessary to insist upon an immediate remodeling thereof. As a temporary expedient, the result of my protest to the steamship lines has been the re construction of a better, cleanlier, and more commodious building, but it does not obviate the pressing demand for a structure to

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38. Daniels, Politics of Prejudice, p. 64; Howokowa, Nisei, p. 94.

> accommodate all alien arrivals. This is the principal port for Japanese and Chinese aliens and provision of the nature indicated should be made at the earliest practicable moment.

To prevent further coaching by the passage of messages to detained immigrants in the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's shed on the Mail dock of San Francisco's waterfront, Sargent also recommended that the station be located on government land in the harbor. The isolation from the mainland, he observed, was also of special importance because "the aliens from oriental countries," often carried deadly contagious diseases which excluded them from entry in accordance with the quarantine and immigration laws.[39]

Senator Perkins, no doubt receptive to the persistent urgings of the Chinese community, their sympathisers, and attorneys, to improve the unsafe and unsanitary conditions of the detention shed, gladly introduced in December 1903 senate bill 1278 "to provide for the erection of buildings for an immigrant station at the port of San Francisco, California." In April 1904 Congress responded by passing a sundry civil act which called for an investigation of the conditions of the immigration service at San Francisco. After its completion in December 1904, Secretary of Commerce and Labor Metcalf submitted the report to Congress on January 4, 1905. The report confirmed that the existing conditions

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39. U.S., Congress, Senate, Immigrant Station at Angel Island, 58th Cong., 2d sess., Jan. 7, 1904, Sen. Rpt. 176, Serial 4570. Annual Report, Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1910, in U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Reports of Commerce and Labor 1910, p. 132; U.S., Congress, House of Representatives, Immigration Service at San Francisco, Cal. H. Doc. 166, 58th Cong., 3d sess., Jan. 4, 1905, Serial 4830.

were very inadequate. In addition to the problems at the detention shed, the report found that the segregation of aliens from the public during inspection, as required by immigration laws, was almost impossible on board the vessels. Furthermore, because the Chinese exclusion laws required more stringent application than other immigration acts applying to other aliens, it was frequently necessary to detain the Chinese for prolonged periods, and should they still be kept in the existing detention shed, the report concluded, "it would be discreditable in the extreme for the Government." The immigration service staff, moreover, occupied inadequate office space in the appraisers' stores building, while the invaluable records on Chinese immigration were "not properly protected from the danger of fire or abstraction by interested persons seeking to defeat the purposes of the exclusion laws." The report closed with a recommendation for "the construction and equipment of a suitably designed station on . . . Angel Island," and for an appropriation of $250,000 for its completion in accordance with detailed estimates submitted by Oakland architect, Walter J. Mathews.[40]

By an act approved March 3, 1905, Congress appropriated $150,000 for the construction of a main building, other necessary buildings, and a wharf for an immigration station on Angel Island. Secretary of Commerce and Labor Metcalf signed a contract with Walter J. Mathews on September 29, 1905 to prepare "detailed plans, working drawings, designs, specifications, estimate, or changes therein required to be made in the erection

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40. U.S. Cong., H. of R., Immigration Service at San Francisco, H. Doc. 166, 58th Cong., 3rd sess., Jan. 4, 1905; Annual Report, Commissioner-General, 1910, p. 132; "Sundry Civil Act" of April 28, 1904; George C. Perkins, U.S.S., to Hon. F. H. Larned, Act. Commr-Gen. of Immig., Nov. 11, 1903, NA, RG 85, Immigration and Naturalization File 51456/1-15, "San Francisco."

and completion of the buildings" and to locally supervise their erection for a fee of 5% of the cost of the buildings when turned over to the government, not to exceed $150,000. On July 8, 1905 the Secretary of War had turned over ten acres of land to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor after a Board of Officers, composed of the Commissioner General of Immigration, the Chief of Engineers, U.S. Army, and the Acting Quartermaster General, U.S. Army, had selected the site on the northeast side of the island, in a cove then known as "Chinee Cove," and in 1880, as "Schofield's Beach" or "Old Tank." Having authorization, land, and an architect, however, was not sufficient to get construction underway that year, or the next, for a number of unavoidable reasons.[41]

3. Planning and Construction of the Station, 1905-1908

Walter J. Mathews apparently had direct connections with Washington officials, for before his contract was signed designating him architect and superintendent of construction, he

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41. Quote from Secretary of War to Secretary of Commerce and Labor, July 8, 1905, NA, RG 85, Immig. and Nat., (the rest of citation lost), and, Angel Island Guide (Printed at Headquarters Eighth U.S. Infantry, April 1880), n.p. This article also mentioned the Chinese fishing camp in the cove, which undoubtedly gave it the name "Chinee Cove." According to the San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 4, 1914, "Chinee Cove" also was used before the immigration station's construction by Italian fishermen who pulled their boats up on the sloping, sandy beach to paint or repair them. Res. note from Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal. In 1869 the cove was called "Captain Hannon's Beach," after a former rancher who kept a corral in the cove, near to an Indian shell mound. Bentley, "Angel Island," p. 12. One other name attached to the site was "Winslow Cove." Marshall McDonald, "Angel Island," p. 15. "Agreement between the United States of America, and Walter J. Mathews," NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 51456/1-15, San Francisco Station; Luther C. Steward, Acting Commissioner of Immigration, S.F., to the Commr. Gen. of Immig., Dec. 19, 1910, p. 2, NA, RG 85, Immigr. Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres., 1906-1932, File 52961/26e.

was making plans for the station. On September 28, 1905 he visited the Coast and Geodetic Survey offices and found that the hydrographic survey of the cove had been completed and a contour map of the land begun. These would be essential tools for Mathews' plan for the station, especially in designing necessary drainage ditches for runoff rain water and in locating the necessary buildings and the wharf. By January 4, 1906 he had formulated many of the future designs, with an emphasis on completely separating the Asian immigrants from any other race of immigrants. The Chinese and Japanese would have a separate detention building on the hillside above the main station building. Linking the two structures would be a covered, screened-in stairway which would bridge the station road, about midway between the buildings. The hospital building would be constructed with separate entrances for the Chinese and Japanese to provide "practically . . . two distinct buildings," one for Orientals, the other for Europeans.

Mathews had visited the Ellis Island station and had apparently studied the Treasury Department's regulations governing designs and specifications for public buildings. Combining this general information with the specific immigration requirements on the West Coast, he proceeded to design and prepare construction drawings for the station which were nearly completed by the end of January 1906. His major concern during these early months was supplying the station with fresh water, and although after making a careful estimate of the station's water needs he planned to build two 20,000 gallon water tanks on the hillside, he did not hold out very much hope for getting a complete supply even from a well and spring. Later, his expectations would be fully met several times over.[42]

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42. Mathews to Commr. Gen. of Immig., Sept. 29, 1905, Jan. 4, 6, 29, and Feb. 15, 1906, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 51456/16-34, "San Francisco Station."

The earthquake and fire of April 1906 threw a wrench into all the plans for the station's construction. Mathews wrote the Commissioner General of Immigration on April 28, 1906, to report he had been unable to work on the specifications or anything for the station. He had personally discussed his dilemma and the impossibility of letting contracts during the chaos in the ravaged city of San Francisco with the Secretary of Commerce and Labor who had directed Mathews to inform the Commissioner General of the state of affairs. Two months passed before Mathews wrote to say he had opened bids, on July 18, 1906, for the construction of the wharf and that the lowest bidder had submitted an estimate twenty percent higher than the original station estimates due to the rapidly climbing prices in the city on all material and labor following the earthquake. On July 24, 1906, Mathews received authorization to accept the bid of $21,300 from the San Francisco Bridge Company to build the wharf--a bid which actually fell below Mathew's own estimate in December 1904 for "wharfage, including pier and complete landing facilities," of $30,000.[43]

Construction of the wharf, however, did not get underway for another seven months, during which time Mathews received permission to accept the bid of Charles Albert Littlefield to build the station structures, including the covered stairway, water tank frame, lighthouse frame, bell frame on the wharf, the spring reservoir, roads, and other work for the station. Littlefield's contract was signed in August 1906, but not until November did the Bureau return it approved. On November 9, 1906 Littlefield was

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43. Quote from Cong., H. Doc. 166, 58th Cong., 3rd sess., 1905. Mathews to Commr. Gen., Apr. 28 and July 18, 1906, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 42527; Commr. Gen. F. P. Sargent to Mathews, July 24, 1906, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 51456/49, "Wharf-Angel Island."

given notice to start construction, which, by contract, had to be completed within one year, or by November 8, 1907. Littlefield, however, did not finish until August 31, 1908, having received three valid extensions of his time because of an unusually stormy winter in 1907-08; his inability to land materials after the station wharf was damaged in July 1907, and his inability to purchase construction materials to repair it for months after, because of a scarcity of lumber on the coast and an engineer's strike on the steam schooners which carried it; because of the general confusion and disruption which prevailed more than a year after the earthquake, making it difficult to obtain necessary building materials, bank loans, and reliable labor; and because of a ten-day period in the spring of 1908 when all the port's available tugboats refused to haul materials to the station, preferring, instead, to carry tourists to the visiting U.S. "Atlantic Fleet" in the bay. Moreover, as Architect Mathews explained to the Commissioner General on March 6, 1908, Littlefield was working "under very adverse circumstances" because of the lay of the land at the station site:

> The site being a series of steep hills and after foundations of building[s] were in there was no level ground left to pile or frame lumber for the several buildings. The wharf and the space in front of the administration building and roads being the only space that can be used to handle material and prepare it for the constructions. The wharf I do not allow to be used for storage purposes, requiring material to be removed at once, under these conditions not as many workmen can be employed on the buildings that could be if there was more level and available ground . . . there being many different trades on the work, each has to have some place to handle their material . . . the wharf will not

> accomodate only one fair size ship or schooner at one time, barges cannot get close, to the shore or breakwater, even at high tide.[44]

During and after Littlefield's construction several separate contracts were let for station facilities, among them one with Robert Dalziel Jr. Company for heating and plumbing; Henshaw, Buckley & Co. for the steam plant and electrical equipment; John G. Sutton Co. for electrical work; Josiah Barnes Rogers for boring an artesian well; Harry H. Buddington for installing the laundry equipment; with unknown contractor for building a submarine cable between the station and the mainland; with United Engineering Works for constructing a boarding cutter, and with Union Iron Works for designing and building a ferry boat for the station. In March 1908 the Commissioner General anticipated much of this work and recommended an additional appropriation of $45,000 to cover it and other expenses such as building fences, dwellings for officers, dressing and macadamizing roads, gardening, fire extinguishers, trucks for freight delivery, and fees for the architect and superintendent of construction. By July 1908 a decision had been made to erect dwellings for employees, but the original ten-acre site did not have space for the additional buildings. On July 7, 1908 the Acting Secretary of Commerce and

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44. Beginning in February 1907, when construction actually began on the wharf, Mathews submitted monthly reports to the Commr. Gen. of Immig. Information for above from reports dated Feb. 28, Apr. 2, June 6, July 9, Aug. 12, Sept. 13, Nov. 9, Dec. 3, 1907, Feb. 1, Mar. 4, 1908; Act. Commr. Gen. to Mathews, Nov. 2, 1906; Mathews to Commr. Gen., Sept. 4, 1908, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Sub. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26; Mathews to Commr. Gen., July 2, 20, 1907, Mar. 6, June 19, 1908; Comptroller R.J. Tracewell, Treas. Dept., to W. L. Sloane, Disbursing Clerk, Dept. of Commerce and Labor, Dec. 2, 1908, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 51456/48, 49, Construction of Buildings and Wharf.

Labor requested from the War Department an additional four and a half acres which the Secretary of War granted by letter of April 6, 1909. The new tract began on the southeast corner of the original ten acres and formed a triangular plot of land which contained about four and one fifth acres. The twelve cottages for employees, designed by architects Morgan and Hoover, were constructed sometime that summer.[45]

All the first press and official reports on the station's construction highly commended the work. As early as August 1907 the San Francisco Chronicle's headlines read, "San Francisco to have the finest Immigrant Station in the World," and proceeded to explain the plans for "the model village" which would be "the cleanest, best arranged and in all respects the finest and healthiest emigrant station ever established." The plans drawn up by Architect Mathews, according to the Chronicle, were "the best and most complete" set Commissioner General of Immigration Sargent had ever seen. The European quarters, the article continued, would have "excellent accommodations, including baths, lavatories, and showers, a roof garden for daily exercises and most of the conveniences of a first-class hotel." The administration building had the characteristics "of the great modern hostelry," while its

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45. The contracts listed above can be found in NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Files 51456/51, 52, 53, 47, 66, 64, 55, 43, and for cottages, Files 52795/23, 24; Commr. Gen. F. P. Sargent to James A. Tawney, Chairman, Committee on Appropriations, H. of R., Mar. 25, 1908; Act. Sec. of Commerce and Labor to Sec. of War, July 7, 1908; Sec. of War to Sec. of Comm. and Labor, Apr. 6, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, Files 52961/26 and 26a. Funding for the immigration station by March 1908, when the Commissioner General requested an additional $45,000, had come to $200,000, $100,000 approved by act of March 3, 1905, and another $100,000 by act approved June 30, 1906. U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, Reports of the Department of Commerce and Labor, 1907, p. 161, hereinafter cited, Reports, Commerce and Labor.

architecture was imposing as well as practical and modern. The Oriental quarters got "lots of sunshine and a splendid marine view," while its design assured "the perfect scheme of sanitation." The detained Orientals also would have the benefit of open air exercise on a sheltered promenade "where the refreshing breezes of the Pacific will make walking delightful." The hospital building, moreover, would be, when completed, as well equipped "as the most modern hospitals in the world," and the water problem, which had threatened to be a serious one, had been solved by Mathews who designed two reservoirs, one for fresh water, which would be supplied from a spring, as well as from a supply hauled in by barge, and one for salt water to be used for bathing in the Asiastic quarters.[46]

In January 1908 the San Francisco Call also printed an optimistic article on the forthcoming station entitled, "San Francisco's New Ellis Island." The new station would be "one of the finest and best equipped immigration stations in the country, second to none, except possibly that on Ellis island." The Call assured its readers that plans had been completed "after months of the most careful study of the latest immigration requirements," and that construction had begun with a funding of $300,000, with another $200,000 requested. The reporter continued much in the vein of the Chronicle four months earlier, making the new station out to be an idyllic one for all immigration purposes, especially to assure the isolation of the steerage passengers "to thwart ruses of confederates in the city," and to protect the "priceless records" which documented the vital statistics of all Chinese immigrants.[47]

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46. San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 18, 1907, research note in Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal. The article also gave considerable detail on the offices and rooms in the administration building.

47. San Francisco Call, Jan. 19, 1908, mag. sec., p. 3.

Even the Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor in his report on the station on January 28, 1909, found it to be "a modern and commodious plant . . . delightfully located, so far as scenic, climatic, and health conditions are concerned." But he also found its facilities "many years in advance of the requirements of the service" because European immigration entering the port of San Francisco did not yet justify the heavy annual costs of operating the station. His recommendation to post a watchman at the station as a caretaker until the volume of European immigration increased with the opening of the Panama Canal was adopted, so that no plans to open the facilities were made until public pressure early in 1909 caused the Department to revise its policy and order the station to begin operation, which it did on January 22, 1910.[48]

4. Operations of the Station, Official and Unofficial

a) Proceedures for Arriving Passengers

Arriving alien passengers were inspected on board ship by a medical officer of the Marine Hospital and Public Health Service (as of 1912, simply Public Health Service) for any deformities or diseased conditions forbidden according to the immigration laws. Cabin passengers received only this primary inspection from the junior medical officer while all the steerage passengers, primarily Chinese and Japanese, were sent to the Angel Island Station where the senior medical officer immediately examined them, issuing certificates which denied admittance to the country if

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48. Reports, Commerce and Labor 1909, p. 242; Annual Report, Surgeon-General, 1910, p. 172. For information on the pressure which forced the opening of the station, see Section on problems, investigations and scandals surrounding the station operations. Architect Mathews after inspecting the completed buildings, also felt "very much pleased" with the workmanship and quality of materials furnished. Mathews to Commr. Gen., July 16, 1908, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26.

no doubt existed as to the disease or condition of an inflicted alien. Those ill or diseased were entered into the station hospital where they were confined to one of four wards in use for Asian men, Asian women, European men, and European women. Later, those who were cured and not given certificates would follow the procedures of most of the other steerage passengers who had been confined to quarters, either Asian or European according to sex, until their time arrived for an interrogation with a Board of Inquiry, composed of two immigration inspectors and a translator. Others, however, passed the general inspection on the day of their arrival and were permitted to return on the station ferry to the mainland.

Those detained for further interrogation often waited several weeks and sometimes longer for their first interview. If rejected, the alien could appeal through the federal civil courts, during which time he was confined at the station, under lock and key, lest he try to escape before final deportation decisions were made. If the courts or the Secretary of Commerce and Labor reversed the verdict of the immigration officers at the station, however, the alien was given his papers, baggage, and leave to enter the country.[49]

b) Enforcement of Regulations

The Angel Island Immigration Station served as the headquarters for District 18 which included Northern California, Nevada, and the Angel Island Station. The Commissioner of Immigration and the majority of station staff had offices or worked on the island, while a few persons were detached to offices in the

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49. Annual Report, Surg. Gen., 1910, p. 172; San Francisco Chronicle Aug. 18, 1907; San Francisco Call, Jan. 19, 1908, p. 3, mag. sect.

Appraisers Stores Building in San Francisco where witnesses not testifying for Chinese immigrants could be examined, files on pending legal cases could be maintained, and where the public could obtain general information on immigration. Two boarding inspectors were also detailed to the boarding Station at Meiggs Wharf so they could give primary medical inspections to all passengers other than steerage. Besides the station's inspectors, there were also, in 1910, fourteen watchmen, who guarded the station at night, and during the day, assisted in handling aliens during their examination, checked up on Chinese crews on vessels from foreign ports to make sure none jumped ship, and searched arriving vessels from the Orient for stowaways. As the years passed, the number of staff increased to handle the heavier workload arising from more restrictive immigration legislation which required greater care and legal assistance to enforce effectively. By 1921, the district and station supported a total of 135 employees, broken down into the Commissioner; two inspectors for the law division; five inspectors to supervise the Chinese, Immigration, Deportation and Detention, Mechanical, and Boarding Divisions; thirty-four inspectors; twenty-seven clerks; eight Chinese interpreters; two Japanese interpreters; twenty-one watchmen; nine laborers; three matrons; and a gardener, laundryman, electrician, painter, carpenter, plumber, engineer, two assistant engineers, fireman, master and pilot (boat), chief engineer (boat), two assistant engineers (boat), 2 firemen (boat), and five boat deckhands.[50]

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50. San Francisco Call, Oct. 1, 1908, p. 5; U.S. Dept. of Labor, Reports of the Department of Labor 1913, p. 323; Commr. of Immig. H. North to Commr. Gen. of Immig. Jan. 27, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, File 52961/26-C; F. W. Berkshire, Supervising Inspector on special duty to W. W. Husband, Commr. Gen., Sept. 15, 1921, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., rest of citation lost . From 1905 to 1913 the San Francisco immigration personnel worked for the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, Department of Commerce and Labor;

One of the fundamental aspects of immigration work at San Francisco concerned the enforcement of the laws which guarded against physically and mentally defective aliens who applied for entry. The passed assistant surgeon detailed to the immigration station from the Marine Hospital Service to inspect arriving aliens and treat those diseased, submitted separate annual reports of his operations at the Angel Island Immigration Station. From these can be gleaned the large number of immigrants who received medical inspections on board ship or at the station, and the special problems in protecting the general public from diseases prevalent in the Orient and from infectious maladies such as hookworm and trachoma (an eye disease) which the Asian immigrants frequently carried. To Chinese aliens the requirements to strip down before the probing eye of the doctor proved a painfully embarrassing experience in the context of their cultural modesty but those examinations often resulted in their medical treatment in the hospital and ultimate release and acceptance to the country. According to the figures submitted by the doctors in charge through the years (with some missing), the station medical staff inspected the following numbers of aliens applying for entry or reentry into the country:

1910	11,437
1911	10,353
1912	10,769
1913	13,893
1914	16,924
1915	16,956

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from 1913 to 1933, for the Bureau of Immigration, Department of Labor; and from 1933 to the present, for the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Labor. Guide to United States Government Publications 2 Edited by John L. Andriot (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973).

1916	15,099
1917	
1918	
1919	18,014
1920	24,758
1921	
1922	13,573
1923	No figs. given
1924	No figs. given
1925	7,750
1926	No figs. given
1927	No figs. given
1928	9,902
1929	10,410
1930	10,808
1931	8,089
1932	
1933	
1934	5,130
1935	
1936	6,902
1937	6,586
1938	6,370
1939	
1940	4,743

Through the years certain diseases seemed to prevail in arriving immigrants, sometimes preventing their ultimate entry. In 1911 a great number of East Indians arrived with uncinaria and were rejected for admittance. In 1912 Assistant Surgeon W. C. Billings reported that the high number of certified aliens resulted from the new system he had designed to detect

hookworm; he had ordered all Asian steerage passengers to be brought to the station for at least twenty-four hours in order to complete a microscopic inspection of feces samples for the hookworm parasite. So effective was his new method, in fact, that Billings projected the need for a new hospital if the high number of cases of hookworm continued to be identified. In 1913, of 1,888 certified aliens, 1,740 were detained for hookworm. That year a new regulation went into effect requiring all arriving aliens to bring a medical certificate from their homeland declaring them free of hookworm, a measure which substantially reduced the number of cases treated at the station hospital in subsequent years. By 1915 and 1916, however, the doctor had decided to extend this valuable inspection to second and third cabin aliens in addition to the steerage passengers, resulting in another increase in cases and a subsequent overcrowding of the hospital wards for Asians. By 1920 the problem was again brought under control by a more careful examination of aliens at the ports of embarkation.[51]

Besides requiring vigilant medical inspection, Asian immigrants needed to be carefully processed to prevent coaching of illegal applicants claiming derivative citizenship. One of the reasons for selecting Angel Island as the site for the immigration station was its isolation from the mainland, making it more difficult for Chinese (who, according to available information,

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51. Annual Report, Surgeon-General, 1910, p. 172; 1911, p. 208; 1912, p. 143; 1913, p. 162; 1914, p. 220; 1915, p. 211; 1916, p. 226; 1919, p. 173; 1920, p. 197; 1922, p. 207; 1925, p. 176; 1928, p. 216; 1929, p. 203; 1930, p. 219; 1931, p. 213; Annual Report-1934, p. 1; Friench Simpson, Medical Officer in Charge to Surg. Gen., July 3, 1936, July 3, 1937, July 9, 1938; Annual Report-1940, NA, RG 90, Public Health Service, Box 11, Gen. Subj. File 1936-44, Group I, Domestic Stations, S.F., File 1850. The medical officers also inspected alien marine crews at San Francisco increasing their workload by as many as 14,000 inspections.

were the principle nationality to practice illegal immigration by this method) to pass messages to arriving aliens in the detention sheds. According to the Commissioner of Immigration in 1910, the year the station opened "thorough and systematic violation of the [exclusion] law" had become so prevalent, and the methods of smuggling in Chinese "coolies" by overturning the statutory barriers so perfected, that the law never was literally enforced. To Commissioner North's mind, the law was "antiquated, incomplete, and clumsy" and needed total revamping so that "the Chinese and their abettors" no longer could practice their expert skills in manufacturing, preparing, and presenting fabricated evidence of citizenship for illegal applicants.[52]

Commissioner North, however, reflected too blatantly the discrimination and hostility towards Asian immigrants prevalent then on the West Coast, and, particularly, in San Francisco, and his removal from office late in 1910 made possible in 1912 a "broad and humane consideration" of Asian applicants at the Angel Island station. At the same time, however, efforts to stop Chinese smuggling intensified. In 1912 the Commissioner urged an increase in funding to allow for larger, "capable and experienced arrest crews" for the station so that they could destroy the incentive to enter illegally "by making [the immigrant's] . . . tenure of residence after they do gain entry so uncertain that they can not pay the enormous sums which they do pay to be safely brought into the country."[53]

At the immigration station the Asian applicants were kept under guard and not permitted any visitors until their

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52. Reports, Commerce and Labor, 1910, p. 132.

53. Reports, Commerce and Labor, 1911, p. 319; 1912, pp. 236-37.

interrogation by the Board of Inquiry which cut down on the means for passing coaching information, but never cut it out completely, as notes were often passed through the Chinese kitchen help during meals.[54]

Other nationalities and groups also received special attention from the station's law enforcers. In 1913 the Commissioner at San Francisco reported 117 deportations for "aliens connected with immoral occupations," and proudly noted that, "The Immigration Service is now recognized by those connected with prostitution as a serious factor to be dealt with." The same year Hindus began to apply for entry at San Francisco and the number of their rejections showed that "the immigration laws are usually effective against undesirable immigration if fully applied." The following year, the majority of court cases for appeals came from the Hindus, some of whom were influential lessees of California farms. Explaining the high frequency of rejection among the Hindu applicants for entry, the Commissioner of Immigration wrote:

> They were of a low type, and were in no way distinguishable from the great majority of their countrymen living on this coast, and against whom there was developing a strong prejudice among the people generally because of their uncleanliness, their obnoxious habits, their unfitness for labor, etc. It was realized that this prejudice, sooner or later, in one way or another, would cause those already here to become public charges, and

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54. Lai, "Part I, Ellis Island of the West," p. 2; Genny Lim and Judy Yung, "Our Parents Never Told Us," San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle, California Living Magazine, January 23, 1977, p. 9. Lim and Yung quote from an interview with a seventy-nine year old Chinese man who passed through the Angel Island station in 1913.

likewise those who were entering if they were allowed to remain.[55]

The courts and the department upheld the local immigration officers' decisions that the Hindus were rejectable because they were likely to become public charges, and the detained immigrants were deported. In 1916 a number of Spanish and Portuguese arrivals who the station's inspectors found "unfit physically or financially to cope with conditions" in this country received similar rejection certificates and were also deported.[56]

Japanese "picture brides" began entering the Angel Island immigration station in noticeably increasing numbers in 1912, and although their applications were for the most part "flawless," by 1919 their steady immigration and the subsequent manual labor of the majority of them in the fields of rural California gave rise "to a widespread belief that at least the spirit of the so-called 'gentlemen's agreement' [was] . . . being thus evaded." In his report to the Bureau that year, the District Commissioner voiced the opinion no doubt shared by many of his staff at the Angel Island station:

> Because of the racial antipathy and the nonassimilative character and prolific tendencies of this class, their increasing number on the Pacific coast is a menace to the peace and prosperity of our citizens, and it is felt that a

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55. Reports, Department of Labor, 1913, p. 326; 1914, pp. 438-39.

56. Ibid., 1914, p. 439; 1916, p. 370.

> strict adherance to the spirit of the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" should be required.[57]

This and other official statements criticizing the picture bride entries no doubt contributed largely to the ultimate agreement with Japan, effective September 1, 1920, to discontinue their further admittance, and, three years later, to the 1924 provisions in the immigration law to bar future immigration of all Japanese to this country.[58]

The station staff not only attempted to enforce the law in regards to aliens applying for entry, but also to apprehend aliens smuggled over the Mexican border and brought to San Francisco. By 1913 smuggling has become such a problem that the Commissioner General of Immigration appointed Captain Frank A. Ainsworth to lead a crusade against illegal aliens in the Eighteenth District. With offices at the Angel Island station, Ainsworth set out to stem the arrival of illegal Chinese laborers and slave girls (prostitutes), whose numbers reportedly reached 1,000 per month leaving their homeland for San Francisco via Mexico. Once apprehended, as in the case of the boatload of smuggled Chinese at Drake's Bay that year, the aliens were held at the Angel Island station until their deportation could be arranged. By 1920 the flow of illegal Chinese over the border had decreased, while the number of Japanese entering thus illegally had grown, so that the Angel

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57. Reports of Department of Labor, 1912, p. 237; 1913, p. 326; 1919, p. 656.

58. Annual Report, Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920, pp. 18, 364; Howokowa, Nisei, p. 99.

Island station still received aliens destined for deportation without appeal.

Those aliens given no hope of acceptance into the country figured high in the number of escapes made from the immigration station through the years. In 1914 four aliens escaped but were recaptured and deported; in 1917 two escaped and were not caught, and in 1919, two awaiting deportation escaped but were recaptured while burglaring a home in Yuba City. In 1916 the so-called "cleverest Japanese smuggler ever captured" escaped from the station and apparently was never found; nor were the four others who that year had gotten free, either from the station, from their departing ship, or from a deportation officer.[59]

The fact that escapes continued and the facilities and staff at the station were not equipped to guard the aliens, especially when difficult and unruly immigrants were being held, probably lay behind the Commissioner's order in 1928 to construct a cell house for the station to be built of crushed rock from Army quarries on the island. The cell house in many ways symbolized the role of the station as a whole for many of the arriving aliens subject to the United States immigration and exclusion laws, for their detention on the island necessarily amounted to an imprisonment until a decision was rendered on their suitability for admittance. The volume of work and time involved in investigations, departmental approval, court appeals, and deportation arrangements for detained persons was often staggering, causing many immigrants to wait extended periods

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59. Quote from, San Francisco Examiner, Dec. 28, 1916; ibid., Mar. 5, 1919, res. notes, Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.; Reports of the Department of Labor, 1912, p. 237; 1914, p. 437; 1916, p. 371; 1917, p. 392; 1919, p. 657; Fox, "Pursuing the Smuggler," pp. 531, 537.

before their case was decided. In 1914 the station also became a detention center for immigrants arrested in San Francisco for prostitution and held for deportation, because the Department of Commerce and Labor began refusing them the customary bail. The expense of maintaining them at the station until after their trial, however, became too great a burden, and the policy of allowing bail was reinstituted. The detention of aliens for medical and investigative purposes--the principle service of the station itself--received increasing criticism from many quarters after 1913 for a variety of reasons which will be discussed in a subsequent section dealing with the problems surrounding the station's operation.[60]

c) Wartime Internments

Besides its primary role as a processing center for immigrants applying for entry to the country, the Angel Island immigration station also served as an internment camp for alien seamen in World Wars I and II. Following the United States' entrance into World War I in April 1917, the station was designated as the detention camp for all German seamen interred on the Pacific Coast or at the various United States insular possessions in the Pacific. The facilities for detention were barely adequate for normal alien traffic so that the arrival of the prisoners caused considerable crowding. Fifty-six bunks were added to the male detention barracks (originally reserved only for Asians), while the German officers were quartered on the second floor of the Administration Building, where rooms formerly reserved for

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60. John D. Nagle, Commissioner, Angel Island Station, to Col. George G. Gatley, Commanding Officer, Fort McDowell, Jan. 22, 1925; Act. Commr. Haff to Gatley, July 30, 1928, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., District 13, S.F., Box 6; Reports of the Department of Labor, 1914, p. 443; [Daughters of the American Revolution], "Angel Island," typescript report, 1929, p. 8, California State Library, MS. Box 243, folder 23.

first-class passengers, and one of those originally reserved for Japanese females, were arranged as a dormitory. The German prisoners reportedly were free to wander the grounds by day but were locked in at night. This policy perhaps led to the escape of Hans Schnellinger from the station on August 4, 1917. Another prisoner, Ernst Hamann of the S.S. Saxonia, had been brought to the Angel Island station after his arrest in Seattle, Washington. In September 1917 he wrote in desperation to the German Minister imploring him to intercede in his case, for he had been denied medical treatment at the station, even after he offered to pay for it with his own savings. According to his testimony, the immigration officers recommended that he apply for parole in order to receive treatment in the city.[61]

With the station taxed to its absolute limits with several hundred German prisoners in detention, the Commissioner General of Immigration received permission in December 1917 to transfer 452 prisoners to the quarantine station at Hospital Cove. Finally, on July 1, 1918, the Department of Labor returned the responsibility of maintaining enemy aliens to the War Department, after which the Angel Island prisoners were relocated to Hot Springs, North Carolina.[62]

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61. Reports of Department of Labor, 1917, p. 391; Askin, "Historical Report, Angel Island Immigration Station," p. 67; S.F. [Chronicle?], Sept. 6, 1917, research note, Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.; "Petition for help of the Prisoner Ernst Hammann, Officer of the H.A.L." Immigration Station, Angel Island, September 28, 1917, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., District 13, S.F., Box 2, Alien Enemy Files, 1916-1919.

62. Annual Report, Surgeon-General, 1918, p. 192; Askin, "Historical Report," pp. 67-68.

During World War II the station received some 451 German seamen from the S.S. Columbus, a German liner scuttled off Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, in December 1939. Because the United States was not yet at war, these sailors were classed as "distressed seamen," who were taken into custody for assistance. Having been informed of the situation, the German government requested that the Columbus crew be transferred to the West Coast, away from the danger of British enemy ships on the Atlantic, and closer to Germany's ally, Japan, which was scheduled to pick up the sailors. Again, the Angel Island immigration station was selected as the detention center, and again facilities were so overcrowded that the nearby Quarantine station was requested to accommodate the excess. On January 8, 1940, 318 arriving German seamen took up quarter's at the quarantine station, while 151 went to the immigration station, where they received quarters in the male detention building on the hillside. Because the plan to transfer these men to a Japanese ship fell through, the German crew still were domiciled at the station on August 12, 1940, when a midnight fire destroyed the Administration Building and the covered stairway connecting it with the Germans' quarters. The German sailors, under the direction of their own officers, materially assisted in fighting the fire and were credited by one immigration officer with preventing its spread to other station buildings.

With the Administration Building in ruins, District Director of Immigration, Edward Haff, requested permission from the Public Health Service to transfer the 151 German crew and officers of the Columbus to the quarantine station. For several weeks the immigration station's ferryboat, Angel Island, and its relief launch transported the sailors on frequent daily trips to the city for supplies and leave, but by late August 1940, the complete responsibility for the German crew had been transferred to the Public Health Service. Evidently the crew continued at the

quarantine station until March 1941 when they were transferred to New Mexico, and, after that, to North Dakota, thereby remaining in the United States throughout the war.[63]

d) Federal Prisoners and Harry Bridges' Deportation Hearings

At least on one occassion, and possibly on several, federal prisoners were held at the immigration station on Angel Island instead of at federal or state prisons, or at jails in the San Francisco Bay area. During Prohibition the captured crew of the rum-runner, Guilia, were taken to the station and on February 3, 1925, after two months of imprisonment, three of them, led by the ship's former Captain O'Hager, cut through the steel wire mesh covering the windows and escaped into the night. The immigration guards, well armed, went in search of them, anticipating that these men had received firearms from wealthy associates on the mainland who feared they would give testimony against them in court. While attempting to build a raft to cross the swift currents which circled the island, the three escapees were recaptured. The risks to his staff did not escape the Commissioner, John D. Nagle, however, who on February 6 ordered all federal prisoners from the immigration station, making it public at the same time that the station could not serve as a penal institution with only a few employees and frame buildings which

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63. Medical Dir. Friench Simpson, Angel Island Quarantine Station, Annual Report for F.Y. 1940; to Surg. Gen., U.S.P.H.S., Aug. 12, 22, 1940, NA, RG 90, P.H.S., Gen. Sub. files 1936-44, Box 11, Group I, Domestic Stations, S.F. Files 1850 and o245; San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 13, Dec. 18, 1940, res. notes in Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.

were not equipped to handle desperate prisoners who intended to make escapes.[64]

Perhaps the most nationally famous individual to be imprisoned at the Angel Island immigration station was labor leader, Harry Bridges. Bridges began his climb to power in 1934 when, as founder and president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, he led an effective waterfront strike on the West Coast and in San Francisco. By 1939 Bridges' labor union work had made him leader of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.) on the Pacific Coast and had won him many enemies among the country's powerful business leaders who, as early as 1935, had called for Bridges' deportation. The thirty-nine-year-old Australian alien finally was arrested on the charge of being a Communist Party member in 1939 and subsequently was brought to the Angel Island immigration station for his deportation hearings which took place in the Administration Building in July 1939.

The station's location on the island made it convenient to shut demonstrators and spectators out from the proceedings which had fewer than forty people in attendance, including immigration officers and guards, San Francisco policemen, newspaper reporters, the legal counsel, the defendant, and Bridges' twelve-year-old daughter, Betty. On July 11, 1939, the second day of the trial, Bridges' lawyer, Dean James M. Landis of Harvard University Law School, requested that the hearings be moved to the mainland to allow him adequate communication with the press and public, for the submarine cable connecting the station to

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64. San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 3, 6, 1925, clipping from Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.; Photo cap, S.F.P.L., S.F. History Room, Photos--Angel Island--1920s.

the mainland had been accidently severed off Pier 45 by the Japanese freighter, Atutasan Muru, and he had not been given access to the available emergency wires to the city. While Landis argued that the cable breakage unfairly isolated the trial from the general public, the government staunchly opposed the transfer of the hearings to the mainland. On July 12, 1939 a decision was reached to continue the proceedings at the station and for the following nine weeks the witnesses, officials, and guards came to and departed from the island on the Immigration Service's ferry, Angel Island. On December 28, 1939, the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, received a final report on the hearings which concluded, "The evidence established neither that Harry R. Bridges is a member of nor affiliated with the Communist Party of the United States of America." Bridges went on to face similar charges and hearings in 1941 but was again exonerated. Finally, in 1950, having applied several times unsuccessfully, he received his U.S. citizenship.[65]

e) Social Organizations Give Aid at Station

To ease and improve the detention of aliens at the immigration station, several social organizations, both local and national, sent representatives and material donations to the island. In 1912 the Women's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church first began to make visits under deaconess Katharine R. Maurer whose welfare work on the island won her the name of the "Angel of Angel Island." For over twenty years Miss Maurer took the ferry from San Francisco to the immigration station

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65. As quoted in Askin, "Historical Report," p. 76; pp. 71-74, 77. Askins gives a more complete and detailed account of the proceedings of Bridges' deportation hearings at the immigration station. Photo cap, San Francisco Call, July 10, 1939, S.F.P.L., S.F. History Room, Photos--Angel Island--1930s; San Francisco Call-Bulletin, July 10, 1939, p. 1; July 11, 1939, p. 1; July 13, 1939, p. 1.

where she distributed the gospels in Chinese and Japanese translations, gave lessons in English, instructed aliens on American customs, patriotic observances and clothing, and performed numerous services for immigrants in detention, such as obtaining jobs, shopping, and arranging marriages for them. By 1929 the Commissioner of Immigration had designated two rooms on the second floor of the Administration Building for Miss Maurer's work and had given her every verbal assurance that her help was greatly appreciated at the station.

The Daughters of the American Revolution decided around 1929 to add the Angel Island station to their national program to assist immigrants. The Ellis Island Immigration Committee carried out arrangements through Miss Maurer's direction to distribute clothing for emergency purposes and to supply the station with a victrola, records, books to start a library, wool and knitting needles to pass the time, large pieces of cloth to make childrens' clothing, and pieces of silk to sew fancy work. The committee also donated playground equipment and, for the annual Christmas party, the biggest occasion of the year, they sent money or boxes to add to Miss Maurer's collection of gifts, music, and a big Christmas tree.[66]

During the mid-1920s the Chinese men and boys in detention at the station formed an organization in the barracks which continued to offer aid to arriving Chinese aliens until the station closed in 1940. The mutual aid society maintained order, taught children, made formal transmissions of complaints to the

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66. [Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.)], "Angel Island," pp. 11-12; San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 20, 1934, research note from Dr. Elliot Evans, coll., Orinda, Calif.; Annual Report, Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1920, p. 368.

authorities, and provided an important link with the underground coaching communications with the mainland. Fees collected for the delivery of coaching messages went towards the purchase of athletic equipment, records, and small donations for deported persons. In 1929 a report on the station by the Daughters of the American Revolution identified this group as the Liberty Association, and mentioned that they received weekly visits from a Chinese Y.M.C.A. representative from San Francisco who gave the detainees instructions in American customs, ideals, games and sanitary standards, and provided such entertainment as motion pictures.

Other social welfare groups made occasional visits to the island and probably contributed literature and other assistance to the station's detained aliens, among them the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, the Japanese Association of America, and the Human's American Baptist Home Mission Society. The combined effort of these groups, directed primarily towards the Asian immigrants whose stay at the station on account of legal and procedural complications usually was longer, helped to soften the cultural shock for many immigrants facing a hostile, anti-Asian social climate in San Francisco, as well as on the West Coast at large.[67]

f) Immigrant Recollections and Accounts

Recently two second-generation Chinese Americans in the San Francisco area interviewed two elderly Chinese immigrants who had passed through the Angel Island Immigration Station, one in 1913 illegally as a "paper son," and a woman, Mrs.

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67. Lai, "Part II, Life Under Detention," p. 1; Annual Report Commissioner-General of Immigration, 1920, p. 368; [D.A.R.], "Angel Island," p. 12; Mary Bamford, Angel Island: the Ellis Island of the West (Chicago: Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society, 1917), pp. 27, 32-33.

Wong, who came to this country for the first time with her son in 1922 to join her husband who had been in business in this country for over ten years. Mrs. Wong, at eighty-seven, remembered her two-week stay at the station with discomfort and displeasure. Her young fourteen year old son, she recalled, had been propositioned by Chinese prostitutes enclosed in the same room. The various dishes served in the big dining hall were "all chopped up and thrown together like pig slop," into a big bowl resembling a washtub and then left for each person to serve himself. "There was cabbage, stewed vegetables, and bits of stewed meat of low quality. Rice was put in another big tub and you served yourself. The Chinese food was not pan-fried, but steamed till it was like a soupy stew. After looking at it, you'd lose your appetite," Mrs. Wong told Genny Lim and Judy Yung, her interviewers.

During Mrs. Wong's confinement, no radio, record player, newspapers, or magazines were available in the Chinese women's quarters and unless an arriving alien had brought her own reading material, knitting, or other diversions, the time passed very slowly. "That's why in just two weeks, I was so disgusted and bored of just sitting around! Day in, day out, the same kind of thing." The Chinese female quarters also offered little comfort during the long wait. "All we had were rows of bunk beds with a narrow path between the beds, just enough to walk through and not even a chair." Being denied any visitors prior to interrogation, "there were very little good times," Mrs. Wong recalled. "You mostly sat on your bed and worried, 'When am I going to get in,' or else, 'They're going to deport me!'"

When her interrogation finally came it took only about ten minutes, probably because the testimony of her husband corroborated hers, and they reported only one son who also gave supportive answers under questioning. Two days after the

interrogation was over, Mrs. Wong and her son were allowed to join Mr. Wong on the mainland where she still lived in 1976 when contacted for an interview. Few Chinese immigrants had ever disclosed their unpleasant experiences at the immigration station before, and only on the condition that she knew one of the reporters, or if someone she knew arranged the interview, would Mrs. Wong agree to share her recollections of her 1922 detention at the Angel Island immigration station.[68]

A seventy-nine year old senior citizen in Chinatown also agreed to talk to Lim and Yung about his experiences during a three-and-a-half month stay at the station in 1913. His father, having claimed that his birth records had been lost in the 1906 fire in San Francisco, purchased a false paper for $1,500 to bring his legitimate son to the United States. At only sixteen years old, the young man left his village in China having been provided with a coaching book giving examples of the detailed questions on village life which the immigration officers asked. Four slots had been opened when a village couple entitled to bring their children to the United States had reported four false sons in China. As one of these "sons," the young man joined one of his "brothers" on the boat to San Francisco, where a third "brother" had already been accepted. Because the brothers' testimonies did not coincide, he was detained for the three and a half months, during which time he was questioned three times, a couple hours each time. Although rejected for entry, his case was later successfully appealed and he went on to attend school while he worked as a servant. After World War I he was employed at Bethlehem Steel Ship yard and, finally, at Stanford University as a laboratory assistant until his retirement.

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68. Lim and Yung, "Our Parents Never Told Us," pp. 6-7.

His memories of detention at the station resembled Mrs. Wong's, although somewhat less traumatic. (At sixteen the adjustments must have been easier than for thirty-three-year-old Mrs. Wong.) About 100 Chinese men, mostly in their twenties, were living in the detention barracks room during his stay. After two weeks he was considered to be an old timer ("gew hock") among the new arrivals who came on a daily basis. He recalled being let out into a fenced recreation yard every day where the men and boys could play ball or shuttlecock. Indoors and out, the most important recreation was the gambling. "There was pai-gow and tin-gow. . . . We didn't gamble that much, though. In those days, nobody had any money. You couldn't play if you didn't have any money." The detainees could also read Chinese books if they had brought them from China, and there were two Chinese newspapers available. According to his memory only the educated Chinese, mostly older men, had written on the barracks walls, for the most part with ink brushes and anonymously. For those who chose to write letters they had to be careful not to discuss coaching information, for all outgoing mail was read by immigration officers before being sent.

Stealing was a problem in the barracks. "If you left anything around someone would take it," he told his interviewers. He only brought some clothes and a few other items in a camphor wood chest to his new homeland. Bathroom facilities at the station also were a problem, as only toilet paper was provided, so that soap or paper towels, or bathing towels had to be brought from China or acquired somehow at the station. In order to wash clothes, moreover, a person had to string a rope from one bunk to another or dry the damp clothing over the radiator.

Numerous wall writings such as those the interviewed man recalled in the Chinese barracks have survived the

years since the building was abandoned. Genny Lim has translated two of them into English to illustrate the depressed mood many Chinese felt during the immigration detention:

Random Thoughts at Night

In the quiet of night I heard the faint shrieking of wind

And out of this landscape of visions and shadows a poem grew.

The floating clouds, the fog, darkens the sky.

The moon shines faintly as the insects chirp.

Grief and bitterness are sent by heaven.

A lonely shadow sits, leaning by a window.

Written by Yee of Toishan

Detained in this wooden house for several tens of days.

Because of the Mexican exclusion laws.

It's a pity heroes have no place to exercise their prowess.

Waiting for news of my release, I am ready to snap my whip and gallop.

All of my kinsmen and housemates will be happy for me.

But don't envy this Western grandeur, this imposing facade

For behind the jade carvings, there still lies a cage.

An Unknown Immigrant[69]

g) Transportation and Communication

In January 1910 the immigration station opened with only the cutter, Inspector, ready for service and with a ferryboat under contract for construction. Commissioner North reported that the sturdy little cutter was making four round trips a day between the city and Angel Island each leg taking about thirty minutes under favorable conditions. Although the Bureau had wired authorization for the station to solicit bids for a ferry service until the ferryboat was completed, North argued that the cutter was very seaworthy and carried thirty-four cabin seats at the present, with room for sixteen more, which he intended to add to accommodate as many as fifty passengers each trip, a sufficient number to handle the business until the ferryboat could take over. One and one half years passed, however, before the Angel Island was launched at Oakland on June 21, 1911, and put into commission on August 6, 1911. The steam-powered ferryboat cost the Bureau $46,110.01 to construct, but its service was long, continuing until the station closed in 1940, whereas the Inspector was replaced in 1936 by a new diesel launch, the Jeff D. Milton.

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69. Ibid., pp. 8-9.

The Angel Island provided separate cabins for all classes of passengers and made six regular round trips per day in order to carry most of the station employees to and from work as well as those persons conducting business or serving as witnesses at the station. At night the ferry docked in San Francisco, but because of crowded conditions on the waterfront in 1911, she had to receive and discharge passengers at a different dock and receive and discharge freight at yet a third location. In 1917, in an effort to improve the docking facilities, Commissioner White wrote the Board of State Harbor Commissioners requesting space be retained at Pier 5 to best accommodate "the more than 16,000 people who travel on our boat during the month," or an average of more than 500 per day who depended on the Angel Island for their transportation to and from the island.[70]

To protect the station vessels as well as others traveling near Angel Island's shore, a 4,000-pound fog bell was installed on the wharf in May 1910, and in October of the same year was updated to provide a gamewell fog-bell striking apparatus, the most modern equipment available.

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70. North to Commr. Gen. of Immig., Jan. 27, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-C; San Francisco Call, June 22, 1911, Aug. 6, 1911, p. 11; Commr. Gen. Daniel J. Keefe to Commr. of Immig., S.F., Aug. 9, 1911; on Feb. 1, 1915, the Inspector began service as a boarding launch to incoming steamers in the bay. Commr. to Whom It May Concern, Jan. 29, 1915; Commr. of Immig. Edward White to James Byrnes, Jr., Asst. Sec., Board of State Harbor Commrs., Mar. 23, 1917; the Jeff D. Milton was twelve feet wide, forty-five and eight-tenths feet long, with a draft of three feet six inches, a gross weight of twenty-six tons, and a net weight of eighteen tons. District Director, S.F. District, Edward L. Haff, to Director, Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, Dept. of Commerce, Aug. 28, 1936; W. H. Wagner, Assistant, to Dist. Dir. of Immig. & Nat., S.F., Aug. 27, 1937, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Dist. 13, S.F., Box 3, Boat Files, 1911-41, File 12030; Reports of Department of Commerce and Labor, 1912, p. 27.

The following year, in late December 1911, the telephone company finished laying a cable across the bay between the mainland and the station, so obviating the necessity to telephone the station through the Presidio switchboard which then connected the party with Fort McDowell which finally transferred the call to the immigration station.[71]

h) Regular Maintenance and Protection

In order to protect the station from grass fires which often threatened Angel Island, the station maintenance crew regularly cut the wild hay on the reservation. Beginning in the 1920s the station buildings annually received fumigations from quarantine station crews in order to kill off cockroaches and other vermin. Garbage until the mid-1920s was dumped off the station's wharf, but by 1925 the sea gulls had become so numerous that they presented a hazard. Consequently, the Commissioner received permission from Fort McDowell's Commanding Officer to dump garbage at Point Stewart on the west side of the island where the Army unloaded everything except explosives over the bluff into the ocean.

The only regular maintenance which the station did not receive seems to have been the painting of buildings, very likely because agitation to move the station to the mainland, beginning in 1913, probably kept the necessary funds for this extensive work tied up. In 1930 Commissioner White called the Bureau's attention to the "absolute need" to paint all the station buildings and cottages in

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71. Act. Sec., Benjamin S. Cable, Dept. of Commerce and Labor, to Lighthouse Board, May 26, 1910; Commander, U.S. Navy, Assistant to the Inspector to Lighthouse Inspector, Eighteenth District, S.F., Oct. 29, 1910, NA, RG 26, District 12 Correspondence, Box 1, Angel Island 1903-1913; San Francisco Call, Dec. 21, 1911, clipping, Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.

order to insure their further usefulness. To strengthen his point he reminded the Commissioner General that the buildings had not been painted since 1912 and were thus rapidly deteriorating, putting them "in a deplorable state." The Bureau complied in 1931, and all the station buildings were painted light cream trimmed in white.[72]

5. Problems Investigations, Scandal Surround the Station's Opening and Operation

As already described, many construction problems arose in 1906 which detained and impeded the completion of the Angel Island Immigration Station, and these were followed by a Departmental decision in January 1909 not to open the station as scheduled due to the inadequate finances and justification to operate such an impressive plant. The stage already was set for the chronic problems, frequent investigations, and damaging scandals which surrounded the station's emergency opening in January 1910 and its thirty years of operation on Angel Island.

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72. Commr. Edward White, to Commr. Gen. of Immig., Apr. 28, 1930; J. R. Silva, Head Gardener, to Commr. of Immig., Angel Island, May 1, 1917; Commr. John D. Nagle to Dr. R. H. Creel, Chief Quarantine Officer, Angel Island, Mar. 14, 1924; to Col. George Gatley, Commanding Offr., Fort McDowell, Feb. 11, 1925; Act. Commr. Edw. L. Haff to Gatley, Feb. 18, 1925; to Dr. Creel, Aug. 26, 1925; to Dr. J. R. Ridlon,. Chf. Quarantine Officer, Angel Island, Jan. 4, 1927, May 7, 1929, June 16, 1930; to Dr. H. A. Spencer, Medical Officer in Charge, Immigration Station, Angel Island, May 4, 1931; Commr. John Nagle to Supt., U.S. Lighthouse Service, S.F., Sept. 15, 1931; Act. Commr. Edward L. Haff, S.F., to Dr. Spencer, Apr. 4, 1932; In 1920, when cost estimates were submitted for painting the exterior of the buildings, the Engineer and Electrician at the station informed the Commissioner that the last time the buildings were painted outside and inside, it took no less than twenty men working as fast as possible over two months to complete the job. Albert Athern, Memorandum, to Commissioner, July 30, 1920, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Dist. 13, S.F., Box 6, Correspondence 1915-41.

a) Investigations Prior to Opening

Senator George C. Perkins of California, who played an active role in promoting the legislation for the immigration station at San Francisco, led investigations into its postponed opening. His concern continued to be the disgraceful detention quarters for Chinese aliens on the Mail Dock and the inadequate office space for the immigration officers in San Francisco. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor responded to his request to open the station without delay on March 19, 1909, by giving the official stand that the Immigration Service was not responsible for the Chinese detention but that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company and its allied lines had been informed that the station would not be opened and thus they would be responsible for improvements to their detention facilities. The station, moreover, was not in use because the cost of opening and operating the station would amount to at least $70,000, which funds were not available or justifiable.

Senator Perkins was not alone in his efforts to see the station open. On March 23, 1909, the Board of Trustees of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce forwarded a resolution to the California Congressional Delegation requesting that they put pressure on the Department of Commerce and Labor to occupy the station immediately. They pointed out that the station and its cutter were completed but not in use; that Congress appropriated a large annual sum to enforce Chinese Exclusion laws, eighty percent of which were carried out in San Francisco; and that the immigration officers needed proper quarters to handle their business efficiently.[73]

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73. Senator Perkins to Charles Nagel, Sec. of Commerce & Labor, Mar. 11, 1909; Nagel to Perkins, Mar. 19, 1909; Resolution, S.F. Chamber of Commerce, Mar. 23, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, Files 52961/26 and 26-a.

Detention of the Chinese in San Francisco in 1909 indeed had become a problem, as thirty-one aliens had escaped, primarily because of the difficulty of guarding them at the waterfront facilities. In the face of these problems, political support for the station's opening continued to mount. In October 1909 California's Senator Dillingham joined Senator Perkins, Congressman Julius Kahn, and several port officials and business leaders in an inspection of the new immigration station which Dillingham found commodious and well equipped in marked contrast to the conditions at the Pacific Mail Steamship Company's dock. According to the San Francisco Call, "If anything was needed to convince the Senator that this port was woefully in need of more adequate facilities for handling immigrants a view of the ramshackle shed and its inmates was sufficient."[74]

Political pressure, however, had already convinced President William H. Taft that immediate action concerning the station had to be considered. On October 4, 1909, he telegraphed the Secretary of Commerce and Labor:

> I should like to know why the Immigrant station at Angel Island is not in use. All that it needs is a ferry to make it useful. I am greatly in fear that our treatment of the Chinese at this port is going to bring about another boycott and they will not be properly treated until they are given in benefit of that new station. I am aware that agent O'Keefe was here and declined to undertake it and I am also aware that Mr. Wheeler thought they could not

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74. San Francisco Call, Oct. 8, 1909, p. 16; Annual Report, Commissioner General of Immigration, 1909, p. 221.

undergo the expense solely for Chinese. I think that is an entire justification for the expense.[75]

Although Commissioner General of Immigration O'Keefe argued in a memorandum to the Secretary on October 5 that he thought it very possible that the President didn't have all the facts at his disposal, namely that the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was about to equip the steamship, City of Peking, as an improved detention facility at its own expense, and that it was unlikely that the regular appropriation for regulating immigration would cover the necessary expense of furnishing the station nor the large increase in operating costs which would follow, the Secretary of Commerce and Labor decided on October 9, 1910, to open the station immediately, treating it as an emergency. In a letter of explanation to the president, Secretary Nagel acknowledged his recent awareness that the Chinese situation in the United States presented an extremely delicate international situation and that conditions which bordered on prejudice, as demonstrated by the unpardonable detention of immigrants like prisoners in San Francisco, had to be immediately remedied. Consequently he ordered that lanterns be used at the station until the electrical system could be wired and that blankets and furniture be purchased "at the lowest possible prices" on the market in preparation for opening day.[76]

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75. The President's telegram quoted in, Commr. Gen. Daniel O'Keefe, Memo to Sec. of Commerce and Labor, Oct. 5, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-b.

76. Commr. Gen. Daniel O'Keefe, Memorandum to Secretary, Oct. 5, 1909; Sec. of Commerce and Labor to the President, telegram and letter, Oct. 9, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, File 52961/26-b.

Estimates for construction work required to open the station were sent to Washington only ten days later, showing that of the $42,564.91 still available in the Angel Island Station appropriations, only some $25,000 would be needed. In early December contracts were let to supply the hospital and tend to construction needs, including improvements to the roads, sidewalks, retaining walls, and gutters, and on January 22, 1910, the station officially opened, despite the strenuous protests from the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco against its use. Ironically, although the Chinese detention in the city had been the principal reason for opening the station, the Chinese leaders argued that the station's location on Angel Island would cause "great and unnecessary inconvenience" to the Chinese and their witnesses because of the time and trouble to get to the station, especially in the light of the new authority conferred by Congress on immigration officials to subpoena witnesses for a specific date and time of appearance. The Chinese community in San Francisco apparently shared their leaders' reaction to the new immigration station, for on the day of its opening, the city's Chinese World editorialized that instead of the old wooden shed at the wharf, now the immigrants would be "confined on a barren island by the seashore."77

Besides the problems related to the delayed opening of the station, the Commissioner General in April 1909

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77. As quoted in Lai, "Part I, Ellis Island of the West," p. 1; Act. Commr. Gen. F. H. Larned, to Commr. of Immig., S.F., Oct. 16, 1909; Commr. Gen. to Immig. Ser., S.F., Dec. 13, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 51456/67, Additional Construction Work-Angel Island Station; Annual Report, Surgeon General, 1910, p. 172; Petition to President William H. Taft and Secretary of Commerce and Labor, Nov. 18, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 45, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-b.

learned, after the district's inspector had investigated damages reported at the station from slides and washouts, that the facilities already were in need of repair, maintenance, and improvement. The slide in front of the hospital building threatened a future undermining of the foundations and only the addition of a concrete retaining wall would check the hazard. More importantly, however, the inspector discovered two related problems which endangered the station as a whole: "the absolute lack of fire protection," and the short supply of water available to fight fires. The two water tanks on the hill behind the detention barracks had not been filled and only one man, the watchman, was on duty to fight any fires should they occur. Fuel oil was needed to charge the pump house machinery in order to get the tanks filled, and the machinery, not yet tested, already needed a complete overhaul as it was "in a deplorable condition from rust."[78]

While fires could be fought with ocean water, fresh water was needed for cooking and drinking purposes and the supply for the station still presented a problem although Architect Mathews had thought he had solved it in 1908. On April 14, 1909, Commissioner General O'Keefe informed Mathews that provisions had been made to install water tanks on the station's ferry in order to bring a supply from San Francisco to pump into the water tanks. The shortage of fresh water, however, would frequently plague the station's officials in the thirty years to follow.

As Commissioner North in San Francisco explained to his superiors in April 1909, the critical shortcomings of the station were largely out of his hands. He had never received

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78. Inspector Taylor's report quoted in Commr. Gen. to Commr. of Immig., S.F., Apr. 10, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, File 52961/26-a.

any copies of the drawings and specifications for the station and, furthermore, he was so completely involved in his regular duties on the mainland that he really could not afford to take the half-day necessary to get to the station in order to attend to the problems there. He could confirm, however, that the fire protection was totally inadequate. Mathews had installed fire plugs only in the administration building, leaving the power house, detention barracks, and hospital exposed to danger. The pipes feeding the fire plugs, moreover, were not connected to the water tanks as supposed, but to the power plant and could only be operated when steam was up in the boilers. And the three chemical extinguishers provided the station were uncharged and therefore useless.[79]

Evidently disturbed by Inspector Taylor's cursory report of March 25, 1909, Commissioner General O'Keefe had called for a detailed and comprehensive report on the station's condition which Taylor submitted on July 1, 1909, along with an inspection report made by the government's Superintendent of Construction in San Francisco. The findings gave cause for concern, as they repeated and extended those identified in Taylor's March inspection. Although the buildings met the specifications and plans, their construction was poor because, according to Architect Mathews, he had been obliged "to specify the cheapest material obtainable" in order to complete the construction with the funds available. The station on July 1, 1909 still had no fire protection whatsoever, and nearly all the fender and cluster piles on the wharf had been entirely eaten away by the teredo. Seepage water was already doing damage to the hospital and administration

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79. Commr. Gen. to Commr. of Immig., S.F., Apr. 10, 1909; Commr. North to Commr. Gen., Apr. 15, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, File 52961/26-a; Commr. Gen. to Mathews, Apr. 14, 1909, ibid., File 51456/66.

buildings and rain water flow threatened to continue to cause the second story porch of the administration building to settle. Although not all serious problems, a regular maintenance program and proper construction of the buildings and structures would have spared the additional expenses to correct them and would have made more funds available when the final decision to open the station was made three months later.[80]

b) First Year Problems Indicate Trends

Although the investigations of the station in 1909 had identified certain problems which recurred throughout the station's history, reports and investigations in 1910 set the trend for most of the station's worst failings over the years. The Commissioner of Immigration himself, Hart H. North, turned out to be one of the foremost obstacles to a smooth administration of business. In October 1910 he was suspended from service and subsequently resigned. Having visited San Francisco personally to learn the details of the case, Commissioner General O'Keefe reported to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor on November 28 that "the Immigration Service in San Francisco was not only in a chaotic condition, but lack of management was . . . manifest on all sides."[81]

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80. J. W. Roberts, Superintendent of Construction, to R. H. Taylor, Inspector of Immigration, S.F., June 17, 1909; Steward H. Taylor to Commr. Gen., July 1, 1909, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-b.

81. Reports of Commerce and Labor, 1911, p. 319; Commr. Gen. to Benjamin S. Cable, Asst. Sec. of Commerce and Labor, Nov. 28, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-c.

Although never directly stated, Commissioner North undoubtedly was also accused by Chinese and whites alike of prejudiced policies and attitudes in the administration of his duties. As explanation for the 1909 Chinese protests against the opening of the station, Commissioner North had attributed the agitation to "almost the entire Chinese community of San Francisco and surroundings" who, "aided and abetted by their white lawyers," were engaged, whenever possible, "in the fraudulent importation of their fellow countrymen." The annual report of the Commissioner General of Immigration gave similarly opinionated statements which undoubtedly came from North's pen:

> The importation of Chinese has become a regular business out of which a number of promoters, steerers, and attor neys make an enormous profit. . . . As soon as the administration of the laws is made so effective as seriously to impair those profits a storm of protest is heard and an effort is made to intimidate the executive branch of the Government by threats of a commercial boycott . . .
>
> The Chinese and their abettors have become so expert in the presentation and preparation of manufactured evidence that they frequently deceive the court commissioners and courts before whom they are brought . . .[82]

The report also accused the councils of the Chinese commercial, semi-commercial, and protective associations of being the parties most interested in smuggling, and while there may

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82. Commr. North to Commr. Gen., Jan. 27, Feb. 3, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, File 52961/26-c; Reports of Commerce and Labor, 1910, p. 132.

have been a grain of truth in some of these accusatory explanations of the immigration service's problems in San Francisco, they undoubtedly slandered a number of persons involved in the legal immigration of Chinese to the United States. As if to justify his record, North published an article years later entitled, "Chinese and Japanese Immigration on the Pacific Coast," which clearly revealed that he had never overcome those fears and prejudiced concepts concerning Asians so prevalent in early twentieth-century California. The Japanese immigrants had remained in his memory the most treacherous to American social standards, for adult Japanese men had gone to white grade schools and had passed obscene notes to the adolescent female pupils, and the picture brides had posed a threat to the country's welfare.[83]

Inadequate funding and staffing for the station also turned up the first year as a factor undermining efficient operations. As early as February 1910 Commissioner North recommended that Congress appropriate an additional $100,000, or at least $50,000, to enlarge the station facilities in order to provide adequate space for an increasing number of arriving aliens. In his report on the station in November 1910 the Commissioner General recommended the immediate appointment of two additional crews of inspectors because the existing shortage of inspectors had caused a prolonged detention of Orientals at the station, and had thus left the immigration bureau and the department open to "severe criticism."

Commissioner General O'Keefe also pointed out to his superiors the unsanitary conditions of the detention quarters

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83. Reports of Commerce and Labor 1910, p. 133; North, "Chinese and Japanese," p. 344.

and hospital. "Owing to the very poorly constructed buildings, which lack modern improvements, such as toilets, baths, etc., it is next to an impossibility to keep them in a sanitary condition," he explained to Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor Gable. While expressing his surprise that more criticism of the station had not reached Washington, O'Keefe associated the deplorable situation with the recently fired Commissioner North: "I can only say that the poorly constructed buildings with their filthy and unsanitary conditions, compare favorably with the previous management, or, rather, the mismanagement, of the Service at this Station."[84]

But Commissioner North was not alone in the blame, as a special investigation of the station late in 1910 revealed. According to Acting San Francisco Commissioner Luther C. Steward's lengthy report of December 19, 1910, Architect Mathews and the Bureau itself deserved a portion of the criticism. Steward's investigation showed Mathews to have an "appalling ignorance" of the necessities for the station, as his plans so amply demonstrated. The Chinese and Immigration divisions which ideally would be centralized at the new station were completely separated in different wings of the administration building. The station was furnished with numerous "fantastic and ridiculous" features, such as electric light chandeliers in the Asiastic men's quarters which the detained used to swing on or to hang up their clothes to dry, as well as an electric vegetable peeler and bake oven in the kitchen. (Asians ate very little bread and not enough Europeans

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84. Commr. North to Commr. Gen., Feb. 3, 1910; Commr. Gen. to Gable, Nov. 28, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, Files 52961/26-d, e. The Commissioner General no doubt based his statements on the sanitary conditions of the station on two detailed reports submitted on April 13 and Nov. 21, 1910, by the station's medical officer, Passed Assistant Surgeon Glover; these reports are located as cited above.

stayed in detention to warrant the use of the oven.) Moreover, the kitchen lacked proper storage space for the large boxes and crates of foodstuffs received at the station and $3,904 had been spent on refrigeration, while one unneeded icebox still stood in its shipping crate. Mathews also apparently never consulted in any way with the Chinese Inspector or Surgeon in Charge at San Francisco during his planning of the station buildings and even reportedly ignored the suggestions which Surgeon Trotter offered him on the design of the hospital. But Steward laid the weight of the blame on the bureau and department for not knowing the particular needs of the San Francisco immigration station and for accepting the recommendations of Commissioner North, whose character and qualifications for service had typically not been checked out before his appointment as a district officer.[85]

By the close of 1910 the worst of the station's problems had been thus exposed and would be repeated in the years to come. The "wretchedly filthy condition" in which Acting Commissioner Steward found the buildings when he arrived for duty in October 1910 caused the greatest flurry of criticism, especially in respect to the Asiatic barracks. In his report to Steward on November 21, 1910, the chief medical officer at the station, P.A. Surgeon Glover, condemned the treatment of the aliens detained in the building as well as the poorly designed facilities. Several hundred aliens were locked up in the dormitories at all times except when allowed out into a small inclosure known as the "recreation ground." When the weather was bad, all the immigrants had to remain in the crowded rooms which not only had a totally inadequate amount of air space for the number of berths but which

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85. Steward to Commr. Gen., Dec. 19, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-e.

had no system of ventilation. Moreover, Dr. Glover continued, "No system of ventilation that could be devised would ever provide sufficient fresh air for the number of aliens in these rooms." If Army air space requirements of 500 cubic feet per person were followed, the larger of the dormitories would accommodate only fifty-six people while the smaller ones would hold only twenty-six. At that time, however, the larger rooms had 204 and 192 bunks respectively, and the two smaller ones had sixty each.

Dr. Glover went on to point out that several aliens had received burns on the exposed heating coils in the dormitory, and that the soft, unpainted wood sheathing of the walls and ceiling was unsanitary because it absorbed and retained "odorous emanations" of aliens and afforded a safe hiding place for vermin. Moreover, it lent itself to drawings and writings by aliens and presented an added fire risk. Glover concluded, "In a comparatively short time these rooms will be unfit for habitation by reason of vermin and stench."

The canvas covered floors also contributed to the sanitation problem in the dormitories for without drains they could not be readily cleaned during occupation. The toilets and lavatories shared similar problems of sanitation and already had an offensive smell, while the spitoons were dirty from lack of cleaning and disinfectant.

The absence of fire protection in the detention barracks also made them a hazardous place to detain aliens, for the building had only one exit for all four dormitories, the one which opened to the connecting stairway down to the administration building. Escape could only be had through this one door in case of emergency as all the windows were barred and locked. Considering that the structure had been built in the "most

inflammable material" possible, the chances of a serious calamity looked promising.[86]

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor responded to all these condemnations of the station by calling for another investigation in December 1910 to determine why, after being constructed at such an exhorbitant cost, the station was in such a poor condition and who was responsible for the station's construction and improvements. Thus, after only one year in operation, the Angel Island immigration station had shown itself to be an expensive mistake in vivid contrast to the press reports which had heralded its construction and opening between 1907 and 1909.[87]

c) Improvements and Recurring Problems

On April 22, 1911, the Commissioner General of Immigration gave his approval of improvements recommended for the Angel Island station and by July the work was well underway. The estimates earmarked $53,000 just to put the existing buildings in "a reasonable habitable and sanitary condition." Architect W. O. Raiguel had prepared the floor plans which, with attached paste overs to the original Mathews plans, clearly defined the extensive remodeling needed in all of the principle buildings for immigration operations.

The list of improvements was long: all the buildings were painted; additional toilets, offices, skylights, employee sleeping

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86. P.A. Surgeon Glover to Act. Commr. of Immig., S.F., Nov. 21, 1910, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres. 1906-32, File 52961/26-e.

87. Memo, Charles Nagel, Secretary, Dec. 7, 1910, ibid.

rooms, detention dormitories, and terrazzo flooring were added to the administration building. In the Asiastic detention quarters, the first and second floor east reading rooms (which previously had been left unused) were converted into two additional dorms with separate toilets and sinks for segregation of classes; the second floor entranceway was cut down to build a janitor's slopsink and or watchman's washroom and toilet; two thirty-inch ventilators were installed in the big dormitory on the second floor and two twenty-four inch ones in the two toilets; and on the first floor a thirty-inch upright outlet and electric fan were installed to help ventilate that space. Probably the most important improvement was the construction of a small building, in the southwest corner of the recreation enclosure behind the Asiastic barracks, for a ten-man latrine, thus relieving much of the sanitation problem in the crowded dormitories.

The hospital remodeling provided needed bathrooms and toilets, porches at the end of wards, and an office for the doctor. The carpenter shop was moved from the north side of the powerhouse to a site just above the junction of the roads, at the southeast corner of the administration building. Considerable concrete work shored up the foundations for the hospital and nine employees' cottages and provided paved walks down to the station road. Concrete was also laid on the floor of the mortuary.[88]

But the Immigration Service at San Francisco had a long way to go to win public approval. In fact, on August 2, 1911, the San Francisco Chronicle announced that a Downtown Association, which had formed to investigate the

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88. Act. Commr. Steward to Commr. Gen., Mar. 3, Apr. 22, 1911, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, Files 52961/26-e, h.

conditions at the station and the problem of Chinese immigration in general, had forwarded a memorial to President Taft calling his attention to the situation in San Francisco and recommending that certificates of entry to the United States be issued in China by the American Consul and a Chinese official in charge, and that the Angel Island immigration station be discontinued. Behind the investigation and findings were two of the most prominent Chinese organizations in San Francisco, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Chinese Six Companies, as well as numerous individual Chinese merchants.

The memorial also made recommendations to improve the conditions of Chinese aliens at the immigration station, such as giving the detained Chinese reasonable time for exercise out of doors; an interpreter of their own during interrogation; better sanitation; and, treatment with kindness, rather than as criminals. These recommendations strongly suggested policies which official records did not discuss and which may have reflected the station staff's adoption of the general public's antagonism towards Oriental immigration during the period.[89]

Between the fall of 1911 and 1912 two major decisions at the station reflected yet more problems. In September 1911 the new Commissioner, Samuel W. Backus, recommended that living quarters for him or his assistant be retained in the administration building as he found it imperative to have someone "truly in authority and capable of assuming fullest responsibility" at the station during the night when decisions of importance were often called for, especially when as many as 600 aliens were

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89. San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 2, 1911, res. note in Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.

detained at the station at one time, or when ships arrived at night with sick passengers who needed immediate hospital care. Evidently the Commissioner's recommendation called for further study, for in February 1912 the Immigrant Inspector for San Francisco called at the station and reported to the Commissioner General that the station resembled a "private residence reservation for employees," instead of a business institution. Moreover, the quarters for the Assistant Commissioner and Medical Officer and his wife had been, in his opinion, furnished elaborately. Besides, the maintenance cost of supplying water and electricity to these quarters, as well as to the employee cottages, set a bad precedence for the Service. He saw no reason why the Angel Island station did not operate like that on Ellis Island, finding little difference in the two situations. His recommendations were accepted and on November 6, 1912, the Commissioner General informed Backus that residential employees would be strictly limited to mechanical and watch forces, one night inspector, the surgeon on duty, and hospital attendants.[90]

Nearly a month earlier the Acting Secretary of Commerce addressed a letter to the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce to explain the Immigration Service's efforts to improve the station's detention quarters, obviously in response to a direct query. Of first importance were the sanitary conditions: all toilets had been removed from the barracks and the rooms converted into more dormitory space, while the new lavatory building had been attached to the barracks by a reinforced concrete passageway and had been equipped with the most modern plumbing. The contract, signed October 4, 1912, designated $17,000 for the remodeling.

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90. Commr. Samuel W. Backus to Commr. Gen., Sept. 1, 1911; Immigrant Inspector to Commr. Gen., Feb. 23, 1912; Commr. Gen. to Commr. of Immig., S.F., Nov. 6, 1912, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 145, Central Office, Subj. Corres., 1906-32, File 52961/26-i.

Secondly, the recreation yard behind the detention barracks received a roof so that the aliens could exercise outdoors in all types of weather.

Other station improvements indicated that the fresh water supply had again proved deficient: a new concrete storage reservoir for 200,000 gallons was built at a cost of $7,000; two new storage tanks, with a total capacity of 100,000 gallons were purchased for $2,700; and a new water barge was added to the station's fleet for $2,773. Having listed all these improvements, however, Acting Secretary Gable informed the Chamber of Commerce that the station would need to be moved, probably to the mainland, to accommodate the expected increase of immigration with the completion of the Panama Canal. With more than $44,000 invested in station improvements that year, not to mention the expenses in 1909, 1910, and 1911 to bring the station up to standard, the prospect of abandoning it so early in its operation indicates the official opinion of the station's effectiveness some twenty-eight years before the abandonment finally came to pass.[91]

Even as improvements were made at the station, other deficiencies remained glaring. The hospital was totally inadequate in size, was lacking safe and sanitary facilities, and had no provisions for handling contagious diseases which didn't fall under quarantine regulations. The detention building continued to be criticized for its dangerous conditions, being built of flammable material and designed in such a manner that the proper sanitation could not be maintained, and the water supply for the station had again by 1920 become a problem.

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91. Act. Sec. Gable to President, S.F. Chamber of Comm., Oct. 12, 1912, ibid.

With all these controversial maintenance problems plaguing the administration of immigration operations for the port of San Francisco, the scandal which exposed the fact that several of the station's officers and employees were involved in a widespread conspiracy to smuggle illegal aliens into the country must have tossed any shred of local public respect for the immigration service to the winds. The sensational disclosures implicating the immigration employees broke in December 1916 and the city's Chamber of Commerce was quick to make a formal request to the President that he appoint a special committee to investigate the "scandalous conditions" of the local immigration service. In March 1917 two special investigators from the Department of Labor, John B. Densmore and F. C. Howe, arrived at the station to unravel the conspiracy which was recognized by the Commissioner as "too widespread, too organized, and too powerful and influential" for the San Francisco office to handle. By June 1917 fourteen employees had been summarily dismissed and the investigation, which had only just begun, already had confirmed that the station had been undermined by "a gigantic system of graft" which had been in operation for many years. Even though some twenty-five station employees were indicted, according to Chinese records and recollection the system of "gifts" to interpreters and the assistance of staff members in the smuggling of coaching papers to aliens continued, but with greater caution, until the station closed.[92]

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92. Reports of Department of Commerce and Labor 1912, p. 238; Reports of Department of Labor, 1915, p. 129; San Francisco Examiner, Feb. 7, Mar. 24, 1917, research notes in Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.; Lai, "Part I, Ellis Island of the West," p. 1; The detention quarters in 1916 were the subject of several reports. In March the Inspector in Charge for the Deportation and Detention Division at the Station reported to the Commissioner that the walls were "considerably marred by the aliens writing on them" and that the property had "otherwise been disfigured and destroyed." Commissioner White reported the same month that fire

Having received such notoriety, the station staff henceforth labored under a cloud of suspicion. In July 1920 hearings of the congressional Committee of Immigration and Naturalization were held in San Francisco where heated discussions on the operations of the station were made available to the press. After the Committee's personal inspection of the buildings, the old criticisms of inadequate fire protection and sanitation at the station were repeated. Although the Committee's primary purpose undoubtedly was the consideration of the Commissioner General's recommendation to abandon the station, the existence of yet another investigation of the station must have reflected poorly on the Angel Island immigration operations.

In September 1921 another special investigator was sent to the immigration station to identify any corruption among the employees and to report on the existing conditions. The report only reiterated the chronic problems with sanitation, inadequate

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escape facilities had been added to the building with the construction of two six-foot escape doors with runaways on the outside of the building and an electric device to immediately open the doors in case of fire. The station engineer had a word to say about the toilets in the new lavatory the next month: due to the class of people and the salt water, they were choking up continually, thus cutting off the flushing water. In addition, the detainees often broke the toilet bowls which were not replaceable on the coast. He requested permission to put in a new flushing system. In the fall of 1916 the lavatory structure was threatened by slides so that permission was granted to construct a retaining wall behind it which was completed in redwood from abandoned station water tanks. Frank Hayes, Insp. in Charge, Deportation and Detention Div., to Commr. of Immig., S.F., Mar. 4, 1916; Edward White, Commr., to Commr. Gen., Mar. 10, 1916; Memorandum, Engr. and Electrician, to Commr., Apr. 3, 1916; Commr. to Commr. Gen., Oct. 3, 1916; Act. Commr. Gen. to Commr., Angel Island, Oct. 11, 1916, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Dist. 13, S.F., Box 6, Gen. Corres. 1915-41.

living and recreation space for Asian men, and the shortage of fresh water. Although Inspector Berkshire found no reason to believe that any employees had carried on corrupt practices, he identified a new problem: "Because of past corruption within the force, so many necessary safeguards are thrown about the work, "especially in the Chinese Division, as to forestall even suspicion of wrong-doing, with a resultant waste of energy and time." Moreover, Berkshire pointed out still another obstacle to the efficient operation of the Angel Island station:

> The history of the station is replete with investigations covering almost everything from petty bickering to criminal misconduct, and a generally unsatisfactory condition of affairs seems to have continued for a number of years. It is a matter of general knowledge throughout the Service that the employees at this station have always been imbued with the idea that influence of some kind, rather than merit, is essential to success, and this same situation is more or less in evidence.[93]

Such damaging testimony from one of the Service-wide inspectors brought to a focus the pervasive personnel problems which defeated many efforts to make the station efficient and effective. That year, too, Berkshire learned that the newly-appointed Commissioner for the district and station had turned out to be an inexperienced administrator, so that he usually deferred to the decisions of the Acting Commissioner, an

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93. San Francisco Chronicle, July 18, 1920, research note in Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal.; F. W. Berkshire, Supervising Inspector on special duty, to the W. W. Husband, Commr. Gen., Sept. 15, 1921, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Dist. 13, S.F., Box 6, Gen. Corres. 1915-41.

immigration employee of long standing but one who did not command the respect of his staff. And, finally, personnel problems had also arisen at the station in the wake of World War I when the salaries of all Immigration Service employees were lowered simultaneously with the lowering of the Civil Service entrance examination requirements, resulting in an overall drop in the quality of personnel hired.[94]

Despite the successful drilling of a well in 1918, making the station self-sufficient in its fresh water for the first time in many years, and the alterations in the lavatory of the male detention shed to provide greater sanitation, these remedies only proved superficial. In December 1922 the Department of Commerce's Commercial Attache to Peking, with the Chinese Consul General, inspected the detention facilities at the station, and found the Chinese detention building "deplorably bad" and "a distinct discredit to the American government." Having been informed that the crowded dormitories and the small fenced yard were entirely inadequate for sanitation and recreation purposes, the Secretary of Commerce openly voiced his concern to the Secretary of Labor that such conditions might well discredit the Department's work to build up trade between China and the United States. By 1920 the fresh water supply again had run low and after futile attempts to locate another well, the station resumed hauling extra water until 1925, when the powerhouse was remodeled to convert condensed steam for station purposes.[95]

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94. Berkshire to Husband, ibid.

95. As quoted in, Sec. of Commerce to Sec. of Labor, Dec. 19, 1922, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Dist. 13, S.F., Gen. Corres. 1915-41; Reports of Department of Labor, 1919, pp. 657-58; Annual Report, Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920, p. 369; San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 23, 1921, p. 3; Aug. 23, 1925, p. 9, res. notes of Dr. Evans, Orinda, Cal.

Immigration authorities in Washington had long since realized that the station's location on Angel Island really did bear on its inefficient operation. The yearly overhead costs of operating the station ferry and cutter, of hauling fresh water, of transporting station employees to and from the island, and various other expenses led the bureau officials to look for additional funds just to carry out necessary improvements. Proposals and recommendations made in the 1920s and 1930s to convince Congress of the need for a new and better location, or at least for a major revamping of the Angel Island Station, finally bore fruit in 1937.

During this period of internal unrest one last scandal rocked the station, in January 1924, when Assistant Secretary of Labor, I. S. Wixon, arrived in San Francisco to personally investigate the charges of improper treatment of women detainees brought against certain immigration employees. According to one press report, the accusations had been the subject of long confidential reports to Washington and had created a stormy controversy at the station for many months. Thus, in an atmosphere of criticism and scandal, the immigration commissioner and his superiors joined forces on numerous occasions to try to remedy the station problems by moving its location or improving its facilities. The campaign was long and frustrating and contains a story in itself.[96]

6. Efforts to Enlarge or Abandon the Station, 1913-40

As mentioned previously, the Acting Secretary of Commerce and Labor as early as October 1912 anticipated the need to move the station to a new location, probably on the mainland, in

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96. San Francisco Examiner, Jan. 29, 1924; res. notes of Dr. Evans, Orinda, Cal. See next section for history of effort to enlarge or abandon the station.

order to accommodate the increase of immigration expected with the opening of the Panama Canal. Ten months earlier, in January 1912, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, no doubt at the Immigration Commissioner's prompting, launched a campaign to get Congress to appropriate $169,000 to build a seawall and fill in the station's cove in order to enlarge the reservation by five acres, again to provide adequate facilities for the expected growth of immigration with the Panama Canal traffic. When neither of these proposals made headway, several government facilities in the bay area were proposed for the relocation of the station. In April 1913 the Army's casual camp buildings on the west side of Angel Island were given brief and informal consideration, while the prison and military buildings on Alcatraz Island received extensive investigations, after which a bill proposing their use for immigration purposes was introduced in Congress (H.R. 9017). The campaign to take over Alcatraz lasted for two years gaining widespread public acceptance and approval, but finally died a quiet death in the spring of 1915 when World War I cut off nearly all immigration.

Nonetheless, the following year found the Commissioner General of Immigration recommending an appropriation of $175,000 to construct a new hospital and detention house at the station in order to furnish buildings constructed of fireproof and sanitary materials. Two years later, in June 1918, the Secretary of Labor forwarded the Commissioner's proposal to the Congressional Committee on appropriations, only the estimated cost for the buildings had grown to $225,000, and the recommendation included the provision that the structures be built on land in San Francisco designated by the War Department. Having no satisfactory results, the Commissioner General reiterated the problems with the station in most of his subsequent annual reports but Congress was reluctant apparently to finance the necessary improvements or the transfer of

the station, choosing instead to investigate and look for other methods to solve the problems.[97]

After World War I the arguments to move the station to a new location centered around the enormous maintenance costs and the fact that the isolated site caused inefficient immigration operations. The fire danger and unsanitary conditions resultant from the wood frame construction of the station's buildings served as the cause célèbre to argue the need for new and better facilities. By the mid-1920s the press and the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce had lent their support to the service's effort to persuade Congress to furnish the funds, but still no action was taken by the legislators.

Although Congress had given no assurance it would cooperate, the Department of Labor and Bureau of Immigration during the 1920s investigated several potential sites for the station. Sites at or near Fort Mason, at North Beach, at the foot of Van Ness Avenue in the Old Fontana warehouse, at the Old Sailor's Home at Harrison and Spear Streets, at Bryant and First Streets, at the Palace of Fine Arts, and at the Presidio, all in San Francisco, received consideration, as did the Yerba Buena naval base. Agitation after 1925 subsided in the face of numerous frustrated efforts and was not resumed in earnest until 1933, when the Department of Labor again requested the cooperation of the War

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97. Unidentif. newspaper article, Jan. 6, 1912; res. note from Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal.; Commr. Samuel Backus to Commr. Gen., Apr. 2, Aug. 5, 1913; Commr. Gen. to Sec. of Labor, July 5, Aug. 25, Oct. 21, 1913, Feb. 26, 1914; Feb. 26, 1915; H.R. 9017 was introduced on October 24, 1913; San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 28, 1913, clipping; N.A. RG 85, Immig. & Nat., File 53620/175; Reports of Department of Labor, 1915, p. 68; 1916, p. 172; 1917, pp. 136-37; 1919, p. 350; Annual Report, Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920, pp. 30, 369.

Department to provide a site in one of its mainland reservations, preferably on the Presidio's waterfront. Before the Secretary of War informed the Department in the fall of 1934 that no military lands could be made available for other government agencies, the Board of Supervisors in San Francisco resolved to cooperate to see the station moved to the Presidio. One month later the Central Council of Civic Clubs in San Francisco, an organization of more than forty civic clubs with a membership of over 20,000 persons, endorsed the move to the Presidio, as did the Directors of the Pacific Foreign Trade Steamship Association in San Francisco in August of 1934.

Three years later, and twenty-five years after the first proposal to move the immigration station to the mainland, the Immigration Service finally arranged for and received permission to move their offices into the new Appraiser's Building in San Francisco following its construction. Although its completion still was several years off, a solution had at last been found to end the almost ceaseless controversy which had surrounded the operations of the Angel Island immigration station.[98]

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98. Annual Report, Commissioner General of Immigration, 1920, pp. 30, 369; Alfred Hampton, Special Representative, Bureau of Immigration, to J. J. Davis, Sec. of Labor, Nov. 6, 15, 1922; Hampton to W. W. Husband, Commr. Gen., Jan. 3, Feb. 20, Mar. 7, 1923; Sec. of Labor to Sec. of Commerce, Dec. 26, 1922; Jacob Kulp & Co., Inc., Investment Bonds, Chicago, to Commr. Gen., Jan. 22, 1923; Commr. Gen to Hampton, Mar. 1, 1923; Commr. Gen. to Jacob Kulp & Co., Jan. 26, 1923; Ralph McLeran & Co., S.F., to Hampton, Jan. 27, 1923; James J. Davis, Sec. of Labor, to Director, Bureau of Budget, Feb. 6, 1923; Private Sec. to Commr. Gen. to Hampton, Mar. 7, 1923; Ralph McLeran Co., S.F., to Commr. Gen., Apr. 18, 1923; Commr. of Immig., S.F., to Sec. of Labor, Apr. 19, 1923; Act. Commr. of Immig., S.F., Edward L. Haff, to Area Coordinators, 9th Corps Area, Customhouse, S.F., Dec. 6, 1923; E. J. Henning, Act. Sec. of Labor, to Saml. M. Shortbridge, U.S. Senate, Jan. 8, 1824; Commr. Gen. to Commr. of

7. Fire and Removal to Mainland, 1940

Around midnight, August 11, 1940, a fire broke out in the administration building of the Angel Island Station and by dawn, when the flames were finally under control, the building and its connecting stairway to the detention quarters had been totally destroyed. Two crews from a San Francisco fire boat, a company of soldiers from Fort McDowell, and the 150 German seamen detained at the station, together fought and contained the blaze which threatened to consume both the hospital and detention buildings. The available water supply at the station ran out long before the fire finally was under control, and smoke still rose from the ruins more than twelve hours after the fire started. Many of the valuable immigration records kept in locked vaults in the administration building survived the fire while many others perished in the flames. Portable army field kitchens were set up on the

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Immig., S.F., Sept. 24, 1924; Commr. Gen. to H. C. Smither, Chf. Coordinator, Arlington Bldg., Feb. 11, 1924; W. H. Wagner, Asst. to Commr. Gen., telegram to Immig. Ser., S.F., July 6, 1933; Douglas MacArthur, Chf. of Staff, War Dept., to Chf. Coordinator, D.C., Sept. 2, 1933; Sec., Central Council of Civic Clubs, to Hon. P. W. MacCormack, Commr. of Immig. & Nat., May 19, 1934; W. M. Minor, Sec. of Treas., to Edward H. Cahill, Commr. of Immig., S.F., Aug. 13, 1934; Cahill to Commr. of Immig. & Nat., Dec. 7, 1934; NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Files 55166/343, 343-A, 344; San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 8, 1920; Jan. 15, 17, 1921; Nov. 24, 1934; Feb. 24, Sept. 30, 1937; Apr. 11, 1938, p. 11; July 9, 1940; San Francisco Examiner, June 29, 1921, res. notes from Dr. Elliot Evans coll., Orinda, Cal.; San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Proposed Removal of U.S. Immigration Station at Angel Island, Resolution No. 1390, Apr. 23, 1924, Journal of Proceedings 1934, p. 555; Lai, "Part I, Ellis Island of the West, p. 2, quotes the Commr. General's 1922 condemnation of the station: "The plant has practically nothing to commend it. It is made of a conglomeration of ramshackle buildings which are nothing but fire traps. They are illy arranged and inconvenient. The sanitary arrangements are awful. If a private individual had such an establishment he would be arrested by the local health authorities. The whole place is . . . not worth spending any money on. . . ."

grounds to feed the 150 German aliens, the 200-some Chinese, and the Russian and Japanese immigrants being held at the station. Twenty-five aliens awaiting deportation were then transferred to the county jail in San Francisco, while the German sailors were moved to the quarantine station on the island. The Chinese immigrants also were relocated to a new quarters, so that the station functionally shut down its normal operations for a short time, but by late August the District Director had borrowed additional beds and bedding from the Army and had reestablished a makeshift service. An influx of European refugee aliens at the close of the month, however, taxed the limits of the crippled station so that the steamship companies were ordered to hold passengers who did not pass the primary immigration inspection. The following month the District Director received authority to arrange a lease of the Salvation Army Training School at 801 Silver Avenue in San Francisco for immigration purposes and on November 5, 1940, the remaining 150 aliens were transferred to the new location, so closing the Angel Island immigration station permanently after thirty and a half years of service.[99]

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99. M.C. Guthrie, Foreign Quarantine Div., to Surg. Gen., Aug. 12, 1940 NA, RG 90, P.H.S., Box 13, Gen. Classif. Records, Group I, Domestic Stations 1936-44, File 0125, S.F. Quar.; Dist. Dir. Edw. L. Haff, S.F., to Friench Simpson, Medical Dir., U.S. P.H.S., Quarantine Station, S.F., Sept. 18, 1940, NA, RG 90, P.H.S., Box 11, Gen. Subj. Files 1936-44, Group I, Dom. Stations, File 0245; Dist. Dir., Immig. & Nat., S.F., telegram to Immig. & Nat. Ser., Aug. 30, 1940; Dist. Dir. to Raphael Bonhaum, Dist. Dir., Seattle, no date; Dist. Dir. to Lemuel B. Schofield, Spec. Asst. to Atty. Gen., Immig. & Nat. Ser., Oct. 23, 1940, NA, RG 85, Immig. & Nat., Box 6, Dist. 13, S.F., Gen. Corres. 1915-41, File 12030/24; San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 13, Nov. 6, 1940, res. notes from Dr. Elliot Evans Coll., Orinda, Cal. In 1941 the Army took over the station, renaming it North Garrison.

As the nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

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