

GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA:
THE INDIAN AND HISPANIC HERITAGE OF A
MODERN URBAN PARK

by

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I. ABORIGINAL LIFE AND EARLY EXPLORATION

According to an Indian myth preserved over many generations, the Golden Gate as we know it today was once an entire chain of mountains, the great bay of San Francisco a mere fresh water lake. One day a mighty earthquake abruptly severed the range of mountains, creating a passage through the coast for the interior waters.¹ This "rushing in of the waters" was legend among the Costanoan and Coast Miwok peoples who came to live near these shores--the Costanoans occupying the San Francisco peninsula and probably the southern tip of Marin, the Miwoks making their home north of the bay, primarily in Marin and Sonoma counties. Ancestors of these coast dwellers probably moved into the San Francisco and Marin County areas as early as 500 A.D.--an estimate based on existing linguistic and archeological evidence.²

¹Felix Reisenberg, Golden Gate: The Story of San Francisco Harbor (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1940), p. 4; Frank Soulé et al., The Annals of San Francisco (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1854), p. 155; Alexander S. Taylor, "The Indianology of California: SF Bay Indians," The CA Farmer, 7 June 1861, p. 114.

²Richard Levy, "Costanoan," The Handbook of North American Indians, Heizer, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1978), p. 486. Linguistic evidence reveals that ancient Costanoans had some contact with speakers of a Hokan language, now long extinct. Several SF Bay shellmounds provide coinciding archeological evidence. These huge mounds of refuse were systematically excavated and subjected to careful quantitative and qualitative analysis in an attempt to analyze their antiquity. The culture represented by the deep strata was compared with that partially preserved in the upper layers, resulting in the designation of three, broad periods or "horizons": Early, Middle (transitional), and Late. Ancestors of the Costanoans probably produced

The historic accounts of these native Californians date much later, commencing in the late 16th century with two famous European voyages. In 1579 and 1595, Francis Drake and Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño come into contact with Coast Miwok peoples off the Marin coast, but nearly a century passes before the Costanoans occupying the San Francisco peninsula are observed (Portolá expedition, 1769). The Spanish mission records provide glimpses of precontact culture which are useful, especially when supplemented with statements of living descendants and the ethnographic data collected by anthropologists during the early 20th century. Our most recent sources of aboriginal life within Golden Gate National Recreation Area come from the excavation or designation of various shell midden sites. These Indian refuse heaps provide park interpreters with concrete evidence that aboriginal peoples occupied, at least seasonally, several sites within the present National Recreation Area. The combination of these sources will produce, it is hoped, a rounded picture of Costanoan and Coast Miwok life before Spanish influence.

Sharing a common environment and living in such close proximity to one another, it is not surprising that the Costanoans and Coast

the artifacts contained in the upper strata or Late Horizon, which is dated from A.D. 300 to the opening of the historic period in the 18th century. See Nels C. Nelson, "Shellmounds of the SF Bay Region," Univ. of CA Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 7 (1909), pp. 310-343. Nelson conducted the first professional survey of Bay Area shell middens; this report summarizes his findings and includes a map of all designated aboriginal sites. Also A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA (Berkeley: CA Book Co., 1970), pp. 923-933; R. F. Heizer, "The Western Coast of N. America," The CA Indians, Heizer and Whipple, ed. (Berkeley: UC Press, 1973), pp. 131-143.

Miwoks possessed several cultural similarities. Comparisons are found in their language, mobility, and broad but seasonal subsistence patterns, while differences between these two native neighbors may occur in physical appearance, social and political organization, technology, and ritual. Unfortunately a solid comparison is impossible, as a more complete ethnographic documentation exists for the Coastal Miwok.³

A. Costanoans: The People as a Whole

1. Language

The term Costanoan refers to a Penutian linguistic group comprising eight major language-ethnic group divisions. These boundaries (shown in Figure 1) were determined by Richard Levy, an anthropologist who conducted an extensive survey of available linguistic, historical, and ethnographic data. These eight linguistic and geographic branches were actually separate languages, as different from one another as Spanish and English. Each language was most closely related to its geographic neighbor, thus Ramaytush (San Francisco), Chochenyo (East Bay), and Tamyen (Santa Clara) were closely related as all occupied the Northern Costanoan territory. Karkin, the furthest north, was a distinctive Costanoan language spoken by approximately 200 members of a single tribelet. Awaswas (Santa Cruz) was spoken by about 600 people living along the ocean shore from Davenport to Aptos. Mutsen, southeast of Awaswas, had the greatest number of speakers--approximately 2,700.

³ Rojer E. Kelly, Archeological Resources of GGNRA (San Francisco, CA: National Park Service, Dec. 1976), p. 23.

South of Monterey Bay, the Rumsen and Chalon languages held about 800-900 speakers each. Despite differences between each above-mentioned group, all were more similar to one another than any outside language and therefore formed a language family. The language group of concern here is Ramaytush, spoken by the Costanoans who once lived within the present counties of San Francisco and San Mateo.⁴

Six of the Costanoan language groups refer specifically to Spanish mission districts. San Carlos, San Francisco, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Soledad, San Jose, and San Juan were all Costanoan region mission sites. Word lists recorded from persons living at these missions indicate that many of the "tribelets" within an ethnic area spoke slightly different dialects of the same parent tongue. The padres at Mission Dolores (San Francisco), for example, reported the use of five separate languages.⁵

2. Population and Territory

The 39 tribelets or "politically autonomous nations" identified by Levy occupied at least one permanent village site. During the year

⁴Richard Levy, "Costanoan," pp. 485-486. To better understand the similarities and differences between these linguistic groups, see Robert F. Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians (Cupertino, CA: CA History Center, 1974), pp. 27-44, for a condensed "dictionary" of Costanoan terms.

⁵Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, The Missions and Missionaries of CA: San Francisco or Mission Dolores (Chicago, Ill.: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924), p. 147. In reply to the Interrogatorio of 1812, Fathers Abella and Lucio mentioned that "five languages or idioms" were spoken. Of course, not all of these are necessarily Costanoan tongues. After 1800 the mission drew heavily from the Coast Miwok population of Marin

subsidiary settlements within the territory were founded or re-occupied by hunting and gathering parties sent out from the principal village. Tribelet population ranged from approximately 50 to 500 persons, the average leveling at about 200 people. The entire aboriginal population is difficult to judge; a figure of 7,000 is proposed by one prominent anthropologist, while Levy and others estimate the early contact (late 18th century) population at about 10,000. No estimates exist for GGNRA vicinity aboriginal peoples, but Levy states that the Ramaytush (San Francisco and San Mateo Counties) numbered about 1,400 in 1770.⁶

Costanoan territory at the time of Spanish contact comprised those regions indicated by Levy in Figure 1. It began along the eastern shores of the Carquinez Strait and included all lands surrounding San Francisco Bay, as far inland as the present Livermore and as far south as Point Sur. All San Francisco Bay islands were within Costanoan boundaries, although none were permanently inhabited. Recent studies of the native words recorded by Fray Santa María, chaplain aboard the San Carlos (1775), indicate that Costanoan speaking peoples occupied some portion of the southern Marin shore but were removed to Mission Dolores by the late 18th century. Due to limited comparative data and a controversy over the location of the first anchorage, this theory

County--a separate but close linguistic relative of the Costanoan.

⁶A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA, p. 464. Kroeber offers an estimate of 7,000, while the individual group figures cited by Levy add up to about 10,200. P. Michael Galvan, "People of the West: The Ohlone Story," The Indian Historian (San Francisco: AIHS, Spring 1978), p. 12. Galvan, a descendant of the Costanoan linguistic group, states that "the total population has been estimated at approximately 10,000."

cannot yet be proven. Information may exist in the Spanish mission documents to help settle this question, but for the time being Costanoan occupation of the Marin headlands should be considered a definite possibility.⁷

3. Synonymy and the Debate over Costanoan vs. Ohlone

The designation Costanoan is derived from the Spanish word Costaños, meaning "coast people."⁸ The Spaniards were the first to use this term in reference to the Indian peoples living between San Francisco Bay and Carmel. As early as 1856 the term was employed by linguists to designate the language spoken by the five "tribes" or dialects

⁷M. S. Beeler, "An Extension of SF Bay Costanoan?" International Journal of Linguistics (38:49-54, Jan. 1972), proposed that Costanoans originally occupied those lands extending from the Golden Gate to San Rafael--lands that have traditionally been designated as Coast Miwok territory. Beeler bases his theory on the known Aug. 14-Sept. 7 anchorage of the San Carlos (Ayala Cove, Angel Island), where Spaniards were repeatedly visited by parties of Indians. Their words (documented by ship's chaplain, Fr. Santa María) are largely Costanoan. Although geographically and politically part of Marin, Angel Island has been designated by anthropologists Kroeber and Barrett as Costanoan, although neither believe it was ever permanently inhabited. If the island was visited only for hunting and fishing purposes, a significant number of the San Carlos' visitors must have come from mainland villages nearby, which would indicate Costanoan occupation of some portion of Southern Marin. Alan K. Brown, "Notes and Review," International Journal of Am. Linguistics (39:184-189, 1973), accepts Beeler's thesis with some exceptions. Brown feels Costanoan occupation of Marin extended only as far north as, say, the present sites of Sausalito or Marin City, and that removal to Mission SF occurred by 1785. See Robert F. Heizer, Elizabethan CA (Ramona, CA: Ballena Press, 1974), pp. 31-33, for a fairly detailed discussion of this ethnographical dilemma.

⁸Alan K. Brown, La Peninsula (San Mateo Co. Historical Society, vol. 17, no. 4, Winter 73/74) claims "Costeños" is the proper Spanish

attached to the Mission Dolores in San Francisco.⁹ Apparently no native name for the people as a whole existed in aboriginal times, as the Costanoans, like other California ethnic groups, were not a distinct political unit. The label Costanoan had its roots in Spanish history and has long since established itself as a recognized language family. For these reasons Costanoan seems the appropriate appellation for use in this study.¹⁰

In recent years the term "Ohlone" has gained some notoriety as an alternative name for Costanoan. Ohlone or Olhonian is derived from the name of a small tribelet which once inhabited the seacoast about half way between San Francisco and Santa Cruz. Mission Dolores baptismal records contain the first written evidence of this tiny Indian settlement. The "nacion" or "familia de los Oljones" (also spelled Alchone, Olchone and Ol-hon) provided 18 converts between 1786 and 1790, the location of the rancheria noted as south of the Cotegen tribelet, which held Purisima Creek. Variations of the name appear again in Captain Beechey's 1826 account of San Francisco, where he described the seacoast between Monterey and Yerba Buena as inhabited by the "Alchone" and "Olchone." Thirty-five years later, A. S. Taylor

spelling. The distortion of "Costenoan" to "Costanoan" began as early as 1850, he states, "when an Indian agent wrote it the way it sounded."

⁹R. G. Latham, "On the Languages of New California," Proceedings: Philological Society of London 6 (1856), pp. 72-86.

¹⁰R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, eds., The CA Indians: A Source Book, p. 25; Levy, "Costanoan," p. 494; A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA, p. 462.

apparently formed his own version of the word for an article printed in The California Farmer. In listing the tribes of San Francisco Bay Taylor notes the "Ohlones," which are "called in Spanish Costanos, or Indians of the Coast."¹¹

Today, descendants of these coast dwellers and other native Americans express their preference for "Ohlone." Besides the natural attraction to an authentic Indian word, proponents of this designation claim it was the neighboring Miwok who originated the name Ohlone, which meant "people of the west" in their language.¹² California Indian "tribes" did often identify themselves and their neighbors with words denoting "people" or "people of such and such a place," although no specific documentation exists to substantiate this particular expression. Anthropologist Robert Heizer argues against the use of Ohlone, as the tribelet itself was seemingly small and unimportant and therefore inappropriate "to designate a much larger series of ethnic groups."¹³

Although tribelet and village names have been used in other instances to embrace large linguistic and cultural entities,¹⁴ Dr. Heizer's

¹¹R. F. Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, pp. 2-3; Levy, "Costanoan," pp. 494-495; C. Hart Merriam, "Village Names in Twelve CA Mission Records," University of CA Archaeological Survey, Report no. 74, July 1968, p. 19; Alex S. Taylor, "San Francisco Bay Indians," The CA Farmer: Journal of Useful Sciences, 31 May 1861, p. 106.

¹²P. Michael Galvan, "People of the West: The Ohlone Story," pp. 8, 12; Rupert Costo and Jeanette Henry, American Indian Historical Society, personal communication, July 1979.

¹³R. F. Heizer, The Costanoan Indians, p. 3.

¹⁴Levy ("Costanoan," p. 495) states that "etymologically the

commentary is sound, especially in respect to Golden Gate National Recreation Area. If the Ohlones lived south of San Luis Obispo (Purissima Creek), it would seem inappropriate to employ their name in reference to the natives of San Francisco Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The linguistic division Ramaytush would be a much more fitting name, as it was actually used for the inhabitants of San Francisco peninsula by the Chochenyo of the east bay.¹⁵

As there was no aboriginal name for the "tribe," the responsibility for choosing a proper designation has fallen into the hands of academics and concerned native Americans. Each group proposes a different label--a situation which causes some confusion. Scholarly research and recommendations should be observed, but not exclusively. The ethnic associations of living descendants and other local native Americans provided the stimulus for cultural heritage projects such as this. To proceed irrespective of their feelings would be, it would seem, only self-defeating.

B. Culture: San Francisco Bay Costanoan

The earliest ethnographic sketch of GGNRA-vicinity Costanoans comes from Father Santa María, chaplain aboard the San Carlos, first ship to enter San Francisco Bay (1776).¹⁶ The following year, Father

names Karkin, Tamyen, Mutsun, Chalon, and Rumsen (Costanoan linguistic divisions) are simply names of tribelets and villages whose usage has been extended to embrace larger linguistic and cultural entities that were aboriginally unnamed."

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 495.

¹⁶ Earlier expeditions (Ortega/1769 and Rivera-Palóu/1774) covered

Palóu commenced writing a more detailed account, from which much of the following is derived. To complete the picture some non-local sources must be used, namely the statements of native people recorded by ethnographers in the 1920s and 1930s. None of these informants lived within the San Francisco peninsula, but all were Costanoan.¹⁷

1. Physical Appearance, Clothing,
and Adornment

Aboriginal features are probably best described through the watercolors of Louis Choris, an artist who visited San Francisco in 1816 on board the Russian ship Rurik. While Choris painted mission Indians representing a vast collection of Bay region tribelets, his illustrations befit most written descriptions of the Costanoan people. Palóu observed that the natives were well formed and "somewhat brown," a condition he traced to exposure or heat of the sun. Hair was worn short or long, those with the longer styles manifesting what Palóu reported as "great vanity." The women often cut bangs in front, letting the rest hang freely; men tied or braided their long hair into a bundle at the top of the head, forming a turban which served, the padre observed, "as a pocket to stow away their geegaws and baubles."

current GGNRA lands and left descriptions of the natives encountered. The information they provide, however, is minimal, and by no means characteristic of an "ethnographic sketch."

¹⁷The most complete yet concise ethnography of the Costanoans to date is Richard Levy's chapter in The Handbook of North American Indians, pp. 485-495. The author relies heavily on J. P. Harrington's Central CA Coast: Culture Element Distributions (1942), whose Northern Costanoan informants are from San José mission and vicinity, a considerable distance from GGNRA.

Most men removed facial hair and eyebrows with tweezers fashioned from wood or a pair of mussel shells.

Costanoan clothing was minimal. Men and boys usually went naked, while women wore two-piece aprons made of braided tule or grass. During cold weather both men and women relied upon robes or cloaks for warmth; these were made from sea-mammal, deer and rabbit skins, or carefully binded duck and geese feathers. Men occasionally covered their bodies with mud as insulation from the cold--a custom not recorded among their neighbors, the Coast Miwoks. Feet were bare and no hats (except ceremonial headdresses) were worn.¹⁸

In addition to clothing, painting and tattooing were used for body decoration and a means of clan distinction. Tattoos on women were registered about the face, upper arms, and chest. Designs were frequently straight or zig-zagging lines, extending from each corner of the mouth to the chin or about the shoulders and neck. Both men and women applied different colored paints to their face and body, creating the appearance, from a distance, of striped sweaters and stockings. Ears were pierced and adorned with grass, flowers, feathers, or beads. Men occasionally wore tiny bone sticks in the pierced nasal septum, a custom which Father Pedro Font (Anza expedition, 1776) found "very ugly" and unappealing. Necklaces were worn by both sexes and made of abalone and olivella shells, feathers and beads.¹⁹

¹⁸F. Palóu, reprinted sections of Chap. 45: Life of Padre Junipero Serra, The CA Farmer, 24 May 1861, p. 89; Anna Coxie Toogood, "Civil History of GGNRA," p. 12; Levy, "Costanoan," p. 493.

¹⁹Ibid.; also Linda Stevens Switzer, "An Ethnohistory of the

2. Subsistence

The Costanoans carefully managed their land but did not practice agriculture; for subsistence they relied upon the natural resources of San Francisco peninsula and bay. Acorns were probably the most important plant food. Several species of live oak produced these popular nuts but the tanbark (*lithocarpus densiflora*) was preferred for the whiter meal it produced. The ground meal was usually spread into a hollow in the sand and washed several times to leech out the bitter tannic acid. The pasty flour was then consumed as a mush or baked into the form of acorn bread.

Where acorns were few or lacking, as along the immediate coastline, seeds from various plants were roasted and ground into a similar meal. Tarweed, chia, digger pine, and the holly-leaf cherry were among those species used for their seeds. Father Palóu found this food source particularly tasty, noting that the flour from one variety was fashioned into "a sort of dumpling, ball-shaped and the size of an orange, which was very rich and savory, like toasted almonds."²⁰ Roots and berries were also eaten, the latter fruits ripening about May or June. Of those listed as common Costanoan fare, strawberries, manzanita berries, and the Toyon or Christmas berry were native to the maritime cliffs and coastline of San Francisco Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The park lands and vicinity were originally covered with

Costanoans of SF Bay," The Costanoan Indians, Heizer, ed., pp. 11-12.

²⁰ Fray Francisco Palóu, "The Founding of the Presidio and Mission of Our Father St. Francis," from Chap. 45 of Life of Serra, CA Historical Society Quarterly, June 1935, p. 109.

bleak sandhills, where, according to Palóu, several vine-like strawberry plants grew. Strawberry Island, a low, sandy peninsula situated in the cove west of Fort Mason, was named for the berries gathered there during the early American period. Now part of the Marina district, this marshy "island" may have been visited first by aboriginal gathering parties.²¹ A number of roots were probably eaten, but those identifiable today include "amole" or soaproot (*Chlorogalum*), an herb known as chuchupate, and wild onions and carrots. The edible species of the onion-like amole were roasted several days beneath a fire and "as sweet and tasty as conserves" when eaten.²² Another variety of the root was used as soap, and both were plentiful in the fields and hillsides of San Francisco peninsula.

To ensure a sustained yield of these plant foods, the Costanoan burned extensive areas of land each fall. This practice of controlled burning cleared out the underbrush, thus facilitating acorn gathering and fostering the growth of seed-bearing annuals. This method, common to other native Californians, increased the available grazing areas for deer, elk and antelope--all important animal food sources.²³

Other animals and mammals eaten by the Costanoan included the

²¹Roger Kelly, National Register Nomination Form: Point Lobos Archeological Sites (SF: National Park Service, Fort Mason, 1976), p. 2; Roger and Nancy Olmstead, San Francisco Waterfront (prepared for SF Wastewater Management Program, Dec. 1977), pp. 584, 591-592.

²²Fr. Palóu, "The Founding of the Presidio and Mission SF," CHSQ, p. 709.

²³Galvan, "People of the West: The Ohlone Story," p. 11; Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA, p. 467.

grizzly bear, mountain lion, sea lion, whale, rabbit, dog, raccoon, squirrel, skunk, mouse, and mole. Deer was hunted by individuals disguised with a deer's head mask, the smaller animals captured by the use of traps or nets. Sea lions were hunted, though the precise manner is not known. The seal rookery at Seal Rocks, slightly offshore from the GGNRA Cliff House, very possibly provided meat for several Costanoan feasts. Whales were not hunted but when one drifted ashore the Indians made "the most of it, celebrating the occasion with a great feast as they [were] extremely fond of whale meat." A skeleton of one of these great sea mammals was found along GGNRA's Ocean Beach by members of the Rivera-Palóu expedition in December 1774. The whale had probably furnished food for one of the local tribelets, as an abandoned Costanoan tule raft was found lying beside it.²⁴

The contingent ocean and bay provided the Costanoan with several valuable foods. Waterfowl such as ducks and geese were the most important birds in the Costanoan diet, although quail, hawks and doves were also eaten. Tule decoys were used to lure the ducks and geese into nets, while cage-like traps of twigs were employed to capture quail. Mussels, clams and abalone were vital GGNRA vicinity foods as their shells constitute a considerable proportion of the San Francisco Bay and coast middens. Shellfish were gathered from December to April only, as a "red tide" during the remaining months ren-

²⁴Fr. Francisco Palóu, account of 1774 expedition, translated and reprinted in Who Discovered the Golden Gate? by Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown (San Mateo County Historical Association, 1969), p. 145.

dered them poisonous. Seine nets were used to catch sturgeon and salmon in the nearby rivers and Carquinez strait area, while shark, swordfish and other salt-water species may have been speared or lured with a hook and line. Three possible fish net sinkers were found in the Fort Mason Multiple Resources Archeological District, along with large quantities of fishbone and clam and mussel shells.²⁵

3. Lifestyle

Costanoan infants were brought into the world with the aid of a midwife. After birth it was customary for mother and child to lie on a mattress of fresh leaves, the latter warmed by an underlying pit of heated stones. After several days the mother resumed most of her normal activities, although lifting heavy objects, drinking cold water and eating meat, fish, or salt were taboo for another few weeks. During the nursing period, about 20 months, the parents abstained from sexual relations.

Most California Indians observed some rite for girls at the verge of womanhood. The Costanoan customs are fairly undescribed, although girls observed the same diet taboos as new mothers and were generally confined to a corner of the family dwelling during menstruation. For the boys, puberty was celebrated by initiation into a "datura" society.²⁶

²⁵ Suzanne Baker and Roger Kelly, National Register Nomination Form: Fort Mason Multiple Resources Archeological District (SF: National Park Service, Fort Mason, 1979), pp. 2-3; Levy, "Costanoan," pp. 491-492.

²⁶ R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, The CA Indians, pp. 49, 52; Levy, "Costanoan," p. 490.

Aboriginal marriage was by purchase almost everywhere in California. Costanoan economic exchange involved only a minor gift, presented to the bride's family from the groom and his kin. The marriage itself was quite informal and matter-of-fact by our standards. Palóu reports that the union took place "without more ceremony than the consent of the two parties," lasting "until they quarrel and separate." In the event of divorce the children apparently remained with their mother, although Palóu took special care to note that many married couples lived "in the most perfect union and peacefulness, loving their children dearly, as the children [did] their parents." Kin relationship was evidently not recognized by marriage, and a polygamy of sorts may have been practiced by the Northern tribelets.²⁷

At death the Ramaytush were cremated, although poor people and those with few or lazy relatives were reportedly buried. No explanation has been found for this practice in relation to the poor, although several kin or friends were needed to gather wood for the pyre. The dead's belongings were buried with him or destroyed, and his or her name was rigidly avoided in conversation until bestowed anew upon another individual. A mere reference to the deceased was considered a major affront; A. L. Kroeber surmises that "at the height of a quarrel such phrases as 'Your father is dead' were likely to be bandied about."²⁸ Widows and other female kin often cut their hair in

²⁷ Palóu, "The Founding of the Presidio and Mission SF." CHSQ, p. 110.

²⁸ A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA, p. 470.

mourning, while faces were customarily smeared with black ashes or asphalt. At the time of the funeral women beat themselves on the head and breast with a stone pestle, a practice which in some instances resulted, ironically, in death. Myths surrounding death are fairly undescribed, although the deceased were believed to go to an island or land across the sea.

4. Political Organization and Warfare

As mentioned earlier, the basic unit of Costanoan political organization was the minor settlement or tribelet, consisting of one or more permanent villages and several subsidiary camps. Like all California Indians the limits of the tribelet territory were well defined by physiographic features, comprising in many cases a natural drainage area. During his 1774 expedition Colonel Anza reported that the Costanoans he met would accompany him only to the boundaries of their lands "without going a step outside of their respective territories because of the enmity that is common among them."²⁹ In addition to several GGNRA archeological sites, the Mission San Francisco Book of Baptisms refers to two probable GGNRA vicinity rancherias (villages) within Costanoan territory. In the late 18th century the "Mitline" and "Opúromo" rancherias, listed as "near the shore of Lake Merced," provided a few converts to the Mission Dolores.³⁰

²⁹ Anza, as quoted in Switzer, "An Ethnohistory of the Costanoans," The Costanoan Indians, Heizer, ed., p. 14.

³⁰ C. Hart Merriam, "Village Names in the Twelve CA Mission Records," UC Archaeological Survey, Report no. 74, "San Francisco Mission."

Chiefs were responsible for several tribelet activities, most notably the hunting, fishing, gathering, and warfare expeditions. Both men and women were eligible for this advisory position, although it was usually inherited patrilineally, from father to son. As an advisor, the chief had limited influence, although he or she was given definite authority in times of war. The Costanoan placed a high value on personal freedom: "each one [living] and [doing] whatever his inclinations may be, without anyone interfering with another."³¹

Although the Costanoans were generally described as friendly and docile, the accounts show that from time to time small battles took place, usually over revenge or infringement of territorial rights. Two recorded "village feuds" occurred between the natives of San Francisco and the Sakla-n and Salso-n tribelets, the southern tribelets apparently initiating the attack on San Francisco.³² In August 1776 the Salsons of San Mateo Creek, reportedly one of San Francisco's greatest enemies, raided and set fire to all of the local villages, killing and wounding many of the inhabitants. The survivors promptly fled to the uninhabited Bay islands or nearby coastline, not returning until later that year.³³ Their fears were not unfounded, as captives were usually killed and their bodies occasionally mutilated or

³¹Levy, "Costanoan," p. 488.

³²Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA, p. 466.

³³Palóu, "The Founding of the Presidio and Mission SF," CHSQ, p. 108. Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, The Missions and Missionaries of CA: SF or Mission Dolores (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924), pp. 59-60.

dismembered.³⁴ Heads of the slain foe were placed on a pike and carried about in triumph, a common California practice.

5. Structures and Technology

The Costanoan house was primarily a structure of poles thatched with brush or tule matting. These conical dwellings featured a rectangular doorway and centrally located fireplace; occasionally they were also constructed of split redwood or redwood bark.³⁵ The sweat-house, another typical California institution, was probably built in a fashion similar to that described above. No details of its size or construction have been preserved--at least for those built in the vicinity of San Francisco. Villages appear to have been laid out in an orderly way: sweathouses located along the seashore or river banks, assembly houses or dance plazas situated in the center, and familial dwellings about the periphery.³⁶

The tule balsa was the only watercraft known to the Costanoan. This shaped raft of rushes carried about three passengers and was propelled with double-bladed paddles. In 1792 Captain George Vancouver of the English Navy visited San Francisco Bay and declared the Indian

³⁴ Kroeber, Handbook, pp. 468-469.

³⁵ Informants and historical accounts reveal that the Ramaytush and Rumsen used redwood planks or bark in addition to other materials. Levy, "Costanoan," p. 492; and Kroeber, Handbook, p. 468.

³⁶ Ibid., also R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, The CA Indians, p. 8; and Linda Stevens Switzer, "An Ethnohistory," p. 8.

tule canoe "the most rude and sorry contrivance for embarkation [he] had ever beheld." If the tule boats were actually as crude as the English captain professed, the Costanoans and their Coast Miwok neighbors must have been especially skilled navigators, as San Francisco Bay and the adjacent ocean front are rarely characterized by a calm surface.³⁷

Costanoan basketry was used in several different activities. All aboriginal specimens have perished, but through ethnographic data we know that most baskets were twined rather than coiled, with willow, rush or tule being the principal materials employed. Beads, feathers, and mother-of-pearl frequently embellished these lovely baskets, which were complimented in several accounts for their ingenious weaving. Other household utensils included mollusk shell spoons, paddles for stirring food, and brushes made from the wild onion or soaproot.

The Costanoan made both sinew-backed and self-bows for hunting and warfare. The strings were fashioned from sinew or vegetable fiber, the arrowheads carved from stone or bone. Several historical accounts praise the Indians for their skill at weapon making; Otto von Kotzebue, for one, described their bows and arrows as being of "extraordinary elegance."³⁸ Rocks, bones and minerals provided

³⁷ George Vancouver, "San Francisco in 1792," from A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World, reprinted in CA Historical Society Quarterly (SF: CHS, June 1935), pp. 111-120.

³⁸ Otto von Kotzebue, as quoted in Switzer, "An Ethnohistory of the Costanoans," p. 10.

the raw material for many Costanoan tools. The aboriginal habitation sites excavated at Fort Mason, GGNRA, reveal the use of both bone and obsidian tools. The latter artifacts originated from Napa and Sonoma counties, indicating a local trade relationship with the Coast Miwok, Southern Pomo or Wappo peoples.³⁹

6. Kinship and Social Organization

Costanoan household membership varied in number from about 10 to 15 persons--a large "family" in aboriginal California. Not much is known about the Ramaytush kinship terminology, although all language-ethnic group divisions were organized into clans, and then divided into deer and bear moieties. Both were exogamous social units, but the moieties, named after the bear and deer, carried obvious totemic associations.⁴⁰

7. Religion and Rituals

Dreams, prayers and offerings played an important role in Costanoan religion. Prayers and offerings to the sun are mentioned in Father Palóu's account and various modern ethnographies, though all details are lacking. Offerings of meal, acorns, seeds, tobacco and shell beads are repeatedly cited and thus must have formed a distinctive

³⁹ Suzanne Baker and Roger Kelly, National Register Nomination Form: Fort Mason Multiple Research Archeological District (SF: National Park Service, 1979), pp. 2-4.

⁴⁰ Heizer and Whipple, The CA Indians, p. 29; Levy, "Costanoan," p. 488.

part of Costanoan ritual. Feather "prayer sticks" were common in aboriginal California and were evidently used by the local Costanoans, as Father Santa María discovered several during his exploration of Angel Island. The chaplain described the wands as

many thin round poles, . . .with their tips decorated with a bunch of white feathers, ending at the top in a web of red and black feathers, counterfeiting the face of a sun.⁴¹

Historians Stanger and Brown reflect that these solar images must have been a remarkable sight, since the bay region Indians were unrivaled in their skill at fine iridescent featherwork.⁴² The prayer sticks were lucky charms in a sense, offered for health, good weather, and successful hunting and fishing ventures. Dreams and omens were another aspect of Costanoan religion; the omens usually predicted an unpleasant event, while dreams were thought to provide assistance in directing one's life.

a. Shamanism. The primary function of the California shaman was the curing of disease. Illness was believed to be caused by the presence of some foreign object, therefore the shaman's usual business involved the removal of the hostile object, often by sucking. Costanoan shamans or doctors sang, danced, and sucked material objects out of their patients, using herbs at times when people were seriously ill. A tiny vine known by the Spanish as yerba buena (the good herb), grew in abundance about San Francisco proper and was probably used by

⁴¹Vicente Santa María, his account translated and reprinted in Stanger and Brown, Who Discovered the Golden Gate?, p. 163.

⁴²E. Stanger and K. Brown, footnote, *ibid.*

the local shamans for its medicinal properties. In addition to curing the ill, Costanoan shamans, it was believed, could control the weather and insure good crops and an abundance of fish. These and other accomplishments were achieved through the performance of dances and ceremonies.

b. Ceremonies. Dances and ceremonies involving the doctor and other members of the tribelet were held in large assembly houses or in brush dance enclosures. Little is known of the Ramaytush traditions, though most of central California was organized into secret societies with Kuksu dances. Nearly all adult males were initiated into this communal institution. The Kuksu or Kuksuyu dancers wore feather costumes and headdresses depicting various mythic characters in an attempt to directly impersonate the spirits.⁴³

c. Music. Ritual and myth were almost always accompanied by music, while songs were employed as hunting or love charms. One love song, composed in or since mission times, but on aboriginal lines, ran:

Come! Come!
I mean you
with the brown hat.⁴⁴

The Costanoan musician had both wind and percussion instruments, including whistles, flutes and rattles. Flutes were carved from alder, while whistles were fashioned out of single bird-bone tubes. A fragment

⁴³Heizer and Whipple, The CA Indians, pp. 44-45, which includes a map of CA showing distribution of ritual cults.

⁴⁴See Kroeber, Handbook, pp. 471-472, for this and other Costanoan songs.

of one of the latter instruments was actually uncovered within GCNRA's projected boundaries. When an aboriginal skeleton was unearthed near the Presidio Motor Pool Area in 1972, a large fragment of cut and polished bird radius, identified as a whistle fragment, was found within it.⁴⁵

8. Mythology

Costanoan myths explained natural phenomena through the acts of various animal figures. Coyote, a popular mythical character, played both good and mischievous roles. He instituted tribes and languages and taught the arts of subsistence to the people, while at the same time playing a glutinous trickster--forever trying to deceive the other characters in the myths. The Ramaytush may have had other popular culture heroes, but no account of them exists.⁴⁶

9. Recreation

During their leisure hours the Costanoans enjoyed games and gambling. Most accounts describe a hand game called "toussi" or "tussi," in which players held wood or bone lots and tried to guess whose hand concealed the unmarked stick. The Indians appeared to take this amusement quite seriously--staking their ornaments, tools, clam-disc money,

⁴⁵Rodger Heglar and Michael J. Moratto, "A Deeply Buried Aboriginal Skeleton from the U.S. Army Presidio, SF, CA," Robert Schenk Archives, paper no. 38, Jan. 1973, p. 3.

⁴⁶Kroeber, Handbook, pp. 472-473; Levy, "Costanoan," p. 490.

and at times even the favors of their women! Other popular games included a type of ball race, the hoop-and-pole game, and shinny.⁴⁷

C. GGNRA Archeological Sites

The only known extant aboriginal sites in San Francisco City and County Area are located on property under current GGNRA management. In addition to Point Lobos and Fort Mason archeological districts, the present and projected park lands boast several aboriginal midden deposits, including a partial human skeleton. These rare sites and shellmounds provide material evidence that probable Costanoan peoples once occupied, at least seasonally, several localities within the existing national park. The Costanoan Indians and their ancestors furnish GGNRA in San Francisco with its earliest known history--a heritage that is integral to park interpretation.

1. Angel Island

Angel Island archeological sites should be of minor importance to National Park interpreters as the island itself is under State Park jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the islet holds five occupational shell midden sites which should be noted. At Mrn-43 (Nelson Site 43), the greatest number of remains were found. Excavated in 1966 by Adan Treganza, the site near Fort McDowell produced five human burials, shellfish and animal remains, and 71 artifacts. That same year a

⁴⁷ Stewart Culin, Games of the North American Indians (New York: Dover, 1975), p. 283; Linda S. Switzer, "An Ethnohistory," p. 14; Levy, "Costanoan," p. 494.

probable large village site was excavated from Mrn-45, located in the flat area of Ayala Cove. The other sites (SFr-4, Mrn-42 and Mrn-44) are all heavily impacted shell middens.⁴⁸

2. Presidio

The aboriginal skeleton mentioned earlier was uncovered by army personnel in a stratum of wet and muddy sand near the Motor Pool Area, about 600 feet south of GGNRA-managed Crissy Field. Aside from the whistle fragment, no artifacts or other evidence of cultural activity could be found. Radiocarbon age measurement indicated a date of 740 A.D., which would place the aboriginal bones in the Late Horizon period.⁴⁹

A shellmound apparently devoid of artifacts and burials was excavated by L. L. Loud in 1912, and is now identified as SFr-6 or Loud's Presidio Mound. The site was heavily impacted by construction of the Palace of Fine Arts (Panama-Pacific Exposition, 1912-1922) and is now occupied partially by the Letterman Army gymnasium and swimming pool.⁵⁰

3. Aquatic Park

Site SFr-23 was located on top of a 40-foot sandy cliff near

⁴⁸ Roger E. Kelly, Archeological Resources of GGNRA (SF, CA: National Park Service, Dec. 1976), pp. 37, 40.

⁴⁹ Heglar and Moratto, "A Deeply Buried Aboriginal Skeleton," pp. 1-8.

⁵⁰ Roger E. Kelly, Archeological Resources of GGNRA, p. 37.

the present GGNRA-owned Haslett Warehouse, at the intersection of Hyde and Beach Streets. In 1861 Alex S. Taylor described the site as an ashy shell midden with "quantities of decayed-fish bones" and an exposed aboriginal skeleton. The following is an excerpt from his article published in The California Farmer:

Walking, some time since, in the vicinity of Black Point [Fort Mason], we passed over towards the high point of land which forms, we believe, the intersection of Hyde and Beach Streets. It is a dreary and sand-driven place, with scarcely a habitation near, and overlooking, with a precipice of forty or fifty feet, the waters of the Bay, which surge and moan at the rocky base. This locality is said to have been the site of an old Indian rancheria, and the circular fire-burnt spot on the bare place at the summit, with quantities of decayed fish bones and crushed shells mixed with sand, seem to warrant the tradition.⁵¹

4. Point Lobos Archeological Sites

The three Point Lobos Archeological sites (SFr-5, SFr-21, and SFr-24) are located along the maritime cliffs of San Francisco's extreme western coastline, overlooking the Pacific Ocean about 50-100 feet above sea level. All sites and localities have undergone radical change, so very little is left of the original middens. All three contain a large amount of shellfish, especially mytilus californicus, a species of mussle. SFr-5, the largest deposit, and SFr-21, located near the entrance to Sutro Baths ruins, yield mammalian and fish bones as well. During the course of investigations several chert and obsidian flakes were encountered, along with a bead and stone fishing

⁵¹Alex. S. Taylor, "San Francisco Bay Indians," The California Farmer: Journal of Useful Sciences, 31 May 1861, p. 106.

net weight. Aside from a pre-historic hearth of fire-cracked rock, exhumed at SFr-21, no other artifacts or human remains were observed. It was concluded that these sites were most probably utilized as hunting and gathering stations, and not as permanent habitation sites.⁵²

When the property containing these sites was placed on the National Register of Historic Places (7 November 1976), SFr-5, 21, and 24 were believed to be the only visible vestiges of Indian occupation within the City and County of San Francisco. The Point Lobos sites held this honor for two years, until the discovery of the highly significant Fort Mason sites.

5. Fort Mason Multiple Resources Archeological District

These previously unrecorded aboriginal sites (4-SFr-29, 30, and 31) were located and tested during a resource evaluation project conducted by Suzanne Baker. The sites are located along the northern boundary of GGNRA's Fort Mason complex, overlooking the Bay and the Fort Mason Center piers. Although somewhat impacted by historical activity, all three localities contain excellent deposits of undisturbed shell midden as well as numerous and diverse pre-historic artifacts. Unlike the Point Lobos localities, these GGNRA sites are

⁵²Miley P. Holman *et al.*, "The Sutro Baths Sites: A Preliminary Archaeological Investigation," prepared for Western Region National Park Service, US Dept. of Interior, Jan. 1977, pp. 3-4; Rojer Kelly, National Register Nomination Form: Pt. Lobos Archeological Sites, 1976. A detailed map of SFr-5, 21, and 24 is included in the National Register form, available in the Mail Room files, Fort Mason, San Francisco.

interpreted as certain aboriginal habitation sites.⁵³

SFr-29, located near the junction of Miles Road and MacArthur Avenue, produced large quantities of fish, bird, and mammal bone, along with shell ornaments, bone and obsidian tools, a baked clay artifact, and a possible fish net sinker.

SFr-30, partially exposed in the area of the historic parade ground, revealed two possible cooking pits and over 60 aboriginal artifacts, including two shell ornaments and bone and obsidian tools.

SFr-31, slightly west of SFr-30, contained smaller quantities of shell, although large amounts of fire-cracked rocks and fish bone indicate a possible food processing area. In addition to these hearth features, obsidian tools and flakes, two possible fish net sinkers, a bone tool, and a ground stone artifact were found.

D. The Miwok Linguistic Group:
20th Century Classifications

Miwok, also spelled Mewuk and Meewoc, is an authentic Indian word meaning people. These people, along with the Costanoans, spoke one of the California Penutian languages. 20th century man has divided the Miwok into three segments consisting of several contiguous and two discrete groups. The interior or Sierra Miwok comprised four adjacent subgroups: the Plains, Northern, Central and Southern, which were culturally distinct from the Lake and Coast branches. The Lake

⁵³ Suzanne Baker and Rojer Kelly, National Register Nomination Form: Fort Mason Multiple Resources Archeological District. Detailed maps of sites within this district are included in register form, available at Western Regional Office, SF.

Miwok were squeezed in between Pomo, Wappo and Wintun, along the shores of Clear Lake. The latter entity, the Coast Miwok, was centered in Marin and adjacent Sonoma counties--a territory which included much of the current GGNRA.⁵⁴

The Coast Miwok have also been divided into dialectic and ethnic groups. Although there was no overall tribal organization, anthropologist C. Hart Merriam identified three "tribes" within the Hookooeko or Marin County Miwok: the Olamentko of Bodega Bay, the Lekahtewutko between Petaluma and Freestone, and the Hookooeko--south of Lekahtewutko. The latter use of Hookooeko is an unfortunate repetition, as it may often be confused with the larger linguistic group. S. A. Barrett, one of Kroeber's students, recognized two dialectic groups for the Coast Miwok: Western (Bodega) and Southern (Marin), with the Southern further divided into Valley and Coast. These distinctions are obviously geographic in nature, while Merriam's divisions are based on major villages or names passed down by native survivors. According to Merriam, the GGNRA and vicinity Indians "called themselves Hoo'-koo'e'-ko," occupying a territory which "extended from the Golden Gate northerly to Valley Ford Creek, and from Pt. Reyes peninsula easterly to the Petaluma marshes and San Pablo Bay."⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Eugene L. Conrotto, Miwok Means People (Fresno, CA: Valley Publishers, 1973), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵ C. Hart Merriam, "Indian Names in the Tamalpais Region," California Out-of-Doors, 8 April 1916, p. 118; also Robin Wells (Treganza Museum, SF State), personal communication, 16 August 1979.

Some ethnologists and scholars of Native American Studies have indicated a preference for "Hukueko," a label which may be appropriate for the Marin GGNRA and vicinity tribelets.⁵⁶

The aboriginal Coast Miwok population has been estimated by Kroeber at about 1,500 persons, while Sherburne Cook figured a total of 2,000. Unfortunately, no specific numeration exists for the Hookooeko population of GGNRA.⁵⁷

E. Coast Miwoks: Early European Contact

In addition to mission-era documents and fairly recent ethnographic data, two famous 16th century voyages (Drake and Cermeño) provide fascinating accounts of probable Coast Miwok culture.

The Coast Miwok were the first California group to come into contact with English-speaking peoples, the latter arriving in 1579 aboard Francis Drake's Golden Hinde. On June 17, 1579, Drake and his men entered "a faire and good Baye" which was probably the lagoon inside of Point Reyes, although the exact location of Drake's California anchorage is still heatedly debated.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, a comparison of

⁵⁶ Jack D. Forbes, Professor, Native American Studies, University of CA, Davis, to Jerry Schroeber, Superintendent, GGNRA, Sept. 4, 1977, copy in history files, Denver Service Center (DSC); Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," The Handbook of North American Indians, p. 424, states that Powell, another anthropologist, recognized the "Olamentke" division, which comprised what is now called Hookooeko or Coast Miwok.

⁵⁷ Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of CA, p. 275; Kelly, The Handbook of North American Indians, p. 414.

⁵⁸ For a detailed account of this controversy, see the California Historical Society Quarterly, Ziebarth, ed., 53, no. 3, Fall 1974. This

the historic account and Indian vocabulary compiled by the ship's chaplain, Francis Fletcher, indicate that the natives at Drake's landing spoke a dialect of Coast Miwok.⁵⁹ The culture described in Richard Hakluyts' Principall Navigations (1589) agrees very closely with that thought to exist among the Coast Miwok and their Pomo neighbors.⁶⁰ Excerpts from this well-known passage will be included in the following section, in relation to specific aspects of Coast Miwok culture. There is no doubt that the natives received their strange visitors with marked kindness and extreme veneration: the men dancing and singing naked, the women tearing their cheeks with their fingernails, wailing and throwing themselves violently to the ground. Drake and his men explained these gestures as typical Coast Miwok practices for relatives who had returned from the dead. While the Englishmen were hardly returned dead, the repeated wailings and self-lacerations lend valid evidence for such an explanation. In addition to this signified submission, the Coast Miwoks offered the white men presents of feathers, bags of tobacco, arrow quivers, and skins, afterwards crowning Drake their high or king. The natives came to regard their visitors as gods,

special issue is dedicated to "the Francis Drake Controversy: His CA Anchorage, June 17-July 23, 1579."

⁵⁹R. F. Heizer and William Elmendorf, "Francis Drake's CA Anchorage in the Light of the Indian Language Spoken There," The Pacific Historical Review (Berkeley, CA: UC Press), June 1942.

⁶⁰The appendix of the Fall 1974 CA Hist. Society Quarterly (Ziebarth, ed.) contains excerpts of Hakluyt's The Principall Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation (1589), the earliest published account of Drake's voyage. Also included is a reprint of the Nova Albion narrative from The World Encompassed (1628) by

while Drake's men assumed, incorrectly, that the Indians were remitting the sovereignty of their country.⁶¹

Sixteen years after Drake's California landing, Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño and his Spanish crew came ashore at Drake's Bay, where their ship, the San Augustin, had wrecked. While Drake's landing site is still disputed, Cermeño's accidental visit is clearly documented and his brief description of the Coast Miwoks has distinct similarities with the various published accounts of Drake's landing. Again the Coast Miwoks offered friendship, gifts and assistance, although there was no unusual sacrificial worship of the white strangers. The Portuguese captain noted the quantity and variety of plant and animal foods near the landing and a bit inland, probably not far from several Indian settlements in the area. One of these nearby villages stood on the site of present-day Olema, on the edge of GGNRA's northernmost boundary.⁶²

F. Coast Miwok Culture

Ethnohistoric accounts of the Coast Miwok begin with the Golden Hinde's five-week observations in 1579 and continue with Cermeño's

Sir Francis Drake. For information on the visit in Nova Albion, both accounts relied heavily on the narrative of Francis Fletcher, priest aboard the Golden Hinde.

⁶¹ Ibid.; Kroeber, Handbook, p. 277; Walton Bean, CA: An Interpretive History (SF, CA: McGraw-Hill, 1968), p. 20; Anna Coxie Toogood, "A Civil History of GGNRA," p. 2.

⁶² Anna Coxie Toogood, "A Civil History of GGNRA," p. 3; Henry

fated voyage of 1595. Almost 200 years pass before the next written records and accounts, namely the Mission Dolores registers (1776-) and Don Felipe de Goycochea's expedition through Olema Valley (1793). To supplement these purely historic sources, Isabel Kelly's "Notes on Coast Miwok Ethnography" will be used, along with her recently published chapter in The Handbook of North American Indians (1978). Kelly's published manuscript and her raw, un-edited field data are based on information derived from two elderly Coast Miwok descendants: Tomás Comtechal, Bodega Bay dialect, and Maria Copa Frias, originally of Nicasio. Neither of these informants lived within GGNRA's Marin boundaries, though Maria Frias spoke a Marin dialect. Unfortunately, the only GGNRA specific sources for Coast Miwok aboriginal culture are scattered mention in the Mission Dolores and San Rafael baptismal records, along with Goycochea's late 18th century expedition through Olema Valley.⁶³

1. Physical Appearance, Clothing and Adornment

Coast Miwok features illustrated through the watercolors of

R. Wagner, ed. and trans., "The Voyage of Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeno in 1595," California Historical Society Quarterly, 3, no. 1 (April 1924), pp. 12-14.

⁶³ Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," pp. 424-425, and "Coast Miwok Ethnography," comprising 500 typewritten pages of original field notes recorded in 1932 and 1933. For an indexed selection of Kelly's original field notes, see Robert E. Schenk, ed., "Contributions to the Archeology of Pt. Reyes National Seashore," Treganza Museum Papers, No. 6; Henry R. Wagner, "The Last Spanish Exploration," California Historical Society Quarterly 10, no. 4 (Dec. 1931), pp. 342-345.

Louis Choris are not noticeably distinct from those of their Costanoan neighbors, although written accounts and informants suggest some differences in appearance. The Drake descriptions of the Miwok tribesmen portrayed them as tall and comely with unusually strong bodies. They were apparently quite athletic, as Fletcher noted the natives ran "very swiftly and long, . . . seldom [going] any other pace."⁶⁴ Hair was worn long and either parted in the middle, or "tied up in a Bunch behind."⁶⁵ Unlike the Costanoans, Coast Miwok men let their beards grow.

Body clothing was scant, though the men occasionally wore a deer skin loin cloth.⁶⁶ The women's attire consisted of a double tule and/or deerskin apron, identical to that of their San Francisco neighbors. Skins of rabbits of other small animals were woven into blankets of fur, which were worn about the shoulders by both men and women. Like the Costanoans, feet were bare and hats unknown, except for the ceremonial feather headdresses. Mineral paints, tattooing, feathered wristlets, belts, and clamshell disk beads were all used for adornment, although the latter were more valued as currency. Geometric tattoo patterns were scratched into the skin with a sharp bone and then made permanent with the use of a poison-oak concoction rubbed into the wound. Paints were prepared by mixing animal fat with a mineral color

⁶⁴Excerpts from Drake's The World Encompassed, printed in Kroeber, Handbook, p. 277.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 276.

⁶⁶Testimony of Tomás Comtechal, one of Isabel Kelly's informants.

substance such as ground shell (white), charcoal (black), or red ground rock.⁶⁷

2. Subsistence and Terrain

The existing County of Marin is remarkably diversified in coast line, topography, exposure, temperature, and vegetation--an environment which must have favored native occupation. The Marin areas of GGNRA offer a vast expanse of wild and open terrain: rolling hills covered with shrub, grasses and wildflowers, small coves, long beaches, and rocky coastal cliffs, as well as forested ridges and redwood valleys. This diverse natural environment offered a variety of plant and animal food sources, well suited to the Coast Miwok hunting, gathering and fishing economy.⁶⁸ As they shared somewhat of a common environment, the Coast Miwoks and their Costanoan neighbors were similar in their seasonal exploitive rounds and broad subsistence patterns. Known GGNRA and vicinity villages were adjacent to shore, lagoon, or slough, where surf and bay fish were taken along with mussels and several kinds of clams. Come summer, when the latter were contaminated by a "red tide," hunting and gathering shifted to the hills where temporary camps may have been founded. Coast Miwok animal foods and hunting practices are nearly identical to those mentioned for the

⁶⁷Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 417; Ruth Lescohier, "The Coast Miwok People," booklet written for Pt. Reyes National Seashore, July 1978, p. 8.

⁶⁸Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 415; Kroeber, Handbook, p. 273.

Costanoans; for brevity they will not be repeated here. However, Kelly's Coast Miwok informants were certain that no sea mammals were eaten, an obvious exception to the above statement.⁶⁹

Acorns, again, were basic. Those of the tanbark were preferred for mush, while those of the valley oak were used to make bread. Acorns and seeds were stored in granaries until needed; these structures were tightly constructed of twigs, brush, weeds, and grapevines. A large variety of seeds and greens were eaten, along with a few berries and roots. Within GGNRA, miner's lettuce (*monitia perfoliata*), monkey flower (*mimulus guttatus*), and watercress (*nasturtium officinale*) may have been used as edible greens. Greens were eaten either fresh or cooked, although those mentioned species were probably eaten raw. The lupine (*lupinus chamissonis*) and California buttercup (*ranunculus californicus*) are native to the GGNRA Marin headlands, and may have been used by the Indians for both their seeds and greens. Seeds were harvested and eaten as pinole, the GGNRA-native manroot or wild cucumber (*marah oreganus*) may have provided these edible parts, in addition to those plants already mentioned. Edible roots were limited, although the bulbs of the wild hyacinth or blue dicks (*brodiaea pulchella*) are described as a principal food in the Miwok's diet. A relative of the garden variety lily, this probable Indian plant food is native to the hillsides of GGNRA's Marin headlands. Tobacco

⁶⁹Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 416. For more information concerning Miwok subsistence, consult Lee Raymond and Ann Rice, Marin Indians (Sausalito, CA, 1957).

was smoked by all men and a few women, however the plant itself was not local to GGNRA.⁷⁰

3. Lifecycle

Coast Miwok birth procedures were identical to those of their Costanoan neighbors. Restrictions during pregnancy were few, although the new mother was required to observe some food taboos. Like the Costanoans, fish and salt were avoided, but kelp and fresh fish were considered acceptable. Sexual abstinence was required for several days, and fathers were to quite smoking, fishing and hunting for a similar length of time.

At first menses, girls observed the same diet taboos as new mothers and were confined to the dance house (secret society), menstrual hut or home for the duration of their condition. At the conclusion, informants recall that the girl jumped into cold water, then attended a special dance. The boy's puberty rite was essentially a male tribal initiation, involving nearly a week of special training and dances, in which death, resurrection, ghosts, and poison formed an interrelated cluster of recurrent themes.⁷¹

Every Coast Miwok transaction involved payment, although the economic exchange involved in marriage is not described. Cousin

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 417; Deborah Matin and Christine Hoepfner, "Indian Use of Plants of the Marin Headlands," National Park Service, GGNRA, brochure.

⁷¹See Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 421, for a detailed description of the boys' initiation.

marriage was apparently infrequent, therefore kinship relationships may have been recognized. Little polygamy was allowed and marital fidelity was expected. Francis Fletcher of the Drake expedition noted that the Coast Miwok women were "very obedient and serviceable to their husbands."⁷² Other historical accounts mention the love and tenderness with which the children were treated, although patriarchal obedience was expected.⁷³

At death, the Coast Miwok and his or her property was buried or burned, however shell money might be spared if the deceased left many children. Like the Costanoans, mention of the dead was taboo. Both male and female mourners cut their hair, and except for wailing, no extravagant demonstration of grief was mentioned by informants. The "ghost" ceremony witnessed by Drake and his men should not be confused with the common Coast Miwok funeral. For myths surrounding death, Maria Copa Frias recalled that the dead leapt into the ocean and followed a "kind of string leading west through the surf," arriving at a road beyond the breakers. This took them further west, to the land of the setting sun, where they remained with Coyote in the after world.⁷⁴

⁷²Ziebarth, ed. "The Francis Drake Controversy," CHSQ, Fall 1974, p. 275.

⁷³Ruth Lescohier, "The Coast Miwok People," p. 12; also F. P. von Wrangell, quoted in R. F. Heizer, ed., "Ethnographic Observations on the Coast Miwok and Pomo" (UC Berkeley: Dept. of Anthropology, 1974), p. 5.

⁷⁴Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," pp. 421, 423.

4. Sociopolitical Organization

Like all California Indians, the Coast Miwoks had no united tribal organization. Large villages, such as those indicated near GGNRA (see Figure 2) had a chief or headman (hoypuh), whose post was not hereditary. Chiefs were always male, although there were, in addition to the hoypuh, two important female leaders. The chief's duties appear minimal, especially in respect to those described for the Costanoans. His position was purely advisory, involving daily lectures and verbal assistance. The Drake account describes one such leader, who

wearied himself and [his people] with a long oration, using such violent gestures and so strong a voice, and speaking so fast, that he was quite out of breath.⁷⁵

No description of the selection process exists, although informants mention that the incipient headman was tutored by the old chief and "when the successor was ready to take over, the incumbent withdrew or a poisoner was hired to liquidate him."⁷⁶ One of the two headwomen was in charge of Acorn and Sünwele dances, and was deeply involved in the Bird cult. The other female leader (maien) was evidently a key person, as Tomás Comtechal recalled: "maien bosses everyone, even hoypuh." She supervised construction of the dance house, which was frequently re-built, and acted not unlike the village

⁷⁵Excerpts from Drake's The World Encompassed, printed in Kroeber, Handbook, p. 276.

⁷⁶Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwoks," p. 419.

social director, sending out invitation sticks for dances, instructing preparation of fiesta food, and so forth.⁷⁷

5. Property and Intertribal Relations

Natural drainage systems defined Coast Miwok territory although 19th century concepts of land ownership were unknown. While land, as such, was not considered private property, the food-producing trees and plants were, as were fishing and clam-digging rights to some coastal or bayshore tracts. Like the Costanoans, Marin Indians clearly obeyed their respective territorial boundaries. According to Tomás Comtechal, some villages staked their valuable land and shot those who trespassed. While this behavior may have been rare, the Coast Miwoks nevertheless possessed a strong feeling for property. Clamshell disc beads were used as currency, and all transactions involved payment, including hunting and gathering privileges, initiation into the secret society, use of the dance house for special occasions, and admission to the dances themselves. Actually, such emphasis on compensation was not unlike modern society. Miwok tribesmen and women marked their belongings with ownership marks, a custom which reveals individual attachment to property. One descendant recalled that most victims of a "poisoner" could hire an effective curing specialist, "but it took too much money." Most, he claimed, "would rather die than spend the money."⁷⁸

⁷⁷Ibid. ⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 418-419.

Chaplain Fletcher of Drake's Golden Hinde described the Coast Miwoks as "a people of tractable, free and loving nature, without guile or treachery . . ."⁷⁹ While this account and other aspects of intertribal relations seem friendly, Maria Frias summarized relations between fellow Coast Miwok neighbors that suggest hostility. According to the Nicasio woman,

the Tomales people didn't like the Nicasio people; the Nicasio people didn't like the Petaluma people; the Marshall people didn't like the Bodega people; and nobody liked anybody else.⁸⁰

6. Structure and Technology

Coast Miwok villages contained several kinds of structures. The dwellings or "kotchas" were primarily conical and built above ground, the frames either willow or driftwood, upon which bunches of grass, rush, or tule were tied. Kotchas of redwood bark slag were also built, and some of the larger willow-tule dwellings were oblong in shape. The typical conical dwelling accommodated six to ten persons, who sat up or slept with their feet to the central fire.

Substantial villages had a dance house and sweat house. These conical, semi-subterranean structures were built of wooden posts and poles, then covered with brush, grass, and earth. Warmth in the sweathouse was produced by a centrally located fire. When the

⁷⁹Francis Fletcher, as quoted in R. F. Heizer, Elizabethan California, p. 92.

⁸⁰Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 419.

men and boys achieved an adequate sweat they jumped into a nearby creek or lagoon, then repeated the procedure several times. Sweating was a form of purification and was also believed to improve hunting, as it removed all detectable human scent. The institution itself served as a social and work center for men; here they mended their fishing and hunting equipment and exchanged stories or experiences.⁸¹ The dance house or ceremonial chamber was built and used by the so-called secret societies. Populous settlements had two: one for the all-female society and one for that including both sexes. The most important, non-structural feature of the dance house was the foot drum, a hollowed-log shaped by burning.

San Francisco Bay and Bolinas Lagoon were crossed on a tule balsa (logo-saka), propelled by the usual double-ended paddle. Unlike the Costanoans, the Coast Miwoks occasionally employed a log raft--although the logo-saka was probably their primary means of transportation. The only possible difference between Coast Miwok and Costanoan balsas is the former's use of asphaltum as a water-proofing agent. An asphaltum seep was located in aboriginal times at Duxbury Point, just west of Bolinas. Tar was known and commonly used by the California Indians, a fact which has led some to believe that the Bolinas Bay natives actively exploited their local resource. Informants do not mention this use of asphaltum, and all aboriginal

⁸¹R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, eds., The CA Indians, p. 8; Lescohier, "The Coast Miwok People," pp. 14, 17; Toogood, "A Civil History of GGNRA," p. 6.

tule balsas have, of course, perished.⁸²

Coast Miwok technology was similar to that of their Costanoan neighbors. Household utensils, cordage, nets, the stone metate and mortar (for grinding) were common to all San Francisco Bay Indians.⁸³ Basketry was well developed and at times quite elaborate--the finished products used in a variety of activities. While most Costanoan baskets were twined, Coast Miwok techniques involved both twining and coiling, although the latter was used, to some extent, "for show."⁸⁴

The Coast Miwok bow resembled that of the Costanoan in construction and appearance. This chief game and battle weapon was used by the Marin Indian with great skill, a fact which was noted by several observers, including Chaplain Fletcher and a visiting Russian governor.⁸⁵ At this point in time, the only aboriginal artifact uncovered within the Marin GGNRA or its immediate vicinity is a probable Coast Miwok bow. Found at Oakside Ranch, Bolinas township, in

⁸²Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 419; R. F. Heizer and Adan Treganza, Mines and Quarries of the Indians of CA (Sacramento: CA State Printing Office, 1944), pp. 332-333; Raymond and Rice, Marin Indians, p. 7; Edris Cole, Audubon Canyon Wildlife Sanctuary, personal communication, August 1979.

⁸³R. F. Heizer, "Indians of the SF Bay Area," Geologic Guidebook of the SF Bay Counties (SF, CA: Dept. of Natural Resources, December 1951), p. 48.

⁸⁴Isabel Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 418.

⁸⁵Francis Fletcher, quoted in R. F. Heizer, Elizabethan CA, p. 92; F. P. von Wrangell, as quoted in R. F. Heizer ed., "Ethnographic Observations on the Coast Miwok and Pomo," p. 5.

the late 19th century, the artifact is described as a "simple bow without string."⁸⁶

7. Religion and Ritual

Song, dance, ritual fasting, prayer, doctoring, and offerings were all important aspects of Coast Miwok religion. The recurring themes of poison, death, resurrection, and ghosts were involved in many of these native customs. Poisoning, both real and imagined, was common. Professional curing doctors, mentioned earlier, were available for hire along with the men that kept them in business. Poison was derived from certain plant and animal sources--the poisonous oils of GGNRA's California buttercup may have been used. There were several other doctoring specialists, and each had his or her own special equipment and techniques. These doctors and "old dancers" employed many of the Costanoan shaman techniques: singing, dancing and sucking, for example, were universal. In this context, the chief function of the dance was therapeutic.⁸⁷

a. Dances. Dances were not always held for their restorative quality. Tomás recalled that his people danced because "they wanted to have a good time. If someone was sick, they danced to cure

⁸⁶The "Bolas bow" was found by one B. G. Morse, 2½ feet below the surface. The bow is now part of the Lowie Museum collection (Univ. of CA, Berkeley), but not on exhibit. Classified as Marin 1-67279. Larry Dawson, Lowie Museum, personal communication, August 1979.

⁸⁷Kelly, "Coast Miwok," pp. 419-420; Hoepfner and Matin, "Indian Use of the Plants of the Marin Headlands," p. 3.

them. If nobody was sick, they danced anyway."⁸⁸ Dances took place in the large assembly or ceremonial house and like the Costanoans, dances were held for hunting and harvest luck, as well as in celebration of a good hunt, a boy's initiation, or the installment of a new chief. Ethnographers have compiled an impressive list of dances--the Acorn, Coyote, and Bear, to name a few--some involved spirit impersonation, others did not. With a few exceptions, male and female dancers wore a pelican coat made from the skin of a brown or white bird. The feathered headdress completed the costume and was often quite elaborate. Isabel Kelly notes three kinds of head-dress: the flicker strip, a headband with upstanding black feathers, and a pair of "hornlike" tremblers.⁸⁹

b. Music. Coast Miwok dances and ritual were almost always accompanied by music. Singers and dancers often carried one or more musical instrument, although clapping, at times, might be the only accompaniment. The hollowed-out foot drum created a deep, throbbing rhythm and was undoubtedly in common use. Rattles, flutes, and bone whistles, like those of the Costanoan, were also mentioned by informants. Except for the elderberry flute, the bull-roarer and other instruments were considered effective in curing. Songs were employed as hunting, fishing, gambling and love charms. Most of these were considered private property, to be bought or sold for clam shell

⁸⁸ Tomás Comtechal, quoted in Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 422.

⁸⁹ Details of the various dances may be found in Kelly, "Coast Miwok," pp. 422-423.

disk beads.⁹⁰

8. Myths and Cults

The beliefs of the Coast Miwok concerning the forces of nature and the character of the earth's first inhabitants are different from our own. Their myths reflect various beliefs concerning the influence of outside powers, accepted codes of behavior, and relationships with the natural environment. All Coast Miwok peoples believed in the pre-existence of Coyote-man, the Creator. Unlike the Costanoan Coyote, the "old man coyote" of the Miwoks was responsible for menstruation and death. Real people were created from feathers, sticks, or clay. Kelly's informants relate that over the primeval water, "Coyote shook his walik--something like a blanket of tule--to the south, east, north, and to the west. The water dried and the land appeared." Coyote turned his "first people" into animals and made others, some of mud and some of sticks, who became the Coast Miwoks.⁹¹ In addition to Coyote there were numerous supernatural beings, including ghosts and some nature spirits.

Animals were treated with great respect, a Coast Miwok attitude

⁹⁰Toogood, "A Civil History of GGNRA," p. 6; Kelly, "Coast Miwok," pp. 422-423.

⁹¹See C. Hart Merriam, ed., The Dawn of the World-Myths and Weird Tales Told by the Mewan Indians of CA (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1910), for a compendium of Coast Miwok myths. Merriam, a botanist-ethnologist, traveled extensively throughout Central CA in 1902-1903 and collected what remained of the "oral history" of the Coast Miwok; also Kelly, p. 423.

which, evidently influenced the Bird Cult. This cult involved ceremonies, prayers, and impersonations--all aimed toward certain animals, especially the bear, eagle, and hawk.⁹²

9. Games and Recreation

During their leisure hours the Marin Indians, like the Costanoans, enjoyed games and gambling. A hand or grass game called "hani" was a favorite; it involved guessing the relative position of marked bones that were concealed in bunches of grass. Bets ran high; one descendent recalled the hiders singing to Kawatak, "the grass game man," to plead for success. Hockey, played with a wooden ball, was also associated with gambling. These games were primarily for adult men and women; the children amused themselves with dolls of mud or sticks, acorn buzzers, and pebbles used as jacks.⁹³

G. GGNRA and Vicinity Archeological Sites

The location of any San Francisco Bay village or camp site was controlled by certain environmental factors, notably fresh water, shelter from the wind, easy access to the seashore, and the presence of necessary plants and animals. Historic and archeological evidence suggest that most Coast Miwok villages were located near the bay or ocean shore. Cermeño (1595) and Goycoechea (1793) noted in their accounts that most villages were at or near the beach, while Francis Fletcher of the Drake expedition commented that the Coast Miwoks made

⁹²Kelly, *ibid.* ⁹³*Ibid.*

their houses "close by the water's side."⁹⁴ As the Coast Miwoks and Costanoans placed a heavy dependence upon sea products for food, it is no surprise that their ancient middens are located within a narrow belt surrounding the open waters of the bay. These middens or refuse mounds contain large amounts of clam and mussel shells, ashes, charcoal, and bird bones. Fish and animal bones are also present, but to a lesser extent. These middens indicate seasonal or, in some cases, permanent habitation sites.⁹⁵

Some 425 of these San Francisco Bay shellmounds were discovered in 1907-1908 by Nels C. Nelson, who completed the first detailed survey of pre-historic bay region sites. In addition to those middens uncovered within probable Costanoan territory, Nelson designated several Marin GGNRA and vicinity sites, six of which are still extant today. The 1909 survey and recent excavations provide material evidence of aboriginal occupation, a fact which is confirmed and supplemented with historic accounts, mission baptismal records, and 20th century ethnographic data.

1. Nelson's Survey of San Francisco Bay Shellmounds

Three of Nelson's midden sites lay in the current Golden Gate National Recreation Area, along the eastern shore of Bolinas lagoon.

⁹⁴Fletcher, as quoted in Ziebarth, ed., "The Francis Drake Controversy," CHSQ, Fall 1974, p. 274.

⁹⁵R. F. Heizer, "Indians of the SF Bay Area," p. 39; N. C. Nelson, "Shellmounds of the SF Bay Region," introduction.

Designated as "small mounds still present," they were located where Morse's (Mrn-336), McKennon's (Mrn-335), and Stinson's (Mrn-334) Gulches flow into Bolinas lagoon. Unfortunately, none could be re-located in 1976 by regional archeologist Rojer Kelly.⁹⁶

Another small heap was located about 1/8 mile inland of Muir Beach, where Redwood Creek once emptied into the Pacific Ocean. 4-Mrn-333 or Muir Beach Archeological Site was recently (1978-79) excavated by Rojer Kelly, who classified the midden as potentially significant. A twelve-acre state beach as late as 1976, the location is now a day use area of Golden Gate National Recreation Area. Native willow and blackberry grow along the banks of Redwood Creek and may have been utilized by the ancient settlement. The location would have been ideal for a wide variety of gathering, collecting, fishing, hunting, and trapping. Salmon, at one time found in Redwood Creek, were probably captured with a dip net or spear. Archeological deposit Mrn-333 contained fragmentary shell, firecracked rock, dark brown soils with a smearing quality, and some charcoal. The surviving midden was probably associated with the protohistoric Coast Miwoks, and may yield further archeological and environmental data.⁹⁷ East of Muir Beach in the Green Gulch vicinity, several obsidian artifacts

⁹⁶ Nelson, *ibid.*, "Map of SF Bay region showing distribution of shell heaps"; Rojer Kelly (regional archeologist for the National Park Service), Archeological Resources of GGNRA, p. 41.

⁹⁷ Rojer Kelly, "National Register Nomination Form: Muir Beach Archeological Site," March 1979, copy available at Fort Mason, mail room file. Form includes a detailed boundary map of Mrn-333. Kelly, "Coast Miwok," p. 416.

were found. These obsidian pieces were uncovered by residents of the Zen Center; the Muir Beach survey itself revealed no additional cultural materials.⁹⁸

In the Sausalito region, Nelson located several more shellmounds, identified as Mrn-1, 2, 3, and 4. Northeast of GGNRA's Gerbode Valley, these shell and ash middens contained varying amounts of artifacts and Coast Miwok remains. Mrn-2 and Mrn-4 were genuine Indian refuse heaps, although no cultural materials were exposed. Mrn-1, situated at the foot of Main Street, south of Valhalla, was fairly well impacted, although two informants independently affirmed that several skeletons had been unearthed prior to 1907. Mrn-2 was and still is the largest and most significant Sausalito shellmound. Excavated by Nelson in 1910, Mrn-3 contained seven aboriginal burials; bone, obsidian and antler tools; a pestle; rock and shell pendants; a charm-stone; and a grooved fish-net sinker. Located at the intersection of Caledonia and Pine Streets, this designated occupation midden was rediscovered in June 1974, at which time an estimated 500-year-old burial was unearthed. Believed to be an ancient Coast Miwok burial ground, Mrn-3 revealed two additional, intact skeletons--along with a number of shellfish beads. In respect of the wishes of several local Indian tribes, the sacred burial grounds and midden will be sealed with asphalt and honored with a small memorial plot.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Rojer Kelly, Archeological Resources of GGNRA, p. 41.

⁹⁹ Nelson, as recorded in the "Archeological Site Survey Records" for Mrn-1, 2, 3, and 4, Univ. of CA, Berkeley: CA Archeological

The shell heaps found in Sausalito probably belonged to the ancient village "Liwanelowa," mentioned by Barrett's and Merriam's Coast Miwok informants. The Book of Baptisms for Mission Dolores reveals that a rancheria named "Livangelva," located at "the other part of the harbor, towards the north," supplied several Indian converts between 1783 and 1800. Inadvertently spelled "Livaneglua" and "Libangelva," the recording padre noted that said rancheria was "another name for Iumen." Variations of the "nation" or "family" of Iumen appear in the baptismal records, where the group is described as originating from a point "north of the Presidio, directly opposite Angel Island." The Guymen or Uimen are recognized by anthropologists as a definite Marin County, Coast Miwok tribelet. It is quite probable from the above evidence that these Coast Miwok peoples occupied sections of Sausalito and adjoining GGNRA lands.¹⁰⁰

Nelson's 1909 distribution map indicates more large mounds in the Mill Valley area, situated a bit east of National Park Service lands. At least one of these heaps, 4-Mrn-14, was found extant in 1974. This apparently undisturbed midden accumulated upon an ancient landslide and was surrounded by a raw material-rich environment.¹⁰¹

Survey; "Historic Resources Inventory: Miwok Burial Mound," Dept. of Parks and Recreation, July 1974; William Cooney, "Some Old Bones Worry a Town," San Francisco Chronicle, 17 June 1974, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰Kroeber, Handbook, p. 274; Merriam, "Village Names in 12 CA Mission Records," pp. 13, 16-20; R. F. Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, p. 100 (reference to Guymen).

¹⁰¹M. Moratto, et al., "Shelter Hill: Archeological Investigation

2. "Olema-loke"

The two most significant, probable village sites were not located by Nels C. Nelson in 1908. Olema-loke, from "ole," coyote, and "loklo," valley, was an old Indian village located just east of Olema, according to Coast Miwok informants and historic accounts. Three GGNRA-vicinity village sites were mentioned to S. A. Barrett and C. Hart Merriam by Marin County informants: one, "Liwanelowa," has already been discussed. While some informant-described sites are vaguely located, Olema-loke is a definite aboriginal village site.¹⁰²

In 1793 a Spanish explorer, Lieutenant Don Felipe de Goycochea, marched an expedition through Olema Valley in search of an appropriate spot for founding a mission. On August 6th the party of twelve arrived at a place near the present Olema, which Goycochea named "Los Martires." The lieutenant noted that the site was "well fitted for any kind of establishment," as there was plenty of drinking water and a "great abundance of wood-red pine, oak, madrone, laurel, willow, and a grove of hazelnut trees." In these desirable surroundings the group found an Indian settlement, from which Goycochea is able to count "about one hundred and fifty souls, more or less." On August 16th the lieutenant completed his report to the Spanish governor, in which he recommended Los Martires as "the most appropriate [site] for

at Mrn-14, Mill Valley, CA" (San Francisco State University, Treganza Museum Papers, #15, June 1974), p. 10.

¹⁰² Kroeber, Handbook, p. 274 (note map, fig. 22); also Robin Wells (Treganza Museum, SF State), personal communication, 16 August 1979.

founding any mission or establishment, as all around it there [was] a sufficient number of natives." Concerning the Olema Valley Coast

Miwoks, he added:

Judging from the degree of intelligence they displayed they are not of the worst class. They are very poorly off for seeds, their principal food being fish, with which they told me the beach abounded. Neither do the people seem to be very warlike although they preserve little harmony amongst themselves, even at short distances those of some settlements do not go to others because of fear.

The subsistence patterns and sense of intertribal territorial boundaries described by Goycochea are, without a doubt, characteristic of Coast Miwok culture.¹⁰³

Situated near the edge of GGNRA's northernmost boundary, this ancient habitation site is mentioned in both the San Francisco de Asis and San Rafael mission baptismal records. From 1803-1805, 71 Indians were taken from "Los Olemos" and "Olemos-Tamales" to be baptised at Mission Dolores in San Francisco. Between 1808 and 1810, 13 more converts were procured, this time from a village spelled "Olemoloque." When Mission San Rafael was founded (1817-1818) the Indian rancherias of "Lema," "Olemex," and "Olemloque" provided seven neophytes. Obviously, these spellings vary. It is probable that some of the Coast Miwok converts came from the vicinity of present-day Olema, near the southern shore of Tomales Bay. The references to "Olemoloque" and "Olemloque" seem to be variations of "Olamah-lokah," the Coast Miwok word for Olema Valley. Most large California

¹⁰³ Goycochea, as trans. by Henry R. Wagner in his article, "The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay," CHSQ 10, no. 4 (Dec. 1931), pp. 342-345.

Indian villages were actually settlements of several adjoining camps or rancherias. If the habitation sites listed above were located, quite generously, somewhere within or near Olema Valley, they were still inside the current GGNRA boundaries.¹⁰⁴

3. "Bauli-n"

This ancient village site--roughly one mile north of GGNRA's Morse's Gulch, on the eastern shore of Bolinas lagoon--was mentioned by Merriam's and Barrett's Coast Miwok informants. Both Taylor and Bancroft mention a Coast Miwok tribelet called the "Bolanos," who lived, the authors state, along the shores of "Bollenos Bay." Archaeological evidence to support these claims was not uncovered until 1970, when archeologists Schenk and Willsrud discovered a reasonable intact habitation midden on the grounds of Audubon Canyon Ranch, not far from the historic ranch house. Designated as Mrn-401, the site is surrounded by abundant plant and animal life. An ample supply of shore crabs, white ghost shrimps, clams, and species of bass, perch and herring were available in the lagoon itself, along with thousands of birds which still feed in the mudflats and shallow water. The village of "Bauli-n" is not specifically recorded in the mission registers, however it is possible that the settlement was abandoned before 1776. Regardless of their possible association, Mrn-401 and

¹⁰⁴C. Hart Merriam, "Village Names in 12 CA Mission Records," pp. 6-7, 19-20; and "Indian Names in the Tamalpais Region," CA Out-of-Doors, 8 April 1916, p. 118.

the suggested site of Bauli-n are surrounded by nearby GGNRA lands. At least half of Bolinas lagoon's eastern shoreline is under park service management, while the specific Mrn-401 tract is owned by the Audobon Canyon Ranch wildlife sanctuary.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ Robert E. Schenk, "Survey of Archeological Site #4, Mrn-401," 18 October 1970. This two-page typescript is on file at Audobon Canyon Ranch headquarters. Edris Cole, personal communication, August 1979, Audobon Canyon Ranch; Kroeber, Handbook, p. 274; S. A. Barrett, "The Ethnogeography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," UC Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, vol. 6, no. 1, 1908.

II. "LA BOCA DEL MAR": SPANISH DISCOVERY AND
EXPLORATION OF THE "MOUTH OF THE SEA,"
1769-1775

Although Upper California was discovered in 1542 by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator in the Spanish service, the Spanish empire made few attempts toward further exploration and settlement until the mid-18th century, more than 200 years after Cabrillo's well-established claim.¹ English navigator Drake was actually the next recorded European to enter Alta California waters, an event which caused much unrest among the Spanish, who bitterly dubbed him "el pirata" (the pirate). Drake's emergency landing awakened Spain to the dangers of foreign competition and produced what one historian described as an "aggressive defensive" spirit.²

Spanish fears were furthered in 1587 when Thomas Cavendish, an authentic English "pirata," captured and burned one of the cargo-rich Manila galleons off Lower California. These valuable, heavily laden vessels made regular trans-Pacific voyages from the Philippines

¹Cabrillo, in command of two exploring vessels, sailed as far north as La Posesion or San Miguel Island. He reportedly died there on Jan. 3, 1543, at which time his pilot, Bortoleme Ferrelo, assumed command. The Levantine piloto mayor led the expedition further north along the California coastline. He apparently passed by the Golden Gate, for his northern limit has been determined just beyond the present boundary of CA, or at least past Cape Mendocino. Bancroft, History of California I (San Francisco: The History Co., Publishers, 1886), pp. 69-81. Walton Bean, California: An Interpretive History (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 17-18.

²Charles E. Chapman, A History of California: The Spanish Period (New York: Macmillan, 1921), p. 187.

to Acapulco. The voyage from Manila took six or seven months, a period in which the crews suffered dreadfully from thirst, starvation, and scurvy. Informed of the deplorable conditions aboard ship and spurred by the forays of Drake and Cavendish, the Spanish authorities prescribed a survey of the California coast; the purpose, to find a port where the Manila galleon could obtain fresh supplies and perhaps the escort of a well-armed vessel. The survey was made in 1595 during the annual voyage of the galleon, however Cermeño, leader of the expedition, found no new port of call.

The next search for a favorable harbor in northern California was entrusted to merchant-adventurer Sebastian Vizcaino. Departing from Acapulco in 1602, Vizcaino and his two ships made their way up the coast, entering in December a bay that he named for the viceroy, the Conde de Monterey. Although Cermeño had sighted the bay seven years earlier, Vizcaino announced himself discoverer and wildly exaggerated its value as a harbor, hoping, of course, to elevate his own position in the Spanish government. While many Spaniards accepted the story of a splendid harbor at Monterey, the new viceroy, the Marques de Montesclaros, distrusted Vizcaino and blocked further port of call pursuits. Monterey and northern California were seemingly ignored until the Portolá expedition of 1769, some 167 years after Vizcaino's overstated discovery. When this long overdue expedition finally set out from San Diego, they failed to recognize Monterey and stumbled upon the great bay of San Francisco instead.

Why was Spanish exploration of the California coast, initiated

in response to the voyages of Drake and the Manila galleon, postponed for more than 160 years? Some historians trace this gap between expeditions to Spain's pre-occupation with Texas and the lower California frontiers, while others, in the same vein, argue the empire was "straining every nerve to cope with European problems," and thereby forced to sacrifice a more timely settlement of her northern province.³ A different interpretation of this puzzling lapse between Vizcaino and Portolá is offered by various contemporary historians. Advocates of this view claim that Alta California was a most unattractive province to the success-seeking colonist of new Spain. In the experiences of the Spaniard, California was a land of shattered hopes. The Strait of Anian, a long-rumored though mythical water route to Asia, could not be found; gold was seemingly nonexistent; and northward passage by sea or land was forbidding, if not impossible. From this perspective it seems more appropriate to question the increased interest in northern California evidenced by the Portolá and Fages expeditions, rather than contemplate any further Spain's incidental or intentional delay.

Just as Spain's disinterest in Upper California may be explained by the seeming lack of opportunities for public or personal success, the "turning of the tables" in the mid-18th century can be traced to the political ambitions of Visitador General José de Galvez.

³Ibid., p. 206; Richard K. Beardsley, "Temporal and Areal Relationships in Central CA Archeology," Reports of the Univ. of CA Archeological Survey, nos. 24 and 25 (Berkeley, Nov. 1954), "Historical overview."

Appointed in 1765, the new visitor-general was entrusted with the task of increasing the revenues of New Spain and shoring up the country's defenses. Galvez concluded that the occupation of Upper California would serve both these aims while furthering his own political career. To support his plan the Inspector General relied upon the long-established fear of European (Russian) competition, a tactic which was quite successful. Galvez placed Gaspar de Portolá and Fray Junípero Serra in charge of the 1769 expedition and directed its entire preparation. Brilliant, forceful, and driven by very selfish goals, Don José de Galvez may be seen as the true founder of California, as he was the first Spaniard to take decisive steps toward settling Upper California.

This era of Spanish discovery and exploration relates quite specifically to Golden Gate National Recreation Area. The much talked about "boca del mar" comprised what is now within GGNRA's boundaries; the Golden Gate, as the "boca" was later known, provides the name for our magnificent recreation area. Several of the expeditions undertaken during this era followed a route which covered current GGNRA sites, most notably the Rivera-Palóu expedition of 1774. The physical presence of these famous explorers provided the park with its earliest Hispanic history--a heritage in which the great city itself may find its ethnic roots.

A. The Portolá Expedition, 1769

The purpose of the first overland expedition to San Francisco

was, originally, to find the much talked about port of Monterey and to establish a Spanish settlement there. The first phase of the Portolá expedition, which in reality consisted of two voyages by ship and two separate treks by land, arrived in San Diego by early summer. Nearly half of the original settlement group died during this branch of the expedition, and those who survived were not much better off, being so debilitated with scurvy, starvation and fatigue that one ship's crew was unable to lower a light shoreboat. The first Spanish settlement in Alta California was not the mission and royal Presidio, but a make-shift tent hospital. Despite the stark and desperate situation in San Diego, Portolá gathered a company of some sixty officers and men, and set out, on the 14th of July, for the legendary harbor of Monterey.

The 1769 expedition to northern California was a Spanish-led enterprise, although two officers and most of the accompanying soldados de cuera were Mexican born, along with several christianized Lower California Indians, who were taken along as servants and muleteers. Gaspar de Portolá, leader of the Monterey-bound party, was born in Balaguer, Catalonia, circa 1723. He and Miguel Costanso, a military engineer and cartographer, were Spanish peninsulares, or members of the mother country's aristocratic class. Place of birth assumed an extraordinary significance in Spanish America, as the highest government positions went to the white Spaniards, while the lower offices of the hierarchy were confined to creoles, or whites born in the colonies. This division between Spaniards born in Europe and Spaniards

born in the colony provided a basis for intense internal competitions, a social process which prevailed into the 18th century.⁴

Captain Fernando de Rivera y Moncada and Sergeant José Francisco Ortega were born in Mexico, making them criollos or, as Manuel P. Servín defines the term, gente de razón.⁵ Rivera was born in the vicinity of Compostela, Mexico circa 1725. As commander of the hard-riding soldados de cuera (leather jacketed soldiers), Rivera led the first force of Hispanics destined to colonize Alta California. Sergeant Ortega, the leading member of Rivera's cavalry, was a native of Guanajuato, in Central Mexico.⁶

About 27 of Rivera's soldados de cuera joined the expedition, and most, if not all, were Mexican born. These colonial dragoons were named for the heavy leather tunics they wore. The cuera was quilted with 7 to 8 thicknesses of deer, sheep or antelope skin, the end result weighing some eighteen pounds and reaching almost a yard from shoulder to knee. While cumbersome, this form of armor was,

⁴Bancroft, History of CA I, pp. 140-141; Manuel P. Servín, "California's Hispanic Heritage: A View into the Spanish Myth," Journal of San Diego History 19, no. 1 (Winter 1973), pp. 2-3; Charles Gibson, Spain in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 108, 130; Who Was Who in America, 1607-1896 (Chicago: A. N. Marquis, 1963), p. 146.

⁵Servin, *ibid.*, p. 8, defines gente de razón (people of reason) as hispanicized non-Spaniards who were generally a mixture of Indian, African and Spanish stock. This term was used in the missions to distinguish between mixed-blood whites and full-blooded Indians, the latter being considered uncivilized and therefore "irrational."

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 3. See Ernest J. Burrus, "Rivera y Moncada, Explorer and Military Commander in Both Californias, in the Light of

according to Miguel Costanso, "proof against arrows of the Indians except at a very short range." In addition to this sleeveless coat the soldado carried a heart-shaped shield of cowhide, known as the ardaga, and a musket and lance. According to one observer, these mixed-blood Mexican soldiers were "generally stout men capable of bearing great fatigue, and without any exaggeration the most dextrous and nimble horsemen" he had ever seen.⁷

Fray Juan Crespi, Francisco Gomez, Lieutenant Pedro Fages and six or seven of his First Battalion, Second Regiment Catalan Volunteers completed the expedition party. Father Crespi, chief diarist of the expedition, was born on the Spanish island of Majorca, circa 1721. A pupil of Junipero Serra (founder of the Franciscan missions), Crespi was described as a "very exemplary and humble friar." Like other missionary friars, Crespi was interested in converting the native Californians to Christianity. Fray Francisco Gomez was born in 1729 at Lugar del Castillo de Laya, in the archdiocese (province) of Burgos, Spain. Described as having a swarthy complexion, dark eyes and hair, Gomez would eventually serve at Mission San Diego. Pedro Fages was also a peninsulare or Spaniard, serving in 1769 as lieutenant of los

his Diary and Other Contemporary Documents," The Hispanic American Historical Review 50 (November 1970), pp. 682-692.

⁷J. Phillip Langellier, "Lances and Leather Jackets: The Soldier-Settlers of Spanish California," pp. 1-2, typescript available at Army Museum, SF Presidio. For an illustrated description of the soldado de cuera, see Margaret Mackey and Louise Sooy, Early CA Costumes, 1769-1850 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1949), pp. 39-41.

voluntarios de Cataluña, a volunteer infantry from northeastern Spain. After his role in the expedition, Fages would receive several distinguished promotions, including the appointment of Mexican governor of California.⁸

Portolá's expedition followed a northwestern path, close at most points to the modern-day route of Highway 101. When the party reached what is now Salinas Valley, Captain Portolá confused the Salinas River with that of the Carmel, an error which sent the weary party even further north. For reasons not fully known, Portolá and his men missed the harbor so grandly extolled by Vizcaino, halting instead at Point San Pedro, where camp was made. For many, the trek had been slow and painful. According to Sergeant Ortega, rations were reduced along the way to only five tortillas per day, while sixteen of the men lost the use of their limbs. The disabled soldiers were carried in litters fastened to the backs of the mules. Men who could walk or ride were troubled with scurvy and diarrhea--ailments that were widespread by the end of October.⁹

On November 1st, Ortega led a small party of scouts northward, where Punta de los Reyes and Cermeño's (Drake's) Bay could be seen in

⁸Herbert E. Bolton, ed., Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774 (Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1927), pp. xiii, lxi; Who Was Who in America, 1607-1896, p. 174; Servín, "California's Hispanic Heritage," p. 5; Bancroft, History of CA I, p. 140; Maynard Geiger, Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic CA, 1769-1848 (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969), pp. 109-110. For a illustration and description of a Catalan volunteer uniform, see Mackey and Sooy, Early CA Costumes, pp. 37-38, and plate 8.

⁹Bean, CA: An Interpretive History, p. 38; Bancroft, History

the distance. On Ortega's second day out, a group of soldiers hunting deer near the camp sighted the southern end of San Francisco Bay, hailing their apparent discovery as the "brazo de mar" or "arm of the sea." The scouting expedition returned the following day, disappointedly reporting that their advance had been blocked by "a very large and noble harbor."¹⁰ The first white men to see San Francisco Bay were the Hispanic members of the Portolá expedition, but whether Ortega or the deer hunters saw it first must remain a matter of speculation.

As to the discovery of the Golden Gate, historians Hubert Howe Bancroft and Herbert E. Bolton claim that Ortega's small scouting party did indeed sight the narrow entrance to San Francisco Bay. In addition to Father Crespi's diary and letters pertaining to the Portolá expedition, evidence rests to some extent on a simple statement made later by Sergeant Ortega. According to the Mexican born scout, a strait existed which connected the harbor with the ocean "between some high mountains."¹¹ Theodore Treutlein, a more contemporary historian, believes that the explorers did not reach the gate, or that they did not even advance to places from which the Gate can be seen.¹²

of CA I, pp. 150-156; Lawrence Kinnaird, "History of the Golden Gate and its Headlands," typescript, prepared for the NPS 1962-1967, p. 11.

¹⁰ Ortega, as quoted in Kinnaird, *ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; Herbert Bolton, ed., Fray Juan Crespi, p. xxviii.

¹² For details of this scholarly investigation, see Theodore E. Treutlein, San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769-1776 (San Francisco: CA Historical Society, 1968), pp. 21-26.

He proposes that the sea entrance was most probably sighted the following year, during the first of the Fages expeditions. Interpreters should be aware of this controversy concerning the discovery date of their park's namesake, although 1769-1770 (a single year) is an acceptable estimate.

The route followed by Ortega's party after they left the San Pedro camp is also determined by much speculation. The map of explorations compiled by Hubert Howe Bancroft marks the Ortega expedition trail along the San Francisco peninsula coastline, within the boundaries of Lake Merced, then advancing northeast to the vicinity of China Cove. Bancroft's chart for the 1769 expedition suggests, then, that Ortega's small scouting group covered much of what is currently Golden Gate National Recreation Area, including Fort Funston, the vicinity of Ocean Beach, and the periphery of Land's End and James D. Phelan beach. Treutlein is not so bold as to commit himself to a map, although he does state that "horsemen could not have proceeded along the beach for any great distance."¹³ His comment is practical, although much of the San Francisco coastal region was characterized by bleak and steep sand dunes, not an attractive alternative to the flatter and firmer beach surface. It would be futile to speculate any further as to the specific route of Ortega and his unnamed scouting party. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the small Hispanic expedition group passed over or near lands that are now within GGNRA

¹³Ibid., p. 20.

legislated boundaries.

During Ortega's expedition a few natives living within the peninsula were encountered. These Costanoan peoples suggested with uncertain hand signs that a harbor with a ship in it was only a two-day march from the place the explorers had reached.¹⁴ Whether the Indians were actually communicating this message, or if the explorers merely read this reassuring news into their gestures, is, again, up to speculation. The supply ship, San José, had actually been lost at sea, although the sick and starving expedition party was not informed of this. At any rate, visions of food and other necessary supplies aboard the San José effected an extension of the expedition, which was concentrated, for several days, along the southern half of San Francisco Bay. The disenchanted but still intact group returned to San Diego on January 24, 1770, after subsisting on 12 of the mules.¹⁵

B. The Fages Explorations, 1770 and 1772

In the interim between San Francisco Bay expeditions the true harbor of Monterey was found. A presidio and mission were formally inaugurated there on June 3, and less than a week later Portolá returned to Mexico, leaving command of the new establishments to Pedro Fages.

Up to this time the newly discovered bay did not have a name,

¹⁴ Bolton, ed., Fray Juan Crespi, pp. 230-231.

¹⁵ Bean, CA: An Interpretive History, p. 39; Kinnaird, "History of the CG," p. 13; Bancroft, History of CA I, pp. 160-161.

although "Port of San Francisco" was being applied to Cermenõ's (Drake's) Bay. The first effort to resolve some of this geographical confusion was actually an unofficial expedition, led by the individual initiative of Don Pedro Fages, Lieutenant of Volunteers of Cataluña. On November 17, 1770, Fages and a group of 4-6 soldiers and a muleteer set out from Monterey to find a land route to the "Port of San Francisco."¹⁶

The small party proceeded northwestward until they reached the Santa Clara Valley, then headed east, making camp near the site of the present day Alameda. From here the group traveled northwest, along the eastern shore of the bay or estuary. On November 28th, Fages and his men sighted a large estuary mouth or "bocana" which, from their vantage point atop a hill, appeared to be about "three hundred varas wide."¹⁷ The Spaniard noted that through this large boca ran "a great quantity of water from the sea, forming two large estuaries."¹⁸ In his narrative, Lieutenant Fages suggested that what he and his men saw was a revelation. Since Fages had also participated in the Portolá expedition of the previous year, the historian Theodore Treutlein surmises that this date (28 November) is probably the correct discovery date for the Golden Gate.¹⁹ Unable to cross to the side of

¹⁶ H. E. Bolton, ed., "Diary of Pedro Fages, Expedition to San Francisco Bay in 1770," Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History 2, no. 3 (Berkeley: Univ. of CA, July 1911), pp. 141-159.

¹⁷ Fages, as quoted *ibid.* A vara was the Castilian yard, consisting of about 33 American inches. François Chevalier, Land and Society in Colonial Mexico (Berkeley: UC Press, 1963), p. 324.

¹⁸ Fages, as quoted *ibid.*

¹⁹ See Treutlein, San Francisco Bay, pp. 37-37. Stanger and

Punta de los Reyes, Fages and his contingent returned to Monterey, considering their expedition unsuccessful.

The second Fages expedition would be equally unsuccessful, although its purpose was the same--to find a way around the great "estuaries" with the intention of establishing a mission for protection against foreign encroachments. Viceroy Croix ordered this re-investigation, an action which complied with the expansionist program recently developed by the forceful and ambitious Visitador General José de Galvez. This officially initiated expedition departed from Monterey in March 1772. Members of the exploration party included, in addition to the Spanish lieutenant, the Mallorcan missionary Juan Crespi, six soldados de cuera, one muleteer, and an Indian servant.

The group of eight proceeded to the southern end of the estuary as in 1770, then headed further inland. Fages was still unable to reach Punta de los Reyes and the so-called "Port of San Francisco," although the explorers did sight the Carquinez Strait and the streams emptying into Suisun Bay. To the combined streams Father Crespi gave the name El Rio Grande de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco, a term which was transferred onto a map prepared after the expedition, which depicted the "main part of the Famous Port and River of San Francisco."²⁰ From the vicinity of the Berkeley Hills several

Brown have compiled a map of the San Francisco Bay exploration routes, including those of the Fages expeditions of 1770 and 1772. For their version of the "Paths of the Explorers," see Who Discovered the Golden Gate?, map inside front cover.

²⁰Treutlein, *ibid.*, pp. 40, 43.

important observations were made. The farallones were sighted "through the gulf," along with three islands, one small, in the middle of the gate, another about a half a league long, and another about a league, "all of them quite widely separated from each other and from the gate."²¹ Charted again on the "Crespi" map, the three islets mentioned here were the soon-to-be-named Isla de los Alcatrazes, Isla de los Angeles, and Yerba Buena. While the name "San Francisco" had been applied, in part, to today's extensive bay, Crespi noted in his diary that "the true port of San Francisco" had not yet been reached. The exploration party returned to Monterey that same year, with greater knowledge of the bay but their intended goal still unattained.²²

C. Rivera-Palóu Expedition, 1774

Now that the "great estuary" had been fully discovered, plans were proposed for its exploration and settlement. Father Serra urged that two missions be established near the port of San Francisco--a request which Fages, commander of the new establishments, repeatedly vetoed. Although these mission sites had been authorized, Fages claimed there were not enough soldiers available to protect the frontier institutions. Not to be dissuaded, Serra traveled to Mexico City where he presented his case before the powerful new Viceroy,

²¹Bolton, Fray Juan Crespi, p. 289.

²²Treutlein, SF Bay, pp. 44, 118, and Appendix 5, "The Crespi Map"; Kinnaird, "History of the GG," p. 15.

Antonio Bucarelli y Ursúa. The leader of New Spain was persuaded to replace Fages, although the substitute, Rivera y Moncada, proved to be no more cooperative than the former lieutenant governor.²³ On August 17, 1773, Bucarelli ordered Rivera to make additional explorations of the "Port and River of San Francisco," with the intention of eventually founding a mission there. Serra requested that Fray Francisco Palóu accompany Rivera, in order to perform a chaplain's traditional duty. The expedition party set out from Monterey on November 23, 1774, a few days after the lieutenant-governor's recruits had arrived.

Palóu was born on the Balearic island of Majorca, circa 1722. Like Fray Crespi, a life-long friend and fellow missionary, Palóu had been a pupil of Junipero Serra at the Monastery of San Francisco at Palma. In addition to the Mexican born Rivera, the 1774 expedition included 16 soldados de cuera, one muleteer, and two servants, who may have been Indian.²⁴

The party followed a northwestern route, heading close to the Pacific Coast near the tip of the peninsula. On December 4th the group encamped at "a long lake ending down at the shore," which is now identified as Lake Merced.²⁵ As it was only mid-day, Rivera and Palóu set out with four soldiers on a northwesterly course, the purpose being,

²³ Bean, California, pp. 40-41.

²⁴ Bancroft, History of CA I, p. 232; Kinnaid, "History of the GG," p. 16; Who Was Who in America, 1607-1896, p. 393.

²⁵ Palóu, as quoted in Stanger and Brown, Who Discovered the GG?, p. 143.

in the leader's words, "to tread the beach and halt upon the point at the very mouth of the harbor."²⁶ On horseback, the small scouting party "succeeded in treading the beach," arriving at Point Lobos or Land's End--where they were treated to a magnificent view of Marin and the Golden Gate. Rivera, quite pleased with himself, related how he "came to stand upon the very point on the south side, the one with the three rocks."²⁷ Excepting the natives who lived near these shores, Rivera and his tiny group were the first visitors or "tourists" to gaze upon the now famous Seal Rocks, and sites of the popular Cliff House and Sutro Baths. A cross was set up on Point Lobos, and the explorers returned to their camp on Lake Merced--back-tracking their way along GGNRA's Ocean Beach. The following afternoon the Rivera-Paloú expedition returned south, arriving in Monterey on December 13th.

The accounts of this important expedition make little reference to the natives of San Francisco peninsula, although the detailed descriptions of current GGNRA lands, from Fort Funston to Land's End, provide a rich source for the park's early Hispanic history.

D. Voyage of the San Carlos, 1775

The first nautical survey of San Francisco Bay was led by Don Manuel de Ayala, as part of a new group of expeditions planned by Viceroy Bucareli. Ayala, captain of the San Carlos, was born in the

²⁶Rivera, as quoted *ibid.*, p. 142.

²⁷*Ibid.*

ancient city of Osuna, some 50 miles inland from the great seaport of Malaga. Only 30 years old at the time of the voyage, Ayala had spent over 10 years in the service, eventually becoming a teniente de fragata or junior lieutenant.²⁸ Officers and men aboard the San Carlos numbered 30, including Jose de Cañizares, Juan Bautista Aquirre, and Father Vicente Santa María. Cañizares and Aquirre were Ayala's first and second sailing masters, while Santa María served as ship's chaplain. The latter was a native of Haras, a village in the diocese of Calahorra, in old Castile. Father Vicente became fascinated with the Costanoan Indians of San Francisco Bay, keeping a detailed account of Hispanic and native relations during the ship's month-long visit. During his years at Mission Dolores, Santa María learned to speak several Indian dialects fluently. An exemplary Spaniard, the chaplain was described as "a gentle man whose observation through life and general knowledge of mankind rendered him a most pleasing and instructive companion."²⁹

The San Carlos, first ship to enter San Francisco Bay, was also called Toison de Oro or the Golden Fleece. Known as a packet-ship, the San Carlos was originally built as a brig. In order to increase her speed and sailing qualities, a mizzenmast was added--

²⁸ John Galvin, ed., The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay, 1775 (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1971), p. 3. The nautical expedition had actually begun under Miguel Manrique, who lost his wits and had to be taken back to port. His successor in command was Juan Manuel de Ayala.

²⁹ Bancroft, History of CA I, p. 246; Galvin, ed., *ibid.*, p. 5.

thus giving the Spanish vessel the appearance of an English "snow." While the true appearance of this famous vessel is unknown, several artists and maritime historians have attempted to illustrate her.³⁰

The Spanish paquebot departed from San Blas for Monterey in March 1775. Ayala's mission was to bring supplies for the projected San Francisco colony, unload at Monterey, then proceed to the bay itself. His assignment here was to ascertain whether the "boca" or mouth seen by Fages in 1772 was indeed a navigable entrance, and to learn by survey if the "Puerto de San Francisco" actually contained a proper port. The San Carlos anchored off the Monterey Presidio on June 27, not departing for San Francisco until one full month later.³¹

After an arduous voyage, Captain Ayala and his thirty-member crew arrived off the Golden Gate on August 5, 1775. As it turned out, the San Carlos was not the first European vessel to pass through the strategic entrance. The chief pilot Cañizares was instructed to try the passage first, taking along ten of the men in a small launch made from the trunk of a redwood tree. The Spanish sailing master followed his orders, possibly anchoring his long-boat off the present

³⁰ Stanger and Brown, Who Discovered the Golden Gate?, pp. 39-41; Treutlein, SF Bay, p. 63. For those interested in the design of the San Carlos, see "San Carlos--the First European Ship to Enter SF Bay," Sea Letter of the San Francisco Maritime Museum, Summer, 1975. After 3 years of maritime detective work, Ray Aker compiled a conjectural plan of the ship and its launch. These sketches, presented in the above newsletter, are probably the closest illustrative rendering of the ship available today. The Maritime Museum's newsletters have been bound in a 3-ring binder, available upon request at the J. Porter Shaw Library, 2nd floor of the museum.

³¹ Treutlein, SF Bay, p. 64; Bancroft, History of CA I, pp. 244-245.

Fort Point anchorage. According to historian John Calvin, the Spaniard's piloting voyage was

a bold venture--to feel his way into an uncharted strait at night with a strong wind behind him, a strong tide against him, and only a half moon to give him light and a reference mark.³²

With night beginning to close in and still no launch in sight, Ayala brought the San Carlos into the sheltered puerto. Since the snow-rigged ship was the first non-Indian vessel to enter San Francisco Bay, considerable interest surrounds the site of her first anchorage. The cove inside GGNRA's Fort Point has long been accepted as the first anchorage site of the San Carlos. While known as the "Old Spanish Anchorage" and honored with a state landmark registration, the Presidio Anchorage may not have been used by the San Carlos. Recent studies of Ayala's log and "Plano del Puerto de San Francisco" reveal that the ship first anchored at a depth of some 22 brazas or fathoms. The 1775 survey map indicates a depth of only 7 to 8 brazas at the anchorage between Fort Point and Fort Mason. Historians Calvin and Treutlein propose that the first night's anchorage was somewhere off present Sausalito, where the Plano charts a sounding of "22" and indicates a mooring site with a tiny anchor symbol.³³

³²Galvin, ed., The First Spanish Entry into SF Bay, p. 3; Treutlein, *ibid.*, p. 65; Kinnaid, "History of the GG," p. 17.

³³Bancroft, p. 246 and Kinnaid, p. 18 describe the anchorage as within Fort Point, or near North Beach. For recent findings, see Galvin, p. 93 and Treutlein, pp. 66-69. State Historical Landmark #236 honors the "entrance of the San Carlos into SF Bay." Located near the present Fort Point, the landmark's description states that the San

The following day, Cañizares and his crew returned to the ship. Apparently they had been unable to reach the San Carlos that night, due to strong currents and physical exhaustion. The next week is spent exploring the north side of the bay in the redwood lancha, while Father Santa María and officers aboard the anchored San Carlos engage in friendly relations with the nearby Costanoan Indians. The survey group examined Richardson's Bay, naming it Ensenada de la Carmelita because "there was a rock in the middle that reminded [Ayala] of a Carmelite friar."³⁴ Finding no proper anchorage on the north side of the Bay, Cañizares and the crew returned to the temporary Sausalito and Tiburon vicinity mooring.

On August 12 Captain Ayala set out in the long-boat to explore the nearby Angel Island, which he named Isla de los Angeles. Although he found good moorings there, Ayala was inclined to go further and look over another island, and found it "quite barren and rugged, with no shelter for a ship's boats." He "named it Isla de los Alcatrazes (Island of the Pelicans) because of their being so plentiful there."³⁵ While Ayala's description of GGNRA's Alcatraz was accurate, the 1775 survey chart labeled today's Yerba Buena Island as de los Alcatrazes. Yerba Buena was identified as Alcatraz until Captain Beechey of the British Navy published his survey of the Bay (1826). He gave each island

Carlos "anchored off here on August 5, 1775." See California Historical Landmarks (State of CA, Dept. of Parks and Recreation, 1976).

³⁴ Ayala, as quoted in Galvin, ed., The First Spanish Entry, p. 81.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 83.

its present name, and thus they have been known ever since.³⁶

The San Carlos was finally moved on the 13th of August. Captain Ayala had settled on one of the Angel Island moorings, now known as Hospital or Ayala Cove. Here the Spanish vessel remained until the 8th of September, while explorations were conducted by launch and the chaplain and some of the officers visited, and were in turn visited by, the Angel Island and Marin shore Costanoans. Sailing masters Cañizares and Aquirre used the long-boat and redwood cayuco to chart the Bay, making three trips to the north to explore San Pablo Bay, Carquinez Strait, Mare Island, and the mouth of the San Joaquín River. Several Indian rancherias were observed; Cañizares reported that the natives were friendly and skilled in the use of their tule balsas.³⁷

Father Vicente, the Castilian missionary, kept a detailed account of his friendly and constructive relations with the nearby Costanoans. The chaplain and sailors made frequent visits to the adjacent villages, and soon the Indians were paddling out to the San Carlos to return their sociality. Spanish trinkets, beads and biscuits were exchanged for baskets of pinole, mussels, and Indian crafts. The Costanoans learned the names of some of their Hispanic guests, and even a few Spanish words, such as "bonito" (pretty, good). In turn the Spaniards discerned the meaning of several Indian words and names,

³⁶Erwin N. Thompson, The Rock: A History of Alcatraz Island, 1847-1972 (Denver: DSC, National Park Service, May 1979), pp. 3-5; Stanger and Brown, Who Discovered the Golden Gate?, p. 151.

³⁷Treutlein, SF Bay, pp. 67-69; Kinnaid, "History of the GG," pp. 18-19; Galvin, ed., The First Spanish Entry, p. 91.

including "gismen" (sun) and "themi" (head-man).³⁸ Some 16 native words or phrases were recorded by Fray Santa María, all of which are identifiable as mainly Costanoan.³⁹ Both the chaplain and captain recorded positive impressions of these local Indian peoples. Santa María noted that "they were by no means filthy, and the best favored were models of perfection." He greatly admired the Costanoan "coiffures" and continually commented on their "comely elegance of figure and quite faultness countenance."⁴⁰ The good padre was admittedly obsessed with "godly zeal":⁴¹ a sense of mission which may have swayed his first impressions. Nevertheless, the more navigationally minded Ayala held equally high opinions of the San Francisco Bay natives. In a letter to Viceroy Bucarelli, Captain Ayala described the pleasing environment of the recently navigated port.

To these many good things [he added] is the best of all: the heathen Indians around this port are so constant in their good friendship and so gentle in their manners, that I received them with pleasure on board several times, and I had the sailors frequently visit with them on land; so that from the first to the last day, they remained the same in their behaviour.⁴²

³⁸Galvin, ed., The First Spanish Entry, pp. 31, 49 and 51. The Spaniards learned a few Indian phrases and even the names of some of the Costanoan tribesmen. "Sumu" was identified as the chieftain, "Jausos" the second-chiefton, etc. (see p. 67).

³⁹Robert F. Heizer, Elizabethan CA, p. 31.

⁴⁰Galvin, ed., First Spanish Entry, pp. 29, 31.

⁴¹Fr. Santa María, as quoted *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴²Juan Manuel de Ayala, as quoted in Galvin, p. 91, and Treutlein, p. 69.

Before leaving San Francisco Bay on September 18th, Ayala organized two to three scouting parties in hopes of finding the expected supporting land expedition. In actuality Rivera's land expedition had been cancelled, but the San Carlos group, far from Monterey, was uninformed of this. The scouting parties may have covered current GGNRA lands; at least twice other exploratory parties landed near the harbor's entrance to visit the site of the cross at Pt. Lobos. Fr. Vicente de Santa María may have accompanied one of these groups, as two letters written by him were found by the Hezeta party at the foot of the cross.⁴³

On September 22, only four days after Ayala's departure, sea-captain Bruno de Hezeta and his overland party arrived. Members of the party included Father Palóu; Fray Miguel de la Campa Cos, chaplain of the frigate Nueva Galicia; three sailors from the ship; a carpenter, and an escort of nine soldados from Monterey. Hezeta had been unable to enter the fog-laden Golden Gate, so he resolved to make the expedition by land. His party followed Rivera's 1774 route and arrived "at the beach of the Gulf of the Farallones" making camp there "on the bank of a large lake."⁴⁴ This beach was probably in the vicinity of GGNRA's Fort Funston, as the lake described was soon named "Merced" (Mercy), in recognition of September 24, the Feast of our Lady of Mercy. The group proceeded along GGNRA's Ocean Beach, ascending

⁴³Treutlein, SF Bay, p. 73.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 73-74.

"the high hill at the mouth of the harbor"--GCNRA's Point Lobos at Land's End.⁴⁵ Along Ocean Beach Ayala's redwood canoe was found, and at the foot of the Pt. Lobos Cross, Santa María's letters were discovered. He told of the safe arrival of the San Carlos, instructing that the supporting land party set a fire near the vicinity of North Beach to attract the notice of the ship anchored at Angel Island. Hezeta followed the father's directions, but of course no ship or responding signal was seen. The party departed for Monterey on September 24th, assuming correctly that Ayala was gone.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Bancroft, History of CA I, pp. 247-248.

III. SPAIN'S GOLDEN GATE FRONTIER, 1776-1821

The Ayala expedition of 1775 signified the last purely exploratory endeavor. San Francisco Bay and its environs were no longer a mystery to the Spanish empire, which now made definite settlement plans for the strategic Alta California port.

A. The Anza Expedition, 1776

Having opened a greatly needed mainland route from Sonora to Monterey, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza was promoted to lieutenant-colonel and ordered by Viceroy Bucareli to lead another San Francisco expedition, this time to select the soon-to-be established mission and presidio sites. Anza's second expedition arrived in Monterey in March 1776, but due to delays imposed by Governor Rivera the formal settlement party would not depart until early that summer. Nevertheless, Anza felt committed to complete the assignment given him, and proceeded to the San Francisco peninsula on the 23rd of March, 1776.¹

Accompanying Anza were Fray Pedro Font, Lieutenant Joseph Joaquín Moraga, Corporal Juan José Robles, José Maria Soberanes, and nine unidentified soldados de cuera: eight from Tubac, Arizona, and one from the Monterey Presidio. Six muteteers and servants were taken along to care for the necessary mules and horses, making altogether

¹For a detailed account of Anza's 1774-1776 expedition, see Herbert E. Bolton, An Outpost of Empire (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965).

twenty persons.²

Juan Bautista de Anza, the distinguished leader of the expedition, was born in 1736 at the Royal Presidio of Fronteras in Sonora, Mexico. Claimed by one Hispanic historian to have been "in all probability a mestizo,"³ Anza grew up in the Spanish Army, entering the service as a youth and eventually attaining the rank of captain. For several years before his famous expeditions, Captain Anza commanded at the Presidio of San Ignacio de Tubac.⁴

Serving as Anza's chaplain, diarist, and cartographer was Father Pedro Font. Hailed by historian Herbert E. Bolton as "the master chronicler," Font was a native of the Spanish province of Cataluña. Arriving in the New World in 1763, the Franciscan missionary's most notable contribution was the diary he kept on the 1775-1776 expedition. His other accomplishments during the 1776 journey would include extensive sketches and maps of the Bay area and aiding the colonel in the selection of the San Francisco Presidio and mission sites.⁵

²Ibid., p. 390.

³Manuel P. Servín, "California's Hispanic Heritage: A View into the Spanish Myth," Journal of San Diego History 19, no. 1 (Winter 1973), p. 3.

⁴J. Phillip Langellier, "Outpost of Empire: The Spanish Military at the Presidio of San Francisco," Antepasados 2, Sección II (San Francisco: Los Californianos, 1977), p. 28; also Who Was Who in America, 1607-1896, p. 141.

⁵Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848, A Biographical Dictionary (San Marino, 1969), pp. 277-278; Bolton, Font's Complete Diary: A Chronicle of the Founding of SF (Berkeley: UC Press, 1933), "Preface"; Who's Was Who, p. 185.

Appointed as lieutenant was José Joaquín Moraga, born in 1741 in the border province of Sonora. Moraga grew up here, in north-western Mexico, joining the Spanish colonial army by 1756. He served as a soldier and alferez (ensign) at the Presidio of Fronteras, Sonora, for nearly twenty years. The Mexican-born ensign was Anza's first choice for second-in-command, a selection which was based on the former's "valour, good conduct, . . . intelligence, and ability to write."⁶

Corporal Robles and José Maria Soberanes were stationed at the Monterey Presidio sometime before Anza's second expedition. These Hispanic officers were selected to join the pre-settlement expedition as they both were experienced frontier explorers. Robles had been to San Francisco Bay with Rivera in 1774, while Soberanes, along with the other Monterey soldado, had accompanied Captain Fages to the "Rio Grande de San Francisco." The remaining members of Anza's group, the Tubac soldados and muleteers and servants, were most probably criollos (whites born in New Spain) or the latter (muleteers and servants) may have been Christianized California Indians.⁷

The trail followed was generally the same as those previously blazed by Fages, Rivera, and Palou. On March 27, only four days after their Monterey departure, Anza and his expedition party found

⁶H. Eugene Early, "The Moragas in California--Father and Son," unpublished thesis (UC Berkeley, 1935), pp. i, 10-11.

⁷Bolton, An Outpost of Empire, p. 390; Anza, as quoted in Treutlein, San Francisco Bay, pp. 78079; Kinnaird, "History of the Golden Gate," p. 23.

themselves climbing around the sand dunes of Ocean Beach, passing the recently named Lake Merced, which Font described as "a good-sized lake of fresh water."⁸ The group continued and eventually arrived at another "fine lake or spring of very good water," located "near the mouth of the port of San Francisco." This unnamed lake was soon known as La Laguna de la Presidio de San Francisco, although the modern-day and much abbreviated lagoon is known as Mountain Lake, located on the southern border of the Presidio Reservation, within GGNRA legislated boundaries.⁹ The group camped here, although Anza, Font, Moraga, and four of the soldiers made a brief trek northward before dusk. Eager as boys, the seven went first to Point Lobos, where they examined the Rivera/Palóu cross. It was found lying on the ground in separate pieces, a condition which Font attributed to a few curious Indians. At Point Lobos the Father spent some time mapping, using what he described as Fray Palóu's "graphometer." Font eventually determined the elevation of the Farallon Islands and figured the latitude of the entrance to San Francisco Bay--his two major accomplishments as Anza's appointed cartographer.¹⁰ When the chaplain had completed his sketches of the Golden Gate, Point Reyes, and San Pedro Point, the small scouting party headed east, descending to "a small stretch of beach where the sea [was] very quiet, to which runs the arroyo of the

⁸Font, as quoted in Bolton, ed., Font's Complete Diary, p. 330.

⁹Bolton, *ibid.*, p. 391. During the 20th century construction of Park Presidio Blvd., much of the original laguna was filled in.

¹⁰Bolton, ed., Font's Complete Diary, p. 331; Who Was Who in America, p. 185.

port."¹¹ This outlet was given the name Arroyo del Puerto, although it is known today as Lobos Creek. The beach they traversed was most probably the present James D. Phelan Beach, dedicated to the city's mayor and now under current GGNRA management. Re-crossing the ridge near Land's End, the officers, soldiers and chaplain inspected the "sea beach which runs toward the Punta de Almejas [Mussel Point] and is very sandy"--GGNRA's Ocean Beach, south of Point Lobos in the vicinity of the Esplanade. Here they found the broken remains of Cañizares' historic redwood canoe, which had apparently drifted through the Gate with the tide. After Anza had collected a couple of souvenir fragments, the group again ascended the sand hills, continuing northeast to El Cantil Blanco, the future site of Castillo San Joaquín and later Fort Point. The area surrounding the current GGNRA-managed National Historic Site was once a very high and perpendicular white cliff, so high that from it, the graphic friar noted, "one [could] spit into the sea." Overlooking the inner extremity of the Golden Gate, the party sighted spouting whales, sea otter, sea lions, and a school of dolphins. Pleased with their observations, the group returned to their Mountain Lake campsite.¹²

The following morning a wooden cross was erected on the extreme point of the Cantil Blanco, intentionally within the view of anyone entering the Golden Gate. At the foot of the cross, beneath some

¹¹Bolton, ed., *ibid.*

¹²*Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

stones, Col. Anza left an official notice of his arrival. The Mexican-born leader designated this mesa as the site for the new settlement and fort, based on its excellent defense location and nearby supply of drinking water. With the Presidio site selected, the leaders and a few of the men continued their explorations toward the east and southeast.

Just below the present Fort Mason boundaries, another fresh water lagoon was discovered. Known by later Hispanics as Laguna Pegueña, the lake was described by the 1776 scouting party as a good spring for garden irrigation. Referred to as Washerwomen's Lagoon in the early American period, this large pond was situated among the sand hills of eastern Cow Hollow, roughly between Bay and Filbert to the north and south, and Franklin and Octavia from the east to west.¹³ At the "beach of the estuary," probably in the vicinity of GGNRA's Aquatic Park, Font and the group found "a little hut with four small children." The chaplain "judged that they must belong to the Indians who yesterday came to the camp."¹⁴

While Font offers no detailed ethnographic sketch, these natives were most probably Costanoan. The Indians he mentioned had visited the camp on March 27, appearing "attentive and obsequious" while bearing gifts of firewood. Anza gave them glass beads as a

¹³ Bancroft, History of CA I, p. 283; Zoeth S. Eldredge, The Beginnings of San Francisco 2 (New York: John C. Rankin, 1912), pp. 615-616; John L. Levinsohn, Cow Hollow: Early Days of a San Francisco Neighborhood from 1776 (San Francisco: SF Yesterday, 1976), p. 2.

¹⁴ Bolton, ed., Font's Complete Diary, p. 342.

reward for their troubles, and they departed.¹⁵

The officers and soldiers returned to camp by five o'clock, much pleased with their findings. While it was agreed that the immediate vicinity lacked timber for large buildings, there was plenty of water in nearby lakes and springs, an abundance of firewood and building stone, and a vast supply of pasturage and croplands.

Anza's expedition broke camp on March 29th, the muleteers and pack train departing directly for the San Mateo River. A few soldados accompanied Anza, Font, and Moraga to the southeast, where a "beautiful arroyo" was discovered. The explorers named the little creek the Arroyo de los Dolores, as it was the last Friday of Lent, or Friday of Sorrows. Lt. Moraga planted a little maize and chickpeas to test the fertility of the soil, and all agreed that it was an appropriate spot for one of the San Francisco Bay missions. Leaving the future site of Misión San Francisco de Asis, the group explored the contra costa as far north as the Carquinez Straits, returning to Monterey on April 8.¹⁶

B. The Moraga Expedition and Formal Settlement

Upon his arrival in Monterey, Juan Bautista de Anza decided to return to the Presidio in Tubac, leaving Lieutenant Moraga in charge of the new colonists. Plans for the long-awaited settlement moved

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 333; Treutlein, San Francisco Bay, p. 80.

¹⁶ Bancroft, History of CA I, p. 283; Bolton, An Outpost of Empire, p. 395.

quickly. On May 8th, one month after Anza's return, the governor of Spanish California dispatched an order to Moraga to proceed and establish the fort on the site selected by Anza. While Rivera's orders did not include the founding of a mission, one was eventually dedicated.¹⁷

On June 17, 1776, the lieutenant and his detachment of soldiers-settlers and their families departed from Monterey for San Francisco. Members of the settlement expedition included Fathers Palóu and Cambón, ten soldados de cuera with their families and servants, seven large families of settlers, and several vaqueros and muleteers who drove the Presidio cattle and pack train. Accompanying Palóu and Fray Pedro Beinto Cambón were "two servants who conducted the loads, and three unmarried Indian neophytes, two of them from Mexico and the other from the mission of Carmel."¹⁸ The Alta and Baja California natives drove the cattle for the mission.

Fray Cambón was a native of Lugar de Leaya, in the archdiocese (province) of Santiago, Galicia, Spain. Described as a bearded and thin-faced man, Cambón served the San Fernando College and missions for 21 years, being considered both a zealous and useful friar.¹⁹

The leather-jacketed soldiers were, as previously mentioned, mostly Mexican born. In addition to these criollos were the military

¹⁷ Bancroft, *ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

¹⁸ Palóu, as quoted in Treutlein, SF Bay, p. 88.

¹⁹ Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., Franciscan Missionaries in Hispanic California, 1769-1848 (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1969), pp. 38-40.

colonists, most of whom were poverty ridden gente de raízon recruited in Sinaloa or Sonora, located in western and northwestern Mexico.²⁰

The Spanish province of California was rugged and barren--hardly an attractive homesite for most settlers. The first settlers, therefore, were people who left little behind in the way of material goods, and brought with them not much more than hopes for a brighter future.

One restless colonist, documenting the Moraga expedition in his diary, discussed similar motives for undertaking the historic journey:

It is, I presume, that practically everyone in this group has some ulterior motive for being here. Many, undoubtedly, are running away from some horrendous situation. Also, the fact that the government has offered good money and land, in order to attract people to become a part of this enterprise, is sufficient reason for others. Otherwise, who would leave the comfort and security of a civilized life in Sonora to travel hundreds of leagues loaded with hardship every moment of the days and nights unless there was some more desirable reward?²¹

While San Francisco began as a presidial town and not as a pueblo, where inhabitants were considered of "poorer quality" and of "mongrel racial type,"²² definite class distinctions would develop among the Hispanic settlers, based on each individual's European or colonial ancestry.

Following the traditional route, Moraga and his caravan of

²⁰ Servín, "California's Hispanic Heritage," p. 3.

²¹ Antonio Rosario Ortiz, San Francisco Begins, 1776: The Bicentennial Diary of How it All Began, ed. Parker L. Johnstone (Burlingame, CA: Mission Publishers, 1976), p. 32. For the venture, all seven families had been rationed and provisioned by the King, Carlos III, of Spain.

²² Chapman, A History of CA, The Spanish Period, p. 391.

people, pack trains, cattle, and horses arrived near the shores of La Laguna Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, which was situated between the present Guerrero and Howard Streets, stretching from 15th to 20th.²³ The date was June 27, and it was here that the large expedition party set up their make-shift tent camp. According to Palóu, "as soon as the expedition halted, many peaceful Indians approached." In the following days, the local Costanoans visited the Laguna Dolores camp frequently, "bringing such little presents as their poverty afforded--nothing more than mussels and wild grass seeds."²⁴ A brush-wood shelter or enramada was built the following day to be used as a temporary chapel. Father Palóu said the first mass on June 29, feast day of St. Peter and St. Paul. Lt. Moraga had decided to keep the group here while waiting for the arrival of the supply ship, the San Carlos. Camped in the field tents and temporary shelters, the little Hispanic colony at Dolores became the cradle of the city erected to the honor of St. Francis.²⁵

When a month had passed, the lieutenant decided to move some of the soldiers to the area chosen by Anza, within the present U.S.

²³ See Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, The Missions and Missionaries of CA: SF or Mission Dolores (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924), p. 168, for a map of Laguna Dolores. This lake was known later as Laguna de Manatíal, although the arroyo (de los Dolores) maintained Anza's designation.

²⁴ Palóu, "Chapter 45 of Life of Junipero Serra," written at the Mission of San Francisco de Asis, trans. by George E. Dane, California Historical Society Quarterly 14 (June 1935), p. 104.

²⁵ See Appendix, "GGNRA Hispanic and Indian Place Names, San Francisco."

Army Presidio. Although Captain Fernando Quirós and the San Carlos had not arrived, work began on the construction of some tule huts, which would serve as temporary homes for the soldiers and their families. Lacking the imported supplies, these tule-covered dwellings must have resembled those built by the native inhabitants. Following Spanish tradition, the first hut was designated as the Presidio chapel. Fathers Palóu and Cambón were requested to remain at Dolores along with a guard of six soldados, two citizen settlers or colonists, and all of the mission cattle.²⁶

On August 18th, the long-awaited San Carlos finally sailed through the Golden Gate. This time the paquebot anchored near the presidio site, probably not far from the western end of GGNRA's Crissy Field. With the necessary supplies and assistance, work on the fort and military camp was begun at once. José Cañizares, again serving as first pilot aboard the San Carlos, drew up the plan for the presidio. Moraga and Quirós had agreed on the general location, which was about a mile southeast of the spot originally selected by Anza. Cañizares' plan provided for a square-shaped stronghold, with divisions within for a church, officers' quarters, a warehouse, a guardhouse, and barracks for the soldiers and their families. A squad of sailors and carpenters provided the labor, leaving the soldiers free to build their own family dwellings. These were erected of wooden palisades and roofed with tule thatch, while the enclosure itself

²⁶Treutlein, San Francisco Bay, pp. 90-91.

was fortified with adobe and a stone casemate.²⁷ The original Presidio boundary was approximately within Graham and Mesa Streets, from the present Officers' Club on Moraga Avenue, extending about 319 feet.²⁸ By the middle of September, the primitive but real structure was ready to be formally founded. This took place on September 17th, appropriately the day commemorating the Stigmata of Saint Francis. Most of the San Carlos crew and residents of the Presidio attended the celebration, which commenced with a solemn Mass sung by the Franciscan ministers. Mass was followed by the usual Spanish possession ceremony, after which the Te Deum Laudamus was sung, accompanied by a peal of bells, muskets and cannon. Those aboard the ship responded with several shots from the swivel guns, a roar which undoubtedly terrified the Indians, who were not seen for several days. To complete the festivities, Moraga invited everybody to a feast, "conducting himself with all the splendor that the place permitted."²⁹ In the months and years to follow, feasts accompanied by music and merriment became a presidial tradition.

²⁷ Kinnaird, "History of the GG," p. 27; Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 51; Langellier, "Outpost of Empire," p. 19.

²⁸ See map of "Original Presidio Boundary," a survey made by C. St. Croix in 1939 under the directions of Major James Carter. The Bancroft Collection, Bancroft Library.

²⁹ Palóu, "The Founding of the Presidio and Mission of our Father St. Francis," CHSQ 14 (June 1935), pp. 102-110. As the Presidio was the first definitely established Hispanic structure within San Francisco, J. B. McGloin asserts that the city's "birthday" should be Sept. 17, 1776--not June 29th, the day which is customarily celebrated, in honor of Palóu's first Mass. John Bernard McGloin, San Francisco: The Story of a City (San Rafael, CA: Presidio Press, 1978), pp. 12-13.

At the other camp on Laguna de los Dolores, progress was a bit slower. The pioneers of this settlement were the missionaries Palóu and Cambón, a few soldiers, and several of the creole families recruited from the Spanish province of Mexico. These civilians formed what may be called a "pueblo," although this particular form of settlement was the least important within San Francisco, the Presidio and Mission being the primary Hispanic institutions.³⁰ The soldiers and settlers stationed at Dolores built houses for their families, and a few men from the Presidio were sent over to aid in the construction of the mission. The local Costanoan Indians provided none of the initial labor, although in due time they would be employed in several Presidio and mission projects. An attack by the Salsons of San Mateo Creek sent all of the surviving peninsula natives across the Bay, where they remained in refuge from mid-August to late November.³¹ When the wooden church plastered with mud and roofed with tule was completed and dedicated (October 9), no Indian converts or even candidates had been procured.

C. The Spanish Presidio and Mission System

Hispanic San Francisco's most essential element was the Presidio, as the initial settlement of the area was aimed primarily

³⁰ Daniel Rosen, "The History of the Presidio of SF During the Spanish Period," unpublished thesis (University of CA, Berkeley, 1953, Bancroft Library).

³¹ See text, "Costanoans: Political Organization and Warfare," p. 18.

against foreign encroachments. Governor Rivera's orders did not allow for the founding of a mission, although this religious institution became an integral part of the San Francisco Bay colony.

Ideally, the Spanish Presidio in Alta California was a defensive military post, designed to prevent foreign occupation or invasion. With its tiny, underarmed garrison, San Francisco's Presidio never came close to such optimistic expectations. It operated as a military camp, guarding the nearby San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Jose, and San Rafael missions. "Troublesome" Indian groups, living to the east, required the post's constant military control. Serving a coastal presidio, San Francisco's commandant and garrison were required to regulate the coming and going of foreign ships, be they Russian, British, French, or American. The Presidio's jurisdiction was never accurately defined, although it did include all of the lands and missions surrounding San Francisco Bay. Boundary lines were also practically non-existent, however 19th century references to the Presidio land grant refer to the area generally north of Point Lobos, extending east, roughly, along current California Street. These approximate boundaries would have included GGNRA's Phelan and Baker Beaches, as well as all bay shore sites.³²

Franciscan missions and missionaries formed an important agency in the scheme of Spanish conquest. The colonial laws of Spain created

³²Erwin N. Thompson, Seacoast Fortifications: San Francisco Harbor and GGNRA, an historic resource study written for the NPS (Denver, Col.: DSC, May 1979), p. 3; William A. Richardson, Testimonies in Private Land Grant Cases of CA, 1852-1855 (J. N. Bowman, 1941).

the missions as an implement to convert and Hispanicize the California Indians, after which time the natives would integrate into mainstream society and the mission itself would be dispensed with. For many reasons these intentions were never realized. Mission San Francisco and its zealous padres assisted the Presidio by keeping the local Indians in subjection. The so-called converted natives or neophytes provided the labor necessary to keep the garrison fed and the various presidial fortifications in repair. A challenging reform campaign spurred the Christian missionaries along in their often well-meaning pursuits, although the long-range effect was neither productive nor benevolent.

The land used by Mission Dolores extended as far south as San Mateo, including a region bordering on the eastern bay shore. These roughly defined boundaries would have included all of GGNRA below the Presidio, from Land's End to Fort Funston.³³

D. Cornerstone of Colonization:
Life at the Presidio

On visiting San Francisco in 1792, George Vancouver commented that the presidial square resembled, somewhat, a "pound for cattle."³⁴ While rustic, the adobe structure served quite aptly as the center

³³Chapman, A History of CA, The Spanish Period, pp. 151-153; J. N. Bowman, "The Area of the Mission Lands," manuscript presented to Bancroft Library, December 1947, pp. 2-3, 31. Includes conjectural maps of Dolores and San Rafael mission lands.

³⁴Capt. George Vancouver, "SF in 1792," Excerpts from A Voyage of Discovery, printed in CHSQ (June 1935), pp. 115.

of local military, political, and social life. The soldiers and officers of the garrison, along with their families, lived within or near the adobe enclosure--thus forming a sort of presidial town. In the meantime, most of the civilian settlers had chosen to live near the mission, where there was relatively less fog and wind.³⁵ While the population attached to the presidial pueblo steadily increased during the Spanish period,³⁶ new establishments about the bay area drew a substantial number of recruits from the district headquarters. The established missions and pueblos constantly requested assistance in Indian affairs, another factor which depleted the forces at San Francisco. The Presidio's Hispanic and Indian population was never very large or consistent, but nevertheless life was characterized by the usual military routine, colorfully highlighted with festive feasts and fandangos.

By the end of the first year, personnel at the Presidio consisted of about thirty officers and men, including their wives, children and servants. Military officers ranged from commandant to private, the former being chief of the outpost and entire presidial district. Above the soldiers in rank was the cabo or corporal, who was normally appointed by the governor. He was responsible for the escolta, the six-man garrison which served at Mission Dolores and

³⁵ Antonio Ortiz, SF Begins, 1776, p. 95 (entry for August 8, 1776).

³⁶ See John W. Dwinelle, Colonial History: The City of San Francisco (SF: Towne & Bacon, 1867), chart on p. 50.

later. Mission San Rafael. The corporal supervised the defense of the mission and even meted out punishments when a case arose. The dominant military element, at least in number, were the soldados de cuera. Regular shipments from San Blas would have kept these men properly armed and outfitted, but as it turned out, only one-third of the soldados were protected by cueras, the leather jerkins from which they took their title. Soldiers were stationed at the missions, as mentioned, as well as at the Presidio and, on occasion, at Fort San Joaquín (Fort Point) and Battery Yerba Buena (Fort Mason). Forever fearing foreign invasion, the colonial government assigned several artillerymen and Catalan infantry volunteers to the garrison, adding a population of some thirty men by 1800. This reinforcement supplemented the existing garrison, while adding an interesting "aristocratic air" to the predominantly Mexican born society.³⁷

Life at the Presidio was characterized first by attention to military affairs. The soldiers and artillerymen served regular and occasionally monotonous duties, including guarding the missions and various batteries. Presidial troopers were employed in several capacities away from the outpost: assisting missionaries in the procurement of converts or escaped neophytes, or exploring, as in 1793, uncharted areas such as GGNRA's Olema Valley. The soldado carried mail and dispatches to and from Monterey and the various San Francisco Bay

³⁷ Langellier, "The Soldier-Settlers of Spanish California," pp. 3-4; Langellier, "Outpost of Empire," p. 19; Bancroft, History of CA I, pp. 698-702; Thompson, Seacoast Fortifications, p. 7.

establishments, much like an early American pony express rider. In the same vein, soldados were responsible for escorting Spanish officials from place to place. Back at the Presidio, men and their families were kept busy herding cattle and farming their allocated plots of land. A rancho del rey (royal ranch) was founded in 1777, beginning with 115 head of cattle which were pastured on the hills about the presidio. The soldado assisted in this endeavor, becoming a part-time vaquero in addition to his other military roles. An inventory of 1793 reveals that at least fourteen presidial officers and soldiers owned their own stock and sheep, including Señors Bernal, Galindo, and Miranda.³⁸ When a substantial number of Indian converts were procured, by about 1790, the Presidio could rely on an all-Indian labor force. While the soldados were not needed in actual construction projects, many were employed in guarding the continuous work parties about the Presidio. Daniel Rosen notes that "while most of the soldiers were guarding work parties . . . a few of the men had less onerous duties." In the early 19th century, several soldiers were assigned to San Francisco "to be trained as drummers by a member of the garrison."³⁹

While the underpaid garrison could hardly afford the niceties of the parade field, music and accompanying festivities played an important part in Presidio social life. Economically the Presidio

³⁸ For a complete list, see Munro-Fraser, A History of Marin County (SF: Alley, Bowen, and Co., 1880), p. 47.

³⁹ Daniel Bernard Rosen, "A History of the Presidio, p. 85.

depended on the San Blas ships, although in their absence the commandant and soldiers were quite willing to engage in illicit trade with the frequent foreign visitors. The visits of Vancouver (1792), Langsdorff (1806), and Kotzebue (1816) were three such convenient encounters. The accounts left by these English and Russian captains repeatedly mention the fort's dilapidated conditions and abundant hospitality.

Vancouver's HMS Discovery entered San Francisco's harbor in November of 1792. The English captain noted that

the Spanish soldiers composing the garrison amounted to 35; who, with their wives, families, and a few Indian servants, composed the whole of the inhabitants.

Their houses, he observed, were "along the wall" and "within the square," appearing "at best very uncomfortable dwellings." Floors were made of packed earth, while furniture was limited and primitive. Despite the fact that "elegancies were wanting," Vancouver was grateful for his "cordial reception and hearty welcome." During his brief stay the captain was entertained at the Presidio, being received by commandant Sal's wife in the traditional Spanish manner. "Decently dressed," the Doña sat cross-legged on a mat which had been placed on a low wooden platform near the doorway of the comandancia. She was surrounded by her two daughters and son, who were also described as "clean and decently dressed." This curious greeting was identified as "the mode observed by these ladies when they receive visitors." Vancouver concluded that his impressions were "ill accorded with the ideas [he] had conceived of the sumptuous manner in which the Spaniards [lived] on

this side of the globe."⁴⁰

In 1806 the Russian craft Juno entered the passage known as the Golden Gate. Although her captain, G. H. von Langsdorff, likened the Presidio to a "German farmstead," the visit proved much more lively than any month on a farm. Despite the initial fear of a bonafide Russian vessel, the officers aboard Juno were entertained daily--a party being held almost every afternoon. Luis Argüello, acting commandant in his father's absence, invited several Russian officers to his home. Argüello's mother provided them with an excellent meal served on "a rich service of silver tableware," most probably the household's only luxury. Don Luis' traditional Spanish poncho was described by the strangers as "a mantle of striped woolen cloth, which looked very much like the coverlet of a bed, his head coming through an opening in the middle." In addition to his uniform the acting commandant wore "peculiarly embroidered boots of a particular make with unusually large spurs." The Russian visitors introduced some new dance steps to the San Francisco society, while a few of the soldados played the violin and guitar. The crew of the Juno had been promised the usual bull and bear fight, a favorite of the Californios, but the captured bear died the night before the big performance. To compensate Argüello ordered an afternoon of bullfights, an event which the Russian captain described unfavorably.

⁴⁰ Vancouver, "SF in 1792," CHSQ (June 1935), pp. 114-115. Bancroft, History of CA I, p. 704; Kinnaid, "History of the GG," pp. 60-61.

No discussion of this famous visit would be complete without some mention of the legendary romance between the commandant's daughter, Concepción Argüello, and Nikolai Rezanov, an official of the Russian American Fur Company. While Doña Concepción was complemented in several accounts for beauty, vivacity and cheerfulness, she was only fifteen--over 35 years younger than her Russian count. A shrewd speculator, Rezanov no doubt envisioned the improved trade relations which would evolve from a Spanish and Russian engagement. Whatever his intentions, Rezanov and Concepción enjoyed a mere six-week courtship, during which time a proposal of marriage was made and accepted. The Russian official promised to return, but died the following year before his true character could be tested. A combination of fact and fantasy, the real beauty of the tale is in the aftermath, as set forth in the famous poem of Bret Harte. Described by the poet as "a simple story of a woman's love and trust," Concepción de Arguello derives its subject matter from the primitive but colorful lifestyle found at the San Francisco Presidio.⁴¹

The Russian brig Rurik arrived and anchored off the Presidio in the fall of 1816. This friendly man-of-war was captained by Otto von Kotzebue and included in its crew the skilled artist Louis Choris, who depicted many of the local Costanoans and Coast Miwoks in his pen

⁴¹Langsdorff's Narrative of the Rezanov Voyage to Nueva California in 1806, trans. and rev. by Thomas C. Russell (San Francisco: Private Press of T. C. Russell, 1927), pp. 37-41; also Bean, CA: An Interpretive History, p. 55; Bret Harte, Concepción de Arguello (San Francisco: The Private Press of T. C. Russell, 1926).

and ink sketches and watercolors. Adelbert von Chamisso, naturalist and interpreter of the expedition, mentions the feasts, dances, and music provided by their Hispanic hosts. His historic journal provides his impression of the traditional bull and bear fight:

The bear-baiting took place, on the beach. Unwilling and bound as the animals were, the spectacle had in it nothing great or praiseworthy. One pitied only the poor beasts, who were so shamefully handled.

While Chamisso was generally disgusted with this Hispanic pastime, Captain Kotzebue appeared a bit more interested, calling the spectacle "remarkable."⁴²

Bears for each performance were captured by the versatile sol-dados, who ventured to the Marin shore in pursuit of these unlucky creatures. Bears as well as lions were reportedly numerous in the Point Reyes and Mill Valley districts--areas that were near and included sections of the current GGNRA.⁴³ Bull and bear fights were commonly staged on the beach near the Presidio, probably not far from GGNRA's Crissy Field.

An elderly native of Bolinas, in Marin County, confirmed that "new arrivals to the garrison were lavishly feted." Festivities included several days of feasting, when supplies allowed it, along with bear-hunting, bull-fighting, dancing to the strains of "El Jorabe," and contests in horsemanship and the use of the lariat or reata. A

⁴²Chamisso, as quoted in August C. Mahr, The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816 (Stanford Univ. Press, 1932), pp. 41, 67.

⁴³"Interview of Juan Garcia, son of Corporal Rafael Garcia," typewritten manuscript at the Marin County Historical Society, taken from an article printed in the San Rafael Independent, 14 August 1917, p. 4.

large but simple room in the commandant's residence was the usual evening gathering spot, where "to the music of the guitar and violin, the fandango lasted far into the night." The remuda or picnic was a favorite afternoon pastime, involving feasts of whole, barbequed beefs followed by games and other amusements.⁴⁴

Dependents of the soldados and officers lived within or near the presidial square, or, if the men were stationed at the mission, in a cluster of nearby houses. Wives of the married soldiers prepared food for their families and the bachelors as well. Food at the Presidio was simple, with much of the cooking taking place outside of the home. Since cattle raising was a local and prosperous industry, beef prepared on an open spit provided a large percentage of the daily diet. During his 1792 visit, Vancouver observed a poultry house and yard within the presidial walls, along with two small and poorly cultivated vegetable gardens, located slightly beyond the adobe enclosure. Vegetables and grain were grown on the vast Mission Dolores lands, although conflicts constantly arose over whether the missionaries and Indians should have to share their often limited subsistence.⁴⁵

The Presidio's social ladder or hierarchy was clearly based on ethnic backgrounds and place of birth. At the bottom of the class

⁴⁴Marin W. Pepper, Bolinás: A Narrative of the Days of the Dons (New York: Vantage Press, 1965), pp. 41-42.

⁴⁵Langellier, "The Soldier-Settler," pp. 4, 6; Kinnaïrd, "History of the GC," p. 61.

structure and living essentially in servitude were the converted Indians or neophytes. While regarded a bit more favorably than the wild natives or bestias (beasts), the mission Indian was considered uncivilized and subhuman--a class apart from the gente de razón or people of reason. Gente de razón was a term used by the Spanish to distinguish the two main groups of the colonial population. A "rational" person was principally white, although the term as it was used included negroes, mestizos, and mulattoes--in fact, all who were not full-blooded Indians. Most of the early settlers and soldiers were Hispanicized non-Spaniards or gente de razón, namely, Mexicans of mixed Spanish, Indian, and African stock.⁴⁶ Charles Lauff, an early Marin County settler, recalled that

now and then a Spaniard arrived on the scene, . . . but most of the early soldiers were poor fellows, who for a mere pitance were sent as soldiers to this or that Presidio.⁴⁷

In their reply to the 1812 Interragatorió, Fathers Abella and Lucio (both Spaniards) reported that the San Francisco Presidio was composed of Mexicans, Indians, and Mestizos. Fray Abella, protective of his Indian neophytes and obviously proud of his European ancestry, reported soon afterward that mal gálico, a venereal disease, was "introduced among the [San Francisco] natives by the low grade soldiers

⁴⁶Theodore H. Hittel, History of California (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing House, 1885), p. 470; Bean, CA: An Interpretive History, p. 54.

⁴⁷Charles Lauff, "Reminiscences," printed in The San Rafael Independent, Jan. 25, 1916-May 23, 1916, p. 100. An indexed typescript is available at the Marin County Historical Society.

recruited in Mexico from the scum of society."⁴⁸ While the missionaries and military were frequently at odds, the padre's comment reflects the general disdain with which the Mexican-born residents were treated.

The 1796 arrival of some 30 Catalan infantry volunteers and artillerymen formed a small but substantial aristocracy. Most if not all of these men were Europeans or, in the words of one early historian, "a class of men altogether different from the troopers who were recruited from the rabble of Mexico."⁴⁹ That same year, Viceroy Branciforte of Mexico suggested placing a pueblo near the Presidio where discharged Catalanian volunteers might settle down with their families. The plan was eventually dropped, as these Spaniards and ex-soldiers deserved "a better reward for their services than the sand dunes in the proposed locality."⁵⁰ The Presidio and vicinity was adequate for the Indians and Mexican-born settlers, but apparently not appropriate for the distinguished Spanish peninsulares.

While many of the Presidio soldiers and officers were creoles, quite a few claimed nevertheless to be of pure white ancestry. According to Daniel Rosen, any enlisted man who could show an official certificate attesting to his pure white ancestry was entitled to the

⁴⁸ Fray Ramón Abella, as quoted in Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 162. See p. 147 for population and origin statistics compiled for the 1812 Interrogatorio.

⁴⁹ Engelhardt, *ibid.*, p. 132; also Thompson, Seacoast Fortifications, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 132.

position of soldado distinguido, with which he was granted many privileges not accorded to the common soldier. Indeed, during the late 18th century the crown instituted a system of payments for transfer from colored to white status, with a gradation depending on how the white status would be recognized and how it would be utilized. This practice was probably not widespread in California, but nevertheless it indicates the immense value placed on white purity in a Spanish American society. At San Francisco, only the sons of officers were qualified for soldado distinguido.⁵¹

Despite these obvious ethnic distinctions, the Presidio and Mission records reveal that there was some intermarriage among the early settlers and inhabitants. A list of the soldiers connected with the Presidio in 1790 shows that at least one Mexican, Francisco Bernal, was married to an Indian, a woman named Maria Petrona. The list of soldiers and their wives includes four mestizos, one mulatto, and three single Indians.⁵² The reply to the 1812 Interrogatório, dated November 1814, mentioned that three Indian women were married to Mexicans. Two years later Louis Choris, the artist aboard the Rurik, noted that most of the men at the Presidio were married, and that a few soldiers had married Indians.⁵³ While some intermarriage

⁵¹Daniel Rosen, "The History of the Presidio," p. 98; Gibson, Spain in America, pp. 129-130.

⁵²See Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, pp. 45-46.

⁵³Louis Choris, San Francisco 100 Years Ago, trans. by Porter Garnett (San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1913), p. 2.

was taking place, this particular form of cultural assimilation was far from dominant. Perhaps one of the settlers summed up the Hispanic attitude when he admitted:

I am sorry to have to say that they appear to be more like animals than humans in my view. I do not plan to become very involved with them. I prefer to fraternize with my own kind.⁵⁴

E. Indians at the Presidio:
Employment and Treatment

Indian labor was a necessity for the meager San Francisco garrison. Besides relying on the missions for much of their produce, the Presidio soldiers and officers were dependent upon the inexpensive and exploitable work force found in the nearby missions, notably San Francisco de Asis and Santa Clara. Most of these Indian laborers were supplied directly or indirectly to the outpost, either as "borrowed employees" or sentenced prisoners. Employed mission Indians received both material and monetary rewards, the wages always being paid to the padre and not to the worker himself. Indians accused of misconduct were frequently sent to the Presidio as prisoners, where they were forced to join the various work parties. The construction, preservation and repair of Presidio fortifications were done primarily by Indian laborers. In addition to these important tasks, natives at the Presidio functioned as household servants, vaqueros, and even soldiers.

⁵⁴ Antonio Ortiz, SF Begins, 1776, a diary trans. and ed. by Parker Lochiel Johnstone, p. 37.

1. Castillo de San Joaquín Project

Vancouver's visit of 1792, while friendly, stimulated the ever-present fear of foreign invasion. In an attempt to increase San Francisco's defenses, another fort was ordered--this time to be located on Punta del Cantil Blanco, Anza's original Presidio site. Plans called for a fort in the form of a horseshoe, made primarily of adobe faced with brick. The fortification, called Castillo de San Joaquín, would include a kitchen and mess building as well as an adobe structure containing the commanding officer's room, a supply room, barracks, a guardhouse, and a prison. Construction of the fort began in 1793, with Francisco Gomez supervising an almost entirely Indian labor force.⁵⁵

The Indians who built Castillo de San Joaquín were obtained in various ways. During March, Sergeant Amador of San Francisco was sent to the pueblo of San Jose to procure pagan but potentially productive Indian laborers. By the end of April the heathen workforce amounted to about 37, including some non-mission Indians from Santa Clara who had also "volunteered." These natives received a daily wage and were given a blanket and pair of cotton trousers--the typical uniform for most mission Indians. Christian Indians were hired from the missions, amounting to about 30 from San Francisco and eight from Santa Clara. Nearly all of the San Francisco neophytes were sent as

⁵⁵Thompson, Seacoast Fortifications, pp. 4-5; Kinnaird, "History of the CG," p. 70.

punishment--a fact which may explain why many of the paid "volunteers" kept running away.

As common laborers the Indians cut and assembled timber for the esplanade and learned to manufacture adobe bricks at the rate of 1,500 per day. Soil in the bay area was generally quite good for making adobe, although the earth about the Presidio made a very poor brick which never withstood the area's harsh climate. For this reason the presidial buildings and fortifications were in constant disrepair, giving the available Indians terminal, if futile, employment. Most Spanish structures in San Francisco were constructed of adobe bricks, a building material which was manufactured almost exclusively by local Indian work forces. J. N. Bowman conducted a survey of adobe houses in the San Francisco Bay region and explained how these sun-dried bricks were made. The ground near the building spot was

spaded up and sometimes slightly excavated in order to hold water. When the loose earth was saturated with water, bare-legged Indians tramped the wet earth and the binder into a well-mixed consistency suitable for carrying to and placing in the brick molds. These molds were made from boards, hand hewn and held together with rawhide thongs or nails when available. The "mud" was carried by hand or in baskets to the forms, tamped down and leveled by hand to the top of the molds. Bricks were allowed to dry on both sides in the sun, then removed from the forms and stacked in convenient rows to await their use in construction.⁵⁷

The artillery for the Castillo was mounted by a few soldiers, although

⁵⁶George Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquin, Registered Landmark #82," California Historical Landmarks Series, 1936, p. 14, Bancroft Library.

⁵⁷J. N. Bowman, "Adobe Houses in the San Francisco Bay Region," Geological Guidebook of the SF Bay Counties, Bulletin 154, Dec. 1951, p. 57.

the Indians reportedly assisted in the early stages of this project. Completed at a cost of over 6,000 pesos, the first fortification on the site of GGNRA's Fort Point was christened and blessed on December 8, 1794.⁵⁸

The battery on the Cantil Blanco deteriorated with every heavy rain or storm. By the summer of 1796 the Castillo's first general reconstruction was begun, under the supervision of Engineer Lt. Alberto de Córdoba. Lt. Col. Pedro Alberni took charge of the repair work and improvements, employing forty-one Indians from Santa Clara Mission. This time mortar was used along with tule thatch in the roofing, and a new adobe wall was built around the magazine.

2. Construction of Yerba Buena Battery

The following year Governor Borica ordered that a supplement battery be erected, the site chosen at Punta Medanos (sand dunes), later known as Black Point and now GGNRA's Fort Mason. Like Castillo de San Joaquin, Yerba Buena Battery, as it was called, was constructed of adobe, burned brick, and fascines of wood. Mission Indians and prisoners probably supplied most of the labor, although the documentation of this project is scant. The U.S. Army first referred to this site as Point San José, a name which apparently did not originate in the Spanish period. Nevertheless, a marker which stands today at Fort Mason near the intersection of Pope and MacArthur commemorates

⁵⁸Rosen, "History of the Presidio," p. 40; Thompson, Seacoast Fortifications, p. 7.

the Spanish battery San José. According to Margot Patterson Doss, the lawns near the northernmost end of Pope Street comprise what was initially the battery site.⁵⁹

3. Repairs and Other Tasks

Throughout the Spanish period mission Indians and native prisoners and convicts were employed in presidial repair work. Indian prisoners were always male and may have been taken from any pueblo or mission within the Presidio's jurisdiction. Horse-stealing and escapes were common crimes: young and female offenders were taken to the mission, while adult males were usually acquired as Presidio prisoners. With such a system, the Spanish outpost was practically guaranteed of an expanding work force. As early as 1783 three San José Indians were caught stealing horses and sent to the San Francisco Presidio. Here they were sentenced to three weeks of hard labor, including floggings every third day.⁶⁰ Evidence reveals that some of the more "troublesome" Indians may have been forced to work in shackles, a practice which prevented escape and served as a deterrent to the others. In 1795 a great number of neophytes deserted the San Francisco and Santa Cruz missions, a crime for which the captured offenders

⁵⁹Thompson, *ibid.*, pp. 8, 13-14; Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquin," p. 21; Margot Patterson Doss, Paths of Gold: In and Around the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1974), p. 40.

⁶⁰Kinnaird, "History of the GG," p. 46.

paid for in whippings and hard labor.⁶¹ While the convicts were usually guarded by the garrison, a few always managed to escape. During the Spring of 1816 eighteen native prisoners succeeded in escaping from a major reconstruction project at Fort San Joaquín. The repair work was being done by both Indian and Spanish convicts who essentially rebuilt part of the parapet and the esplanade.⁶²

A sample of this Indian handiwork is still extant at the Presidio, lying within GGNRA's projected boundaries. Around 1791, the commandancia was erected within the palisade or presidial square. The remains of the original adobe wall may be seen through glass inside the current officers' club. Most of this building is fairly modern, despite statements that the entire 18th century structure has been renovated and restored.⁶³

In addition to these various construction projects, Indians at the Presidio functioned as household servants for the officers, soldiers, and their families. A few were also employed as vaqueros, tending the private as well as public herds of sheep, cattle and horses. The list of soldiers compiled for 1790 indicates that at least three native Americans served as soldiers. During the Mexican period, a substantial number of these Indian soldiers would be

⁶¹Ibid., p. 75.

⁶²Bancroft, History of CA II, p. 371.

⁶³McGloin, San Francisco, The Story of a City, pp. 14-15; Rosen, "History of the Presidio," p. 116.

stationed at the San Francisco Presidio.⁶⁴

F. Mission San Francisco de Asis

The sites of the first church and current mission lie south of Market Street, far removed from the current GGNRA boundaries. Nevertheless, the lands owned by Dolores or San Francisco de Asis included all park sites below Point Lobos, while most of the GGNRA and vicinity Costanoans and Coast Miwoks were uprooted to become new mission district residents. For these reasons a brief discussion of Spanish mission activities and their impact on Indian culture seems pertinent.

Converts were usually sought after, although a few Indian baptisms may have been voluntary. To interest the heathen in mission life, the padres played upon every conceivable Indian desire. Emphasis was placed on the external aspects of Christianity--the ceremony, music, and processions. Inducements of food and shelter were obviously quite effective. According to Fray Palóu, the first converts of San Francisco were attracted "with good will and presents."⁶⁵ One Costanoan informant, an elderly man named Lorenzo, described another recruitment tactic:

⁶⁴ Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 46; Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, p. 79.

⁶⁵ Excerpts from Palóu, 45th chapter of Life of Serra, printed in The California Farmer, 24 May 1861, p. 89; also Charles C. Colley, "The Missionization of the Coast Miwok Indians of California," CHSQ (July 1970), p. 147.

To capture the wild Indian, first were taken the children, and then the parents followed. The padres would erect a hut, and light the candles to say mass. The Indians, attracted by the light--thinking they were stars--would approach, and soon be taken.⁶⁶

The first baptism at Mission Dolores did not occur until 1777, one full year after the church was founded. This delay was due to the desertion of local villages following the Salson attack of August 1776. For the first five years, the missionaries apparently recruited about the peninsula and east bay, probably gathering up many of the natives who had returned to nearby GGNRA camp and village sites, such as Point Lobos, Fort Mason, and the Hyde/Beach locality. Many of the early conversions were undoubtedly Costanoan, for the first recognizable Coast Miwok baptism did not occur until 1783.⁶⁷ At this time, Father Palóu reported that a total of 394 Indians were "being duly instructed in the Catechism."⁶⁸ The baptismal records as studied by Sherburne Cook reveal that the San Francisco Costanoan population was "cleaned up by 1790." Recruitment activity was then evidently transferred to the north shore of Marin County, as the lists for 1797 through 1808 show a significant percentage of villages from the vicinity.⁶⁹ S. F. Cook states that:

⁶⁶Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, pp. 80-81.

⁶⁷Sherburne F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of the Northern Coast of CA," Univ. of CA Publications, Anthropological Records, vol. 16 (Berkeley: UC Press, 1961), p. 120.

⁶⁸The California Farmer, 24 May 1861, p. 89.

⁶⁹Sherburne F. Cook, The Conflict Between the CA Indian and White Civilization (Berkeley: UC Press, 1976), pp. 183-185.

It is clear from the tenor of the official correspondence, as well as from much other evidence, that the missionaries near San Francisco were recruiting heavily by means of private parties and expeditions from the Costanoan and Coast Miwok.⁷⁰

San Francisco de Asis baptised over 800 Indians which have been identified with considerable certainty as Coast Miwok. The asistencia and mission at San Rafael (1817) completed the sweep of Marin County, although Dolores did acquire converts from as far north as Tomales Bay. While the dominant groups at Dolores were Costanoan and Coast Miwok, a study of the mission records and other historic accounts reveal that the neophyte population included members of the Pomo, Wappo, Patwin, and interior Miwok.⁷¹ This forced integration of different "tribes" and cultures may have created an atmosphere for exchange, had the padres and mission system not been so intolerant of the intricacies of Indian culture.

1. Life at the Mission

The Indians who came to live at Dolores and San Rafael found themselves immersed in a drastically new culture which demanded the sacrifice of cherished and traditional beliefs. While well-meaning in concept, the mission system severely altered established aboriginal ways and helped to destroy the very natives to whose salvation it was dedicated.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 75.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 173, 181; Louis Choris, SF 100 Years Ago, p. 12; Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, pp. 6-7.

The first and most obvious change was in dress. Upon admittance to the mission, Indians were required to wear clothing that had been brought from Mexico or manufactured at the mission itself. Men wore a breechclout or pantaloons of coarse wool and women wore a skirt of the same material. Both sexes were given woolen shirts and blankets to keep their upper body covered and warm.⁷² Housing in the missions was quite different from that found in the small and scattered aboriginal villages. Vancouver noted some of the conical tule huts during his 1792 visit, although most accounts refer to large brick barracks or compounds. At night unmarried men and women were separated and kept under lock and key, being forced to sleep in a crowded environment with little or no heat and ventilation. Captain Kotzebue of the Rurik noted that the Indian dwellings at Dolores were "long, low houses, built of bricks, and forming several streets." The uncleanliness in these barracks baffled description and was, it was suggested, "the cause of the great mortality."⁷³ Antonio Osio, original grantee of the Angel Island rancho, observed:

The Indians in their wandering life as savages enjoyed good health Afterward and very harmful to them was enclosure within infected walls, according to the system adopted by the missionaries. . . . The walls were a yard thick and lacked necessary ventilation: imagine the odor which would emanate from those never washed bodies, without being able to change the air.⁷⁴

⁷² Mackey and Sooy, California Costumes, pp. 8-9 and Plate I; Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, p. 18; Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 153.

⁷³ Kotzebue, as quoted in Mahr, The Visit of the "Rurik" to San Francisco in 1816, p. 41.

⁷⁴ A. M. Osio, as quoted in Cook, Conflict, p. 32.

Less destructive but equally drastic was the influence of the Christian work ethic. While the zealous priests saw labor as a form of education and civilization, the Bay Area Indian was accustomed to work only in conjunction with need and seasonal food supplies. The regular dawn to dusk work schedule imposed by the missions was completely new to the native, who often expressed his or her dissatisfaction by abandoning a prescribed project or task. Despite their disapproval of an "8 to 5" routine, the Costanoans and Coast Miwoks became proficient at several new crafts and activities. If the vast mission populations had survived secularization, their knowledge of many useful occupations may have helped the race integrate into mainstream society.

At missions Dolores and San Rafael, a substantial number of neophytes functioned as vaqueros (shepherds), a position which included guarding the horse and cattle herds, tending and shearing the sheep, and learning animal husbandry. Most accounts agree that these Indian vaqueros were excellent horsemen--a skill they obviously acquired by observing the talented Spanish soldados. At San Francisco Indians became skilled at handiwork such as building, preparing tallow, and making soap and household articles. In San Francisco and Marin County mission Indians were taught to cultivate the soil and raise several fruits and vegetables. After harvest the neophytes were responsible for cleaning and shoveling the threshed grain and grinding the corn into meal. During his 1816 visit Louis Choris observed some 20 looms being used at Dolores to make a coarse woolen cloth. The spinning was done, he noted, by women who had been widowed or physically separated

from their husbands. Women were responsible for the entire process of manufacturing woolen cloth and blankets: from cleaning and combing the raw wool to spinning and weaving it into the proper articles. Men became expert in the art of adobe making and functioned as blacksmiths and carpenters as well. Experienced horsemen and navigators were employed in the transportation of provisions and goods from mission to mission, or to the presidio.⁷⁵

During the early 1800s Indians were employed about the Bay as otter hunters. Impoverished soldiers and padres were eager to sell furs to Americans in exchange for money or merchandise, but the Spanish authorities maintained strict regulations against any trade with foreigners. The answer to this dilemma was to employ the available mission Indians. According to one historian, "at night traps were set along the mission shore, and there were conferencias with neophytes known to be most skillful in handling tule rafts." When Russian-directed Kodiaks and Aleuts were found engaged in similar activity, the Spanish priests stationed neophytes "at watering-places around the Bay shores to beat off the thirsty Aleuts."⁷⁶ By hunting otter and helping to eliminate competition with the Russians, mission Indians preserved a necessary,

⁷⁵ R. F. Heizer, ed., "Ethnographic Observations on the Coast Miwok and Pomo," p. 1; Langsdorff's Narrative of the Rezanov Voyage, Russell, p. 63; Steve Richardson, ed. by James H. Wilkins, "The Days of the Dons: Reminiscences of California's Oldest Native Son," The SF Bulletin, 30 April 1918, p. 8.

⁷⁶ Felix Reisenberg, Jr., Golden Gate: The Story of San Francisco Harbor (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1940), p. 33.

though illicit, economic channel. With meager, if any, imported supplies, the San Francisco settlement grew to depend upon the wealth of local pelts and hides.

During leisure hours, the neophytes were permitted to dance and play their favorite games. Louis Choris reported that after mass on Sundays and holidays the Indians gathered in the church cemetery to dance in the traditional manner, wearing multi-colored body paints and feather headdresses and adornments. Captain Kotzebue observed the familiar stick game during his 1816 visit to Mission Dolores. "Being a holiday," he noted,

the Indians did no work, but, divided into groups, amused themselves with various pastimes, one of which required particular dexterity. The game is played between two antagonists, at odd or even, with short sticks; an umpire keeps the account with other sticks.⁷⁷

While outright gambling was discouraged by the missionaries, Choris reported that the Indians were "greatly addicted to games of chance, [staking] their ornaments, their tools, their money, and frequently even the clothing that the missionaries [had] given them."⁷⁸

Another fairly amusing activity, though foreign to the aborigine, was employment in the mission orchestra. Fathers Abella and Lucia reportedly "taught some boys how to play the violin, the bass viol, the bass drum, and other instruments." According to the padres, "the youths manifest[ed] no repugnance as they [did] in the case of

⁷⁷ Stewart Culin, Games of the North American Indians (New York: Dover, 1975), p. 248.

⁷⁸ Choris, SF 100 Years Ago, p. 11.

more fatiguing labor."⁷⁹ Kotzebue was entertained by an orchestra of two flutes, a violin, and a violincello. The captain recalled that these instruments were played by "little half-naked Indians who were very often out of tune." While quality may have been lacking, the Russian commented that such Indian-made music was probably the only comprehensible part of the church service.⁸⁰

The mandatory and routine religious services were bewildering if not meaningless to most mission Indians. Converts were required to attend mass two to three times a day, recite the catechism, and learn the various Spanish hymns and prayers. A number of Indians learned to speak and understand Spanish, but most formal services were usually conducted in Latin. Many neophytes could easily repeat Latin words and appear somewhat attentive during mass, although few if any were able or willing to accept the underlying Christian message. If the procurement of converts seemed contrived, the mission's method of conversion will come as no surprise. As one ethnohistorian summarized:

the priests' method of instruction into the Catholic church consisted of forcing the Indians to hear mass in Latin three times a day and be whipped if they didn't attend. During the service sharp-pointed goads were used by the soldiers to keep the neophytes in a kneeling position.⁸¹

While traditional dances and games were allowed, most missionaries frowned upon shamans and any participation in aboriginal (heathen)

⁷⁹ Engelhardt, Mission San Francisco or Dolores, p. 152.

⁸⁰ Kotzebue, as quoted in Mahr, The Visit of the "Rurik," p. 41.

⁸¹ Switzer, "An Ethnohistory of the Costanoans," The Costanoan Indians, Heizer, ed., p. 20.

religious activities. Such behavior was cause for floggings and other punishments, although Sherburne Cook contests that the neophytes probably adhered to their practices in secret. Like the African family in slavery, ties to the homeland and traditional ways gave strength to the seriously oppressed mission Indian.

For purely pragmatic reasons, the Indians were forced to make a rapid and very difficult adaptation which cost them dear in lives and suffering. With respect to religion, ceremonialism, and shamanism, the opposite was true. Despite the most intensive moral suasion and pressure, the Indians retained the basic pattern of their culture intrinsically unaltered.⁸²

In addition to crowded and segregated living conditions, mission Indians were unable to wander at will--a freedom which their hunting and gathering economy had depended upon. Once a native was baptised he or she became, quite officially, church property. Any attempt to escape was seen, essentially, as stealing from the church--an act which brought often severe punishment. Agriculture replaced the hunting and gathering economy in this large, stationary settlement. The neophytes' new communal life was supported by a radically altered diet of wheat, corn, peas and beans. These mission-grown vegetables and grain were supplemented by the available livestock and whatever food the neophytes could gather in the wild. As the northernmost Spanish institutions were constantly undersupplied, the "lowly" Indians probably received the smallest rations. Historic accounts agree that the main food at Dolores consisted of a thick soup of meat and vegetables, ladled out three times a day. These same sources vary concerning the quantity and

⁸²Cook, Conflict, pp. 149, 156-157.

quality of food in San Francisco, although Cook judiciously concludes that

surveying the field a century afterward, one is apt to incline toward the belief that the accessory food factors were marginal and that the Indians as a whole lived continuously on the verge of clinical deficiency.⁸³

2. Cultural Contact and its Consequences

The joining of Hispanic and aboriginal cultures at the missions did not create pleasant or productive results. Racial prejudice, fugitivism, and passive resistance were a few signs of this basic incompatibility.

The most obvious and impressive result of white settlement upon natives was population decline, although the mission system itself did not condone wholesale slaughter or annihilation. Crowded, unsanitary living conditions, poor nutrition, and the lack of proper medical treatment made the neophytes particularly susceptible to introduced diseases. The Hispanic settlers brought with them several maladies to which the natives were unaccustomed and therefore not immune. Syphilis, tuberculosis, and pneumonia were responsible for several deaths throughout the mission period, while periodic epidemics wiped out a goodly proportion of the Indian population. The measles epidemic of 1806 and the smallpox epidemic of 1838 were two such landmark disasters in the San Francisco Bay Area. At Mission Dolores, for example, it was

⁸³Colley, "The Missionization of the Coast Miwok," pp. 147, 151; Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 150; Cook, Conflict, p. 50.

reported that over 234 deaths occurred during the first two months of the measles epidemic.⁸⁴ In 1804, a total of 1,010 neophytes were at Mission Dolores. Less than twenty-five years later, only 241 Indians remained.⁸⁵

Today, packed in the strata of the Dolores cemetery, lie some 5,000 Indians who were victims of these white man's diseases. The original cemetery has been abbreviated by city streets and buildings, although "every now and then someone . . . an amateur gardener or a workman digging for water mains . . . turns up an Indian skull or hip bone."⁸⁶ To commemorate the unidentified bodies buried here, a shrine was built and dedicated in 1920 to "the neglected and forgotten." A statue of an Indian maiden stands nearby in the cemetery garden, in "prayerful memory of our faithful Indians."⁸⁷

Another unfortunate result of this cultural contact was the animosity which developed between the wild and mission Indians. Neophytes were occasionally brought on recruitment expeditions to guide the missionaries and soldiers to extant heathen villages. Possibly in

⁸⁴ Sunset Books Editorial Staff, California Missions: A Pictorial History (Menlo Park, CA: Lane Book Co., 1964), "Chronology of CA Mission History," pp. 316-317; Cook, Conflict, p. 19.

⁸⁵ CA Missions: A Pictorial History, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Robert H. Willson and George and Emilia Hodel, "Foreign Nationalities in San Francisco," 1932 typescript, History Room, SF Public Library, p. 103; also *ibid.*, p. 138; Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 317.

⁸⁷ Quotes taken directly from dedication plaques, Mission Dolores, located in San Francisco on Dolores Street, between 16th and 17th Streets.

revenge, the wild Indians would frequently refuse to re-admit fugitives to their tribelet, or tell pursuers where they were hiding. Neophytes, on the other hand, were encouraged to feel contemptuous toward the unconverted by "hearing them constantly held up to them in the degrading light of bestias."⁸⁸

Since most Indians in Central California were not warlike, they responded to mission captivity with various forms of passive resistance or fugitivism. When Louis Choris visited Mission Dolores in 1816, he reported that he had "never seen one laugh . . . [or] look one in the face. They look as though they were interested in nothing." He noted that

after several months spent in the missions, they usually begin to grow fretful and thin, and constantly gaze with sadness at the mountains which they can see in the distance.⁸⁹

George Vancouver made similar observations, describing their faces as dull and heavy, "devoid of sensibility or the least expression."⁹⁰ Fugitivism was prevalent, particularly at San Francisco de Asis. Neophytes frequently escaped from the mission during the required daily work period. The limited garrison at both the Presidio and Mission found it difficult to control this activity, especially when it was large scale. In 1795 there was a wholesale desertion of neophytes from

⁸⁸Captain F. W. Beechey, Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), p. 2.

⁸⁹Louis Choris, San Francisco 100 Years Ago, pp. 5, 11-12.

⁹⁰George Vancouver, "SF in 1792," p. 119.

the mission, and between 1793 and 1820 a total of 835 escapes were recorded at San Francisco. While this number reflects some recurrent escapes and includes several fugitives who were either caught or returned voluntarily, it clearly indicates cultural incompatibility.⁹¹

Racial prejudice was still another unfortunate result of the Spanish mission system. This attitude was not new to the Spanish empire, as its concept of Indian inferiority can be traced back to the beginnings of conquest in the early 16th century. Positive impressions made during the exploration period were for the most part replaced with intolerance and contempt. The missionaries had possibly underestimated the expanse of their project while miscalculating Indian needs and values. Chamisso, the Russian naturalist aboard the Rurik, observed (of Dolores):

The contempt which the missionaries have for the people, to whom they are sent, seems to us, considering their pious occupation, a very unfortunate circumstance. None of them appear to have troubled themselves about their history, customs, religions, or languages: "They are irrational savages, and nothing more can be said of them. Who would trouble himself with their stupidity?"⁹²

While the mission system was aimed at repressing Indian customs and religion in an attempt to civilize and convert, a few of the padres did concern themselves with Indian languages and dialects. Fray Santa María, at Mission Dolores from 1776-1882, spoke several native languages fluently, as did Fathers Fortuni and Amoroso at mission San Rafael.

⁹¹Cook, Conflict, p. 60; Rosen, "History of the Presidio," p. 44.

⁹²Chamisso, as quoted in Mahr, The Visit of the "Rurik," p. 83.

Nevertheless, the general impression of San Francisco Bay Indians became negative during the Spanish mission period. Vancouver's sentiments reflected this change when he claimed, "they are certainly a race of the most miserable human beings I ever saw."⁹³ When asked how the neophytes at Mission Dolores regarded the "Europeans," Fathers Abella and Lucio replied: "All here agree very well. We have not discovered any antipathy nor hatred for the Europeans, who are regarded merely as people of another caste."⁹⁴

After secularization the accounts and impressions of mission Indians generally improve. Charles Lauff, an early Marin County settler, described the Indians baptised at Mission San Rafael as "civilized and industrious"--"a hospitable, healthy and law-abiding people."⁹⁵ Admiral von Wrangell of Fort Ross declared, in the same vein, that

one would commit a great injustice if one were to call those Indians dull; nature has provided their spirit and heart with great gifts; in the missions they rapidly assume the ranks of their teachers, they easily learn divers arts and crafts; they become daring and nimble horsemen, and are accomplished in speaking the Spanish language.⁹⁶

⁹³Vancouver, "SF in 1792," p. 119.

⁹⁴"The Interrogatorio of 1812," printed in Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 148.

⁹⁵Charles Lauff, "Reminiscences," typescript, Marin County Historical Society, p. 68.

⁹⁶R. F. Heizer, ed., "Ethnographic Observations," p. 6.

G. Spanish Explorations North and the
Establishment of Mission San Rafael

Before the founding of Fort Ross by the Russians (1812) and the establishment of the asistencia at San Rafael (1817), European settlements along the Alta California coast reached only to the Golden Gate. The northern Marin County area had been explored from time to time by neophyte recruitment expeditions and Spanish hunting parties, but it was known only casually. In 1793, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo ordered a strengthening of northern defenses at Bodega Bay--a project which was eventually abandoned but nevertheless motivated the most extensive land exploration north of San Francisco before the end of the 18th century.

Lieutenant Don Felipe de Goycochea, commandant at Santa Barbara, was chosen to lead the land expedition; his purpose: to open a road from the north shore of San Francisco Bay to Bodega Bay. Accompanied by ten soldados, a sergeant, and thirty horses, the lieutenant landed near Sausalito on August 5, 1793. The party proceeded over the hills to Bolinas Bay, probably traversing GGNRA's Tennessee Valley and Muir Woods National Monument, or at least that immediate vicinity. Leaving camp on the shores of Bolinas Bay, the group followed Pine Gulch Creek and Olema Creek, arriving at a spot near the present Olema on August 6th. Here the Spanish expedition party encountered a substantial Miwok Indian village, identified today as "Olema-loke." Goycochea succeeded in exploring as far north as the end of Bodega

Lagoon, returning to San Francisco on August 14, 1793.⁹⁷

The asistencia and later mission at San Rafael was formally established on December 14, 1817. There are several probable motives surrounding the founding of this northern institution, but foremost was the extremely high death rate at San Francisco de Asis. The Dolores missionaries had expressed the need for a warm and sheltered place where the ailing neophytes could be transferred to regain their health. Governor Sola acted upon this suggestion, recommending that a small number of the neophytes be transferred, by way of experiment, to the Marin County shoreline. The health of these ailing natives noticeably improved, and thus the hospital asistencia for Mission Dolores was established. Some historians feel that this northern Spanish settlement was made to block any further advance by the inhabitants of Fort Ross, while others contend that the impoverished padres were anxious to be near the Russians for purposes of trade. Both of these motives were valid at the time, although the unhealthful conditions at Mission Dolores were probably the most urgent factor. As Father Gil indicated during his voluntary proclamation of duty, "I am ready to sacrifice myself in the service of these poor Indians, even to the shedding of my own blood if necessary." Quite appropriately, the asistencia (San Rafael) was named for the patron of good health and angel of bodily

⁹⁷ The best account of the Bodega enterprise is given by Henry R. Wagner in "The Last Spanish Exploration of the Northwest Coast and the Attempt to Colonize Bodega Bay," in CHSQ 10, no. 4 (December 1931); Kinnaird, "History of the GG," pp. 64-67. For details on "Olema-loke" Indian village, see section G of part I (pp. 52-53).

healing.⁹⁸

The land for the "hospital mission" was granted to Mission Dolores by the Spanish throne and included

all of what we know now as Marin County, except for the coastal wilderness at Sausalito, Tiburon, and Point Reyes, which was withheld as a buffer against the Russians.⁹⁹

This description of the Mission San Rafael boundaries would have included much of the current GGNRA lands and their immediate vicinity. These lands were used for cattle pastoral activities and the area around the mission was laid out and sown with wheat, barley, maize, beans and peas. A vineyard was also planted, along with orchards and vegetable gardens.¹⁰⁰

The asistencia at San Rafael was granted full mission status in 1823, one year after the news of Mexico's final independence reached California. Although the hospital mission was previously considered only a branch of the San Francisco mission, unconverted Indians were actively recruited about Marin County and further north, just as if the "sanitarium" was a true mission. By the end of 1818, 386 Indians were reported at San Rafael. The neophyte population grew to 830

⁹⁸ John Adam Hussey, "Misión San Rafael Arcangel," California Historical Landmarks Series (Berkeley: Dept of Natural Resources, Division of Parks, 1936), pp. 1-5; Sunset Books, CA Missions: A Pictorial History, p. 297; quote taken from Jack Mason and Helen Van Cleave Park, Early Marin (Petaluma, CA: House of Printing, 1971), p. 5.

⁹⁹ Mason and Park, *ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ Hussey, "Misión San Rafael," p. 9; Stephen Alan Dietz, "Echa-Tamal, A Study of Coast Miwok Acculturation," unpublished thesis, San Francisco State University, May 1976, p. 17. Available at Bancroft

during the Spanish period, peaking in 1828 (Mexican period) at an estimated 1,140. In sharp contrast to the Mission Dolores, San Rafael Arcangel was one of the few missions which gained in population after the second decade of the century. Despite this obvious difference, life at Mission San Rafael was much like that at Mission Dolores in San Francisco.¹⁰¹

Library, this typed manuscript includes a conjectural map of Mission San Rafael boundaries (p. 18), based on J. N. Bowman's research.

¹⁰¹Hussey, "Misión San Rafael," p. 7.

IV. "BAJO LA BANDERA MEXICANA": 1822-1845

News arrived in March 1822 that Mexico had won its independence from Spain, and on April 13, the soldiers and citizens of San Francisco took the oath of allegiance to the Mexican government. Within some fifty years of discovery, exploration, and settlement, Spain had occupied and held the best port on the Pacific coast. Under the new red and green banner of Mexico, foreign trade restrictions were lifted and the mission lands secularized: two major changes which would have a significant impact on GGNRA's history. The Mexican Constitution and Law of Colonization, adopted in 1824 and 1828, guaranteed racial equality and encouraged settlement by naturalized foreigners. Such policy changes under the newly seated Mexican government would inaugurate a period of rapid commercial growth and land acquisition in the San Francisco Bay area.¹

A. Neglected Spanish Establishments:
Life at the Presidio and Missions

Mexico was more negligent of her northern defenses than Spain. From 1822 until 1835, when the garrison was officially moved to Sonoma, "little or no attention was paid to the fort or presidio." Life at the settlement nevertheless progressed "in the same old, easy,

¹Kinnaird, "History of the CG," pp. 134-142.

careless way," while the Spanish speaking Californians continued to regard themselves as Spanish.² As the historian Charles E. Chapman commented, "strictly speaking, there was no Mexican period of California history."³ Ignacio Martínez, acting commandant of the Presidio from 1822-1831, was born in Mexico City but described as "more of a Spaniard in feeling."⁴ This attitude prevailed throughout the less than 25 years of Mexican rule. As Lawrence Kinnaird reminds us, "whoever heard of anyone asserting that he belonged to an old Mexican family?"⁵

The dilapidated condition of defenses and the waning influence of the garrison are described in several narratives and historic accounts. During his visit to San Francisco in 1826, the British Captain Beechey described the buildings across from the commandancia as badly "broken down, and little better than a heap of rubbish and bones." The garrison consisted of 76 cavalry soldiers and a few artillerymen who were distributed between the presidio and missions. The soldiers appeared to him to be "very dissatisfied," owing to their meager salaries, the duties imposed on foreign goods, and the general lack of labor and supplies. Nevertheless, the officers showed their visitors

²Tays, "Castillo de San Joaquin," p. 38.

³Chapman, A History of CA, p. 455.

⁴"Ignacio Martínez," geneology file at MCHS. Quote taken from Alfred Robinson, Life in CA (London: H. G. Collins, Paternoster Row, 1851), p. 37.

⁵Kinnaird, "History of the CG," p. 137.

the usual hospitality. Beechey declared that Lieutenant Martinez

was always glad to see the officers at the Presidio, and made them welcome to what he had. Indeed, nothing seemed to give him greater pleasure than [their] partaking of his family dinner; the greater part of which was dressed by his wife and daughters, who prided themselves on their proficiency in the art of cooking.

As always, the British expedition party was treated to a bull and bear fight. These battles, according to the captain, "were the everlasting topic of conversation with the Californians, who indeed [had] very little else to talk about."⁶

Four years later, the presidial company of San Francisco had dwindled to fifty men or less. According to Hubert Howe Bancroft, who provided these figures, several soldiers had left the service and gone to live at the San Jose pueblo. The total population de razon of San Francisco, including both the presidio and mission, was only about 200 in 1830.⁷ 1835 was a crucial year for the sinking Presidio. The garrison was transferred to Sonoma, while the main anchorage and landing site was "officially" moved from the Presidio to Yerba Buena Cove. Ships began anchoring at the latter, more sheltered cove as early as 1824, but the strategic settlement there by William Richardson, newly appointed port captain, confirmed this region as the official

⁶ Captain F. W. Beechey, Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific, Volume 2 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1831), pp. 8-10, 63.

⁷ Bancroft, History of CA II, pp. 584-586.

landing.⁸ By 1836, only a few retired soldiers and their families remained at the Presidio; all the regular soldiers were withdrawn, and only now and then did an inspecting officer pay the place a visit.

Charles Lauff, a Frenchman and early Bolinas settler, visited the San Francisco Presidio in 1836. His account is filled with descriptions of the Hispanic culture he encountered there, although his population estimates seem a bit exaggerated in relation to earlier statistics. The Presidio, he explains:

was nothing more or less than a place of amusement. Gambling occupied the time of the men and monte⁹ was the craze in every household. About fifty Indians and squaws did the drudgery of the place, supplied the wood and provisions.

William Richardson provided the settlement with elk, cattle, and deer taken from his Sausalito Rancho, and "wine was plentiful." Near the entrance to the dilapidated fortress, Lauff encountered one of the familial dwellings or what he refers to as a "Mexican hut." Here a woman was "engaged in cleaning grain in order to secure bread for the evening meal." She performed this function, Lauff explains, "by throwing it in the air on two flat wooden boards." This process allowed the wind to carry away the chaff, after which time the grain was ready to be ground. The Frenchman who would eventually marry Maria Briones Sebrean described the Hispanic woman as "polished and refined,

⁸ See Theodore H. Hittel, History of California II (San Francisco: Pacific Press Publishing House, 1885), pp. 202-203.

⁹ Monte: A gambling game of Spanish origin, played with a special deck of forty cards, in which the players bet against a banker on the color of the cards to be turned up from the deck.

and dressed in the most outlandish colors. They were fond of amusement, fiestas, and dances and were always on the tapis," the special floor cover mentioned earlier in Vancouver's account. After church on Sunday, Lauff observed and participated in some of the local entertainment:

Some of the Indians and Spaniards entertained the inhabitants with mustang riding, racing and daring feats of horsemanship. Indians and the caballero would vie with one another, picking up coins and handkerchiefs from the ground on a dead gallop. After midday we gathered beneath a clump of trees and everybody participated in a barbeque. At night dancing was in full swing, and everywhere you could hear the sweet strains of the guitar.¹⁰

According to Bancroft, as many as six retired soldiers and their families lived in the presidial area from 1836-1840. No official list of these remaining residents has been found, although Apolinario Miranda's 1833 petition for the Ojo de Figueroa tract mentions that he has provisionally built a house there. Miranda, wife Juana Briones, and their six children lived in a small adobe house surrounded by a corral and orchard. Within a 100-vara lot which included the "Well of Figueroa," their adobe was located near the present Lyon Street, between Vallejo and Green. About 400 yards east was the old Briones adobe, originally built by Don Marcus Briones, a member of the 1776 settlement expedition led by Lieutenant Moraga. This adobe was situated near the still extant El Polin Spring, at the end of MacArthur Avenue. This "Spring of Many Babies" is the

¹⁰This quote and those from the preceding paragraph taken from Charles Lauff, "Reminiscences," a series of articles published in the San Rafael Independent (1916), indexed typescript available at Marin County Historical Society, pp. 24-26.

focal point of an interesting oral tradition. According to this popular legend, the natural fountain contains fertility-potent waters that were drunk by the Indians and then by the Spanish. For the newcomers, the miraculous spring lived up to its reputation. Hispanic families at the Presidio and on Marin County ranchos were exceedingly large by our terms; Presidio commandant Ignacio Martinez had 11 children, garrison member Jose Antino boasted a king-sized 22, while the Garcias and Briones of GGNRA-Marin County Ranchos were blessed with six or more bouncing muchachos. Large families were a tradition in Europe and Spanish America, although the "Fountain of Fertility" legend accounts for this cultural characteristic in a more colorful manner. According to Marin Pepper, a Bolinas historian, Doña Guadalupe Briones de Miramontes was living in the old El Polin adope in the 1830s, along with her customarily large family.¹¹

Mission living conditions remained unimproved during the era of Mexican rule. During his 1826 visit, Captain Beechey remarked that the huts of diseased or otherwise absent neophytes "had all fallen to decay, and presented heaps of filth and rubbish; while the remaining inmates of the mission were in as miserable a condition

¹¹Bancroft, History of CA III, p. 702; John L. Levinsohn, Cow Hollow: Early Days of a SF Neighborhood from 1776 (San Francisco: SF Yesterday, 1976), p. 15; Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, The Beginnings of San Francisco (New York: John C. Rankin, 1912), p. 525; "The West Boasts a Fountain of Fertility," San Jose Mercury-News, 26 March 1961, p. 12; Marin W. Pepper, Bolinas: A Narrative of the Days of the Dons, p. 89; Bancroft (vol. IV, p. 741) lists eight children in the Miramontes household.

it was possible to conceive."¹² In January of 1828 the Mexican government replaced the Spanish Franciscan missionaries at Dolores and San Rafael with friars from the college of Guadalupe, Zacatecas. Fray Prudencio Santillan and Father José Quíjas wore the usual grey Franciscan habit and spoke the Spanish language, however both were full-blooded Mexican Indians. Despite their common native background, the neophytes "scarcely noticed the difference."¹³ This action by the Mexican government removed what little peninsulare influence remained in northern California.

After secularization only a handful of Indians lingered on at the missions. After the smallpox epidemic of 1838, only 9 to 10 male Indians at Dolores were reportedly capable of labor.¹⁴ During his visit to Mission Dolores in 1841, Sir George Simpson of the Hudson Bay Company noted "only three naked, dirty and miserable creatures." The "priests, cattle, savages and dwellings," he observed, "had all vanished."¹⁵

B. Indian Employment: Yerba Buena
and the San Francisco Bay

Throughout the Mexican period neophytes and non-mission Indians performed several admirable duties about the San Francisco area.

¹²F. W. Beechey, Narrative of a Voyage, pp. 20-21.

¹³Fr. Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 200; also Pepper, Bolinas, p. 88.

¹⁴Hittel, History of CA II, p. 303.

¹⁵Simpson, Narrative of a Voyage, p. 78.

The developing hide and tallow trade created positions for skilled navigators, ship-builders and pilots. Under the instructions and guidance of the priests, the Indians at the missions about the Bay built schooners or launches in which the missions sent down their produce to the vessels in Yerba Buena Cove and brought back the goods received in exchange. Port Captain William A. Richardson obtained two such vessels from the Mexican government, which he manned with Indian crews. Commandant Martinez gave Richardson, his son-in-law, a few "civilized Indians" who assisted him in sounding the Bay of San Francisco.¹⁶ Hide and tallow trading vessels were steered through the narrow Golden Gate by skilled Indian pilots who were again under Richardson's supervision. According to historian Charles Dobie, the captain kept an Indian pilot crew in a cove near the rocky entrance.

If a vessel on entering the harbor desired the services of a pilot, its crew fired two shots. This was answered by three blasts from a whistle from the Indians. They then rowed out, boarded the ship, and brought her safely into port.¹⁷

Richardson's trusty lieutenant and all-round navigator was a full-blooded Indian named Manico. According to Steve Richardson, Manico came into his father's service "when he presented the outward appearance of extreme age." Although his hair was whitened with age,

¹⁶Hazel Pedlar Faulkner, ed., "Mariana Torres Memoirs," printed in the Oakland Tribune, 4 March 1928, typescript available at MCHS; Eldredge, Beginnings of SF II, p. 504.

¹⁷Charles C. Dobie, SF: A Pageant, p. 397.

Manico "carried his six feet or more with the native grace of perfect health." Richardson's son had nothing but respect for this elderly mission Indian. Described as an able seaman, Manico

knew the name and use of every appurtenance of a sizable ship . . . and possessed the primitive instinct that forecasts storms and recognizes a meaning in the portents of the weather.

"Brave to the limit of recklessness," Manico reportedly rescued a disabled ship that was caught in a storm raging off the Marin headlands.¹⁸

Richardson also employed several Indians in the construction of his Yerba Buena adobe. According to his daughter, Mariana Torres, Richardson engaged the services of over 20 Indians in this project, which lasted about six months. The adobe was completed in the late 1830s, after which time the captain selected five of his best workers who were then trained to be sailors. Mariana described these Indians as "good workmen as well as faithful and honest." These laborers were borrowed from General Vallejo in Sonoma, and thus received little else for their faithful labor than blankets and a diet of meat and wheat. Wild animals were so numerous in the early days that Richardson employed a full-time Indian vaquero to guard his livestock, which were apparently kept not far from his Dupont and Clay-vicinity adobe.¹⁹

¹⁸ Steve Richardson, "The Days of the Dons: Reminiscences of CA's Oldest Native Son," edited by James H. Wilkins, printed in the San Francisco Bulletin, 25 April 1918, p. 18.

¹⁹ Faulkner, ed., "Mariana Torres Memoirs"; also Bancroft, History of CA III, p. 709.

The port captain permitted his Indian sailors and pilots to keep a temescal or sweathouse at the foot of the present Sacramento Street. After heating themselves in the traditional tule hut, they plunged into the nearby bay, which then fronted near the current Montgomery Street. This revived aboriginal custom is refreshing to note, especially in the context of a rapidly developing city and seaport.²⁰ Another native technology, also in active use, was the tule balsa. In the 1840s Sir George Simpson of the Hudson Bay Company arrived in San Francisco and made a rather startling observation. According to his narrative, the Indian tule canoe was the only non-commercial boat in use on the Bay! Did the local folk prefer the native craft, or were they just plain too lazy to design their own boats, as Simpson suggests? Regardless, the continued use of this Indian vessel, after some sixty years of European influence, deserves special note:

The good folk of San Francisco, priests as well as laymen, have been contented to borrow, for their aquatic excursions, the native balsa, a kind of raft or basket, which, when wanted, can be constructed in a few minutes with the bulrushes that spring so luxuriantly on the margins of the lakes and rivers. In this miserable makeshift they contrive to cross the inland waters, and perhaps, in very choice weather, to venture a little way out to sea, there being, I believe, no other floating thing besides, neither boat nor canoe, neither barge nor scow, in any part of the harbor, or, in fact, in any part of Upper California, from San Diego on the south to San Francisco on the north.²¹

The adobe custom-house at Portsmouth Square was built between

²⁰ Bancroft, *ibid.*; Eldredge, The Beginnings of SF, p. 514.

²¹ Simpson, Narrative of a Voyage, pp. 41-42.

1844 and 1845, the work being done mostly by Indians, while some of the construction materials were obtained from the Presidio.²² In the mid- to late 1840s ex-Mission Indians were employed at the Presidio as servants, and then as soldiers. Lorenzo, a Costanoan Indian from Santa Cruz Mission, relates in his personal narrative that he was so employed for four years, from 1845 until the American occupation.

I was employed at the Presidio by Jesus Noe, who was alcalde. . . . I worked about his house and milked the cows and did the chores. When Fremont came, I was made a soldier and served in the presidio with other Indians at San Francisco. . . . At the Presidio, Francisco Sanchez was our captain. . . . One day there came a man of war vessel . . . the vessel came to anchor, fired their guns, hoisted the American flag on top, and we knew then it was an American war vessel. What could we do? There were fourteen Indians of us, without firearms, shoes, or much clothing. . . . We said one to the other, "Now we shall be killed." We were made to stand to one side, and then we were laughed at, not having hats, shoes, nor firearms. They told us not to be afraid, we should have clothing and plenty to eat, and soon we had a grand feast. We got drunk, and then we were very brave. The next day came three more vessels, and thus was San Francisco taken by the Americans.²³

C. Secularization of the Mission Lands

In August 1833 the Mexican government passed a general secularization bill which was put into operation by Governor Figueroa's proclamation of August 9, 1834. Broadly defined, secularization involved the conversion of religious lands to civil ownership or use.

²²Eldredge, Beginnings of SF, p. 529.

²³"Personal Narrative of Lorenzo," reprinted in Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, p. 79.

Under the 1834 provisional regulations, the mission lands and half of the livestock and other property were to be distributed among the neophytes. What remained of the lands, after parcels had been given out to adult males and heads of families, along with the remainder of the livestock and other property, were to be placed under the care of major domos named by the governor.

On paper this process was relatively fair, as each of the missions were intended to become Indian pueblos. According to Fray Engelhardt, San Francisco de Asis and San Rafael were among the first to be "confiscated." In September, one month after Figueroa's proclamation, Jose Estudillo (San Francisco) and Ignacio Martinez (San Rafael) were appointed commissioners, in charge of their respective mission properties and neophytes. By May of the following year, a decree was issued to the neophytes of San Rafael and San Francisco. It declared that all mission Indians should return "within one month for the purpose of resuming their cultivations." After said period the abandoned lands would be forfeited to public use, a threat which was indeed realized a few months later. On October 28, 1845, Governor Pio Pico issued a proclamation ordering a sale by auction of both San Rafael and Dolores mission lands. The arrangements for the "Pueblo de Dolores" were obviously impractical, as only a handful of neophytes had survived or remained into the mid-1830s. At San Rafael, however, a population of some 500 Indians were estimated for 1834. These ex-neophytes petitioned for and received the Nicasio Rancho, which was collected into a common fund by General Vallejo in 1837, for

reason that the Indians "were not as a rule making good use of their liberty." The General promised to redistribute the lands when the conditions were more favorable, but in 1845 these Indian lands were regranted to Pablo de la Guerra and John Cooper by Governor Pio Pico. The United States Land Commission would eventually question the legitimacy of all of these Mexican land grants, but this would not occur, of course, until American occupation.²⁴

1. The Rancho Process

With the collapse of the Presidio and secularization of the missions, GGNRA and vicinity lands became available for private ownership. The 1834 Law of Colonization and its 1828 clarifying regulation were designed to encourage settlement in Mexican California by giving its governors the exclusive right to make rancho grants, each up to eleven leagues or nearly 50,000 acres.

The process began with a petition by an individual, addressed to the governor, asking for the title to a specific tract of land, described verbally and by means of a sketch map, called a diseño. A petitioner would cite his Mexican citizenship, his military or civil services to the nation, along with other evidence of his eligibility, and would point out that the land solicited was vacant and part of the public domain. Upon receipt of such a request, the

²⁴ John Adam Hussey, "Mision San Rafael," pp. 32-33; Hittel, History of CA II, pp. 380-381 (first quote); Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 236, 242; Bancroft, History of CA III, pp. 717-718 (second quote).

governor referred it to the local prefect to verify all statements of the petitioner. Response arrived in the form of a report, which usually formed the basis for his decision. If the report were favorable, the governor issued a decree known as the concedo which gave the petitioner the legal right to begin the development of his or her new rancho. In due time the certificate of title would be prepared—a document which carried four conditions to be fulfilled by the grantee. Among them, the rights of the Indians or previous inhabitants were to be protected, and within one year the grantee was required to settle the land, as well as erect and occupy a permanent dwelling.²⁵

The only Spanish land grants within and around GGNRA were the tracts reserved for the Presidio and missions. Between 1835 and 1846 ranchos along the San Francisco peninsula and in Marin County were granted to Mexicans and naturalized citizens, leaving no "free" GGNRA sites on either side of the bay. José Antonio Galindo was the first grantee of current park lands on both sides of the Golden Gate (Rancho Laguna de la Merced and Rancho Sausalito), although both of his tracts were soon purchased or re-granted. Most of the San Francisco County ranchos were never used or occupied, although they existed quite legally on paper.

²⁵ Taken from Robert H. Becker's introduction in Diseños of California Ranchos, 1822-1846 (San Francisco: The Book Club of CA, 1964).

D. San Francisco County Ranchos

1. Rancho Laguna de la Merced

On August 15, 1835, José Antonio Galindo filed a petition for the Laguna de la Merced rancho. Galindo's request to Governor Castro stated that he was in need of a tract of land for the subsistence of his large family, which included his mother, three brothers, and two sisters. The Merced tract contained one and one half leagues of former Mission Dolores lands which were, according to the city council, "almost worthless." Francisco de Haro, alcalde at San Francisco, signed the council report and would later purchase this "almost worthless" tract. The land granted to Galindo on September 23, 1835, was approximately the tracts marked "Merced" and "De Haro" on Dwinelle's peninsula map. Rancho Laguna de la Merced included GGNRA's Ocean Beach from about Taraval Street, as well as the Fort Funston site. It included all lands surrounding Lake Merced, and extended south into San Mateo County.²⁶

While Galindo's application explained his urgent role as family supporter, the available records do not indicate whether he ever made permanent developments or raised cattle on the land. José Antonio was born and baptized at Mission Dolores in 1809, making him

²⁶ John W. Dwinelle, The Colonial History: The City of San Francisco (SF: Printed by Towne and Bacon, Book and Job Printers, 1867), pp. 56-7, 64-5, and Addenda No. 25, pp. 38 and 41; Robert G. Cowan, Ranchos of CA: A List of Spanish Concessions 1775-1822 and Mexican Grants 1822-1846 (Fresno, CA: Academy Library Guild, 1956).

26 years old at the time of his petition. His parents were Nicolas Galindo and Maria Ramona Sanchez, who had nine sons and daughters in addition to José. The original Merced grantee was married to Maria Teresa Higuera in 1836 and served as corporal of the San Francisco militia in 1837. According to Robert Cowan, Galindo sold his Merced rancho to Francisco de Haro in 1837, for "100 cows and \$25.00 in goods." Francisco de Haro died in 1848, leaving his rancho claim in the hands of his eldest daughter. Josefa de Haro and her husband Francisco Guerrero were claimants for 2,219 acres of the Merced Rancho, patented on September 10, 1872. After his rancho was conveyed to de Haro Galindo was accused of murdering his relative and fellow militia officer, José Peralta. According to Bancroft, the murder occurred in September of 1838. Galindo was arrested in February 1839, dying six years later at Santa Clara.²⁷

2. Punta de los Lobos Rancho

Joaquín Piña, a Mexican corporal and acting commandant of the Presidio, applied for a rancho at Point Lobos in 1845 but failed to receive a grant. Benito Diaz, a "locally prominent" Mexican who had served as receptor, an agente de policía, and collector of customs, received a grant of two leagues on the eve of the American takeover,

²⁷ Hubert H. Bancroft, CA Pioneer Register and Index, pp. 154, 179; and History of CA III, p. 705; Marie E. Northrop, Spanish-Mexican Families of Early CA: 1769-1850 (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1976), p. 138; Anna Coxie Toogood, "A Civil History, p. 85; also Cowan, *ibid.*

June 25, 1846. His Punta de los Lobos rancho claim included the ruined fort at Fort Point, the Presidio, and generally the region marked "Diaz" on Dwinelle's peninsula map. In GGNRA terms, this would have included Land's End, Phelan and Baker Beaches, as well as the Presidio, Fort Point, and Point Lobos. Diaz and his family were apparently living in Monterey when the Point Lobos grant came through. Benito worked at the local custom-house, where he met Thomas O. Larkin, a prominent merchant and real estate speculator. On September 19, 1846, Diaz sold and deeded the Rancho Punto de los Lobos to Larkin for \$1,000.00 in silver coin. In 1849 Larkin entered a partnership with Bethuel Phelps, a real estate developer. The two Americans visualized their property as a site for a town, but the U.S. Land Commission rejected their claim on the basis that Diaz's original grant was fraudulent. Despite the great plans for Punta de los Lobos, this Mexican rancho was never used or occupied.²⁸

3. Paraje del Arroyo

On May 13, 1846, Henry Fitch and Francisco Guerrero filed a petition "for a piece of land embracing an arroyo suitable for a mill which they proposed to erect." It was described as

that tract of land west of the settlement of Yerba Buena, lying along the sea-shore between the Laguna de Merced and the Presidio, and embracing the Laguna called Mountain Lake and the stream of water now commonly called Lobos Creek.²⁹

²⁸John L. Levinsohn, Cow Hollow, pp. 8, 10-11; Dwinelle, Colonial History, p. 80; Toogood, *ibid.*, p. 84; Bancroft, CA Pioneer Register, pp. 120, 288.

²⁹Dwinelle, *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

Francisco Guerrero y Polomares, a Mexican, was a somewhat prominent citizen of San Francisco. He was receptor and administrator of customs from 1839-1844, and was justice of the peace and alcalde from 1839-1941. Guerrero lived near the mission on a lot he purchased there in about 1836. Married to the eldest daughter of Francisco de Haro, Guerrero was described as a "kind hearted, genial man, of much intelligence and good character."³⁰

Situated along GGNRA's southwestern boundaries at the Presidio, the Paraje del Arroyo grant appears to have been part of the Punta de Los Lobos claim. Dwinelle's peninsula map is a bit deceiving, as the "Guerrero" grant did not technically include Point Lobos or Land's End. Nevertheless, Guerrero's "one half of a sitio" tract was on the edge of the Presidio, an area which Diaz claimed in his June 1846 grant. Fitch and Guerrero were granted their piece of land on July 24, 1846, one month after the Point Lobos grant had been confirmed. Neither rancho grant was ever used or occupied. Any boundary conflicts would be subject to the U.S. courts, who eventually designated both tracts as part of the "Outside Lands," which reverted their ownership to the city and county of San Francisco.³¹

³⁰ Bancroft, Pioneer Register, p. 174; also Eldredge, The Beginnings of SF, p. 534.

³¹ Commission to enquire into City property, Report on the Condition of the Real Estate within the Limits of the City of SF (San Francisco: Office of the Evening Picayune, 1851), p. 47; Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 114.

4. Ojo de Figueroa

On November 16, 1833, Apolonario Miranda, a corporal of the company of the Presidio of San Francisco, petitioned Francisco Sanchez, his commanding officer, for the 100-vara lot known as "Ojo de Figueroa."³²

This piece of land was located along GGNRA's southeastern Presidio boundary, between Vallejo and Green. Miranda and his wife Juana Briones lived here during the 1830s. They built an adobe on their Presidio grant, along with a corral and orchard. Occupancy of the Miranda property may have ceased by the 1840s, as Juana Briones built an adobe in the North Beach region about 1836. Juana was the daughter of Don Marcus Briones and the sister of Gregorio Briones, who would soon receive a grant to the Rancho los Baulines in Marin County.³³

E. San Francisco Bay Mexican Land Grants

1. La Isla de los Angeles

Mexican Antonio Maria Osio received a grant for the 800-acre island on June 11, 1839. He took possession immediately by landing cattle and several horses with the assistance of William Richardson. Although Osio and his family returned to Mexico in the mid-1840s,

³²Levinsohn, Cow Hollow (1976), p. 15; Eldredge (Beginnings of SF, 1912) and Dwinelle (Colonial History, 1867) state that the petition and grant were not made until 1838.

³³Levinsohn, *ibid.*, pp. 15-16; Pepper, Bolinas, p. 89.

Indian servants and vaqueros built a few small houses, fences, and a reservoir. They also tended the cattle, horses, and vegetable crops which were planted on the north end of the island, near Raccoon Straits. The claimant never really lived on the island, but his title to the land was known and recognized, the cattle upon it marked with his brand. The only man who ever lived on the Angel Island rancho, according to Osio and Richardson, was the mayor domo or caretaker. By 1846, the cattle on the island had increased to some 500 head. Under the American rule Osio experienced some problems with his rancho claim. U.S. troops in San Francisco slaughtered some of his cattle, while other local residents, according to Richardson, "began robbing the cattle." In November 1850, President Fillmore declared Angel Island a military reserve. Perhaps prompted by these actions, Osio sold out his two bay area ranchos, Point Reyes in 1852 and Angel Island in 1853. Osio had filed his claim to the island on February 2, 1852, and the District Court validated his title on September 10, 1855.³⁴

2. La Isla de los Alcatrazes

Although this coastal island was never granted to a Mexican, it was, for a brief period, one of the San Francisco Bay rancho grants. On April 30, 1846, Julian Workman, a naturalized citizen, petitioner Governor Pio Pico for a grant to Alcatraz. The current

³⁴ William A. Richardson, Testimonies in Private Land Grant

GGNRA site was described as having "never been inhabited by any person, nor used for any purpose." On June 8, Workman received his grant to the small island, with the condition that he erect a navigation light "as soon as possible." Workman never established this lighthouse, as his claim was almost immediately conveyed to his son-in-law, Francis P. Temple. The U.S. Federal Government was soon confirmed as the rightful owner--a claim which remains today.³⁵

3. Yerba Buena

Although this bay island is not within GGNRA's legislated boundaries, it is significant as a Mexican rancho grant and Indian occupation site. On July 20, 1838, the Mexican government passed a law which authorized the governor to grant coastal islands to Mexican citizens. The government was fearful that foreigners might occupy some of these islands, but as a result Angel Island, Alcatraz and Yerba Buena were soon granted to Mexicans or naturalized citizens.³⁶

Yerba Buena Island was granted to Juan Castro, a Presidio militiaman, in 1838. According to the testimony of William A. Richardson, Castro occupied the island in 1839, along with a group

Cases of CA (J. N. Bowman, 1941), pp. 79-80; Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, pp. 190-191; Toogood, "A Civil History, pp. 111-112; see MCHS' "Land Grants and Brands" for an illustration of Osio's cattle brand (this chart and map is available at Marin County Historical Society).

³⁵Erwin N. Thompson, The Rock: A History of Alcatraz Island (Denver, Col.: DSC of the National Park Service, 1979), pp. 6-9.

³⁶Thompson, *ibid.*, p. 6.

of Indian laborers. Castro's Indians were employed in "cutting wood and burning charcoal." The Mexican apparently built a small house on the island, which "was occupied by the Indians in his employment." Richardson offers no additional information in his testimony, but concludes that "whenever [he] saw the island, Castro had Indians on it."³⁷

F. San Francisco, 1834-1847: The Indian,
Spanish, and Mexican Element

Indian and Hispanic peoples played a major role in the developing city after secularization and before American occupation. Native Californians contributed their skills as builders, sailors, and pilots. They served as general laborers in and around the current GGNRA while the growing settlement benefitted from their inexpensive and ready labor. The Hispanic residents maintained control of the region by petitioning for and receiving rancho grants and town lots. By the 1840s a number of foreign immigrants had settled in the area, although the environment was still described as a desolate wasteland.

Before William Richardson established himself as Yerba Buena's "first" resident, the town and future city site was described as "a mere waste . . . overgrown with bushes, chaparral and a few scrubby oak trees." According to one historian, "there were no human

³⁷ Richardson, Testimonies, p. 123; Bancroft, CA Pioneer Register, p. 93.

inhabitants, except now and then a few strolling Indians."³⁸

In 1842, a full census of the jurisdiction of San Francisco revealed only 196 inhabitants, 37 of whom were Indians. All of these Indians were ex-neophytes, with the exception of one boy, Carlos, who seems to have been an unconverted Indian from Sacramento. The list of native Americans indicates that all were domestic servants, except for three who were classified as laborers. These neophytes had no surnames, and all seem to have been named for the various saints in the calendar of the Roman Catholic Church.³⁹ When visitador-general Hartnell visited San Francisco de Asis in 1840 he observed only 9 to 10 men capable of labor. Outside of the mission, ex-neophytes were reportedly employed "in the service of private persons, and many of them against their will."⁴⁰ In respect to this information, Hartnell's report and the 1842 statistics are agreed. As to his obvious suggestion that the Indians were held as slaves, historian Theodore Hittel asserts that the Mexican government only "contemplated" issuing licenses for Indian servitude.⁴¹

In 1845 the population of the Yerba Buena settlement was estimated at about 125, most of this number being foreigners. According to one account, "the foreign influence was so predominant that

³⁸ Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 300.

³⁹ See Dwinelle, Colonial History, pp. 71 and 78.

⁴⁰ Hittel, History of California II, p. 303.

⁴¹ Ibid.

the Mexican element at Dolores became jealous and prejudiced against Yerba Buena."⁴² Within San Francisco proper there were about 200 gente de raizon, with 100 Indians and Hawaiian Kanakas at Yerba Buena and Dolores. The ex-neophytes still living probably numbered fifty, who were scattered.⁴³ Charles Lauff claimed that "in the fall of 1847 the place [San Francisco] had a population of about 350, made up of Mexicans, Spaniards, Russians, Irish, and Indians." The neophytes, according to Lauff, had "wandered away from the old missions and made a living fishing and hunting and doing chores for the officers and soldiers at the Presidio."⁴⁴

At least one Hispanic resident at this time lived near the present GGNRA, excepting those remaining officers and their families at the Presidio. Doña Juana Briones de Miranda built a large adobe house in the North Beach area, circa 1836, in the vicinity of Powell and Filbert--about one half of a mile from GGNRA's Haslett Warehouse and Aquatic Park. For years her Russian Hill adobe was the only house between Yerba Buena and the Presidio. The doña had a small farm with which she supplied milk and eggs to the ships. She was noted in several accounts for her generous kindness to sick and deserting sailors:

⁴² Lewis Publishing Company, The Bay of SF: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and its Suburban Cities, vol. 1 (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892), pp. 200-201.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Charles Lauff, "Reminiscences," pp. 26-27.

There were no doctors and practically no provisions for sick in the colony, but Dona Juana's deft hands brought solace and relief to those in pain and she was ever ready to give of her skill.⁴⁵

According to Gertrude Atherton, Juana had "a big white-washed sala and gave many a fandango, to which all were invited, irrespective of nationality." One American sailor who visited her adobe in the 1840s claims that they

struck up quite a friendship. She always welcomed me with a polite good-morning and a drink of fresh milk. If the men had had some of the energy of that buxom, dark-faced lady, California would have been a prosperous state, even before it was annexed to this country, and we would have had to fight harder than we did to get possession.⁴⁶

This, then, was the extent of Indian and Hispanic involvement before American occupation. In 1848 gold was discovered in the foothills of the Sierra Nevada and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. San Francisco, Marin County, and the entire state of California were now officially ceded to the United States. With a new governing body and the unprecedented population boost brought about by the Gold Rush, the city of San Francisco would never be the same.

G. Marin County Rancho Grants

In 1834 the first Mexican rancho granted in today's Marin County went to Juan Reed, an Irishman by birth and a naturalized

⁴⁵Pepper, Bolinas, p. 29.

⁴⁶Atherton, CA: An Intimate History (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927), p. 135; quote taken from Eldredge, Beginnings of SF, pp. 524-525. Juana Briones de Miranda was the sister of Gregorio Briones and wife of Apolinario Miranda, who apparently did not live with her at this time.

Mexican citizen. Twenty other applicants received the remaining land in Marin County before the American takeover in 1846. Six of these rancho grants lay within the existing or projected boundaries of Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

1. Rancho Sausalito

The first applicant for this large and well-situated rancho was Juan Reed, in 1827. As it was still several years before secularization, the parcel was held as government property and refused Reed. In 1835 José Antonio Galindo applied for this rancho along with Laguna de la Merced. Governor Juan Bautista Alvarado granted Galindo three square leagues on February 11, 1835. For reasons unknown, the Sausalito Rancho was re-granted to William A. Richardson, who assumed ownership to nearly 20,000 acres in 1836. Richardson's rancho boundaries commenced at Point Bonita, extending north along the Pacific shoreline to the site of GGNRA's Stinson Beach Park. From here the boundaries traveled northeast to Mount Tamalpais, then southeast through Mill Valley to the head of Richardson Bay and finally San Francisco Bay. For GGNRA this would have included at least two thirds of currently managed park lands, namely the Marin headlands, Tennessee Valley, Muir and Stinson Beaches, as well as Muir Woods National Monument.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 192; Myrtle Garrison, Romance and History of California Ranchos (San Francisco: Harr Wagner Publishing Co., 1935), p. 147; Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 66.

With its rolling countryside and splendid view of the Golden Gate, Sausalito was easily "one of the most beautifully located ranchos in the territory." Its protected anchorage had become popular in the early 1830s with American and British whalers. Known as "El Puerto de los Balleneros" or Whaler's Harbor, the anchorage and adjacent mainland offered ships excellent spring water, a ready supply of beef, and a ferry service to the abundant wood supply on Angel Island.⁴⁸

a. William Richardson. William Richardson was English, although he spoke Spanish fluently and adopted the name "Guillermo Antonio" when he became a naturalized citizen. Arriving in San Francisco in 1822 aboard the British whaler Orion, Richardson envisioned his opportunities in the frontier settlement and requested permission to stay. The young blue-eyed and "clipper-built" Richardson lived at the Presidio, where he soon fell in love with the commandant's eldest daughter, Maria Antonio Martinez. "Renowned alike for her wit and powers of conversation," Maria was "the kind of a woman to make any man crazy at first sight."⁴⁹ Richardson adopted the Catholic faith and married his Mexican born señorita on May 15, 1825. Held at Mission Dolores, "the wedding was attended by all the Spanish families up and down the peninsula and, of course, there were the usual festivities for a week."⁵⁰ The Richardsons lived at Yerba Buena

⁴⁸Quote from Garrison, *ibid*; also Toogood, *ibid*, p. 32.

⁴⁹Steve Richardson, "The Days of the Dons," Chapter I; The SF Bulletin, 22 April 1918.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 23 April 1918.

until the late 1830s, when they made their move to Rancho Sausalito. Here the couple and their two children maintained a traditional rancho lifestyle, which will be described later.

The British captain's significance to this particular study lies not only in his marriage and rancho grant, but also in his extensive involvement with pre- and post-secularization Indians. In 1829 Richardson vaccinated the bay area Indians for smallpox, and later taught carpentry and caulking to the Indians at Dolores, as well as obtaining their employment in his various bay area endeavors. William Heath Davis, who observed Richardson and his pilot crew, noted that the Indians "would do anything to serve and please the captain. He was kind to them and they loved him."⁵¹

2. Rancho Tomales y Baulines

In July 1835, Rafael Garcia petitioned for a grant of two leagues in the "Canada de Baulenes," which he received on March 19, 1836. Garcia's grant of two square leagues or about 8,877 acres was called by the grantee "Tomales y Bolinas," although it did not comprise, at that time, the 23,000 acre grant which is seen on most Marin County Rancho maps. According to three sources, one Bethuel Phelps claimed a sizable portion of the Tomales y Bolinas rancho in 1866. Patents were issued for both of these claims: Garcia's for 9,467 acres in 1883 and Phelps' for 13,644 acres in 1866. James R.

⁵¹Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 70, 73.

Berry was possibly granted the Phelps portion along with Punta de los Reyes in March 1836, the same month and year that Garcia received his rancho.⁵²

To complicate these boundary matters, Garcia's original grant included part of the soon to exist Rancho Las Baulines. Don Rafael's first Marin County home, after the secularization of Mission San Rafael, was somewhere in the vicinity of Bolinas Bay. To accommodate his brother-in-law, Gregorio Briones, Garcia moved his rancho headquarters north to a site near today's Olema, while the Briones family eventually took up residency near Bolinas. The Baulines rancho was officially granted to Briones in 1846, although a correction deed filed with the Marin County Recorder in 1843 made formal recognition of this property transfer.⁵³

The initially uncertain boundaries of Rancho Tomales y Baulines led in later years to a boundary conflict involving Garcia and his Point Reyes neighbors, Richard Berry and Antonio Osio. For reasons touched on above, a definite description of Garcia's rancho grant before American occupation is impossible. As far as GGNRA is concerned, Tomales y Bolinas included most of Olema Valley west of

⁵²Ibid., p. 50; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 192; Marin County Historical Society, "Land Grants and Brands," a map and chart; Hoover and Rensch, Historic Spots in CA, 3rd rev. ed by William N. Abeloe (Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 183; Paul W. Gates, ed., CA Ranchos and Farms, 1846-1862 (Stevens Point, Wisc.: Worzalla Publishing Co., 1967), p. 207.

⁵³Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 50; Bliss Brown, "Rancho Los Baulines," Feb. 10, 1937, p. 1, in "Marin County, Mexican Land Grant," WPA Project, typescript, Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, CA.

Lagunitas Creek and east of Olema Creek. Garcia's ownership of this specific region was confirmed in October 1865 on the Surveyor General's plat of Rancho Tomales y Baulines.⁵⁴

a. Rafael and Loreta Garcia. Rafael Garcia was born at the San Diego Presidio about 1790. He joined the Mexican Army at an early age and married Señorita Maria Loreta Altimirano about 1810. According to Juan Garcia, one of his five sons, Rafael arrived in Marin County a short time before Christmas, in 1817. Garcia was sent to San Rafael by Don Luis Argüello, the commandant of the San Francisco Presidio. Corporal Garcia was evidently in charge of the building of the San Rafael asistencia, which was formally founded on December 14, 1817. The Mexican corporal was a member of the San Francisco Company from 1823-1833, although records show that he was stationed at the mission again in 1824, where he commanded an escolta, or garrison of three to four soldiers.⁵⁵ During this appointment, Garcia led what ex-Governor Alvarado termed "a gallant defense" against an unconverted tribelet of northern Marin Indians. When this group of angered natives descended upon the mission, Garcia reportedly embarked his wife and children upon a tule balsa, which eventually landed safely near the Presidio. In the meantime Garcia "made a stubborn fight and repulsed the assailants."⁵⁶ Garcia's dealings with mission

⁵⁴Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 50, 54.

⁵⁵Sunset Books, CA Missions, p. 297; Juan Garcia, "Interview," San Rafael Independent, 14 August 1917, pp. 203, from MCHS' typescript; Bancroft, History of CA III, p. 753.

⁵⁶A letter dated January 5, 1874 from ex-Governor Juan B.

Indians were probably fair, although he "evidently bore ill feelings towards the non-converted Indians who lived north of the Mexican settlements." In 1845 he and Antonio Castro rode north to the vicinity of Fort Ross, where they and a band of supporters apparently committed outrages on the local Indians.⁵⁷ Garcia left Mission San Rafael in 1834 to settle on the western shore near Bolinas Bay. Sometime in 1837 he moved his family, servants and livestock into Olema Valley, where he established what would become a prosperous hacienda.⁵⁸

3. Rancho Las Baulenes

As mentioned earlier, the tract of land known as Rancho Las Baulenes was first inhabited and probably partially granted to Rafael Garcia in the mid-1830s. He disposed of this portion in 1837, at which time his brother-in-law's son, Pablo Briones, took charge of the rancho and erected the necessary buildings. The following year Ramona Briones, Gregorio's wife and Rafael Garcia's sister, moved her other children to Bolinas, while Gregorio stayed behind to complete his term as alcalde of San Mateo. Rancho Las Baulenes was not officially known as such until February 11, 1846, when

Alvarado, describing Garcia's heroism at Mission San Rafael during a raid by hostile Indians, is quoted in Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 276-77.

⁵⁷Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 56.

⁵⁸Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 112; W. A. Richardson, Testimonies, p. 30.

Gregorio Briones received title to two leagues of land, or about 8,900 acres. The Baulenes Rancho bordered Bolinas Bay on the north, east, and west. It included the mesa lands of the Bolinas peninsula and the forested hillside of Bolinas ridge. In GGNRA terms this would have comprised the southern end of Olema Valley through to the Mt. Tamalpais State Park, including Stinson Beach. Audubon Canyon Ranch and Wildlife Sanctuary is centrally located in this eastern portion, although it is not part of GGNRA.⁵⁹

a. Gregorio and Ramona Briones. Gregorio Briones and his wife, Ramona Garcia de Briones, were born in California: Gregorio in Monterey (1797) and Ramona in San Diego (1803). Gregorio's father was Marcus Briones, a member of the 1776 Moraga expedition and one of the first settlers of San Francisco. Young Gregorio and his sister Juana, who eventually moved to the North Beach area, probably spent some time at their father's adobe, which was built near the legendary "El Polin" spring. Gregorio enlisted in the Spanish Army in 1816, serving as a soldier of the San Francisco Company until 1827. He married Corporal Garcia's sister in 1822, his bride Ramona being only nineteen years old at the time of the wedding. The ceremony took place on February 11th at Mission Dolores, and was followed by the usual festivities. Gregorio, Ramona, and their rapidly increasing family moved to Rancho Baulines in the late 1830s. After retiring as a soldier in 1827, Gregorio continued his public service

⁵⁹ Bliss Brown, "Rancho Las Baulines," pp. 1-2; Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 50.

as alcalde of Contra Costa in 1835, registrar of San Francisco in 1836, alcalde of San Mateo in 1838, and sheriff of San Rafael in 1846, the same year he officially received his rancho grant. By this time the Briones family was well settled in their adobe and wood palizada which, with their liberal hospitality, were typical of the rancho lifestyle.⁶⁰

4. Punta de los Reyes and Punto
de los Reyes Sobrante

Together these Mexican ranchos comprised what is now Point Reyes National Seashore, and within GGNRA's projected boundaries. Bethuel Phelps was claimant for eight leagues of Punta de los Reyes, although it was granted in March 1836 to James Richard Berry. Berry, "an Irish gentleman of many accomplishments," immediately occupied the area by constructing a palizada, or home built of wood and thatch. This small structure was located on the west bank of Olema Creek, just north of the present Olema Cemetery. In 1838 Berry sold two leagues of his 35,500 acre rancho to Joseph E. Snook, another naturalized Mexican citizen. Captain Snook, a master of trading vessels, paid Garcia twelve dollars a month to keep some 56 head of cattle on his newly purchased property. As soon as Snook received title to his leagues at Point Reyes, he traded the property to Antonio Maria Osio, for land in southern California. That same year, 1839, Osio received

⁶⁰ Bliss Brown, "Rancho Las Baulines," pp. 3-4; Northrop, Spanish-Mexican Families of Early CA, p. 76; Rose Briones, interviewed by Carla Ehat and Ann Kent, 29 July 1977, transcribed by Marjorie Hoffman, typescript available at Marin County Free Library, San Rafael, CA.

his grant to Angel Island.

Living in Monterey with his family, Osio was administrator of the custom-house and a respected Mexican citizen. Not satisfied with his two leagues at Point Reyes, Osio petitioned in 1840 for the "remainder" of the peninsula, or sobrante. On November 30, 1843, Governor Micheltorena granted Osio the eleven leagues of Punta de los Reyes Sobrante. Osio and family moved to Point Reyes in 1843, although his several political positions 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. The versatile Osio was described by Bancroft as "a man of fair ability and education, and of excellent reputation for honesty," although politically "too cautious and timid." The Rancho Punta de los Reyes Sobrante and the two league section of Punta de los Reyes were occupied only briefly by the Osios, who were the only Hispanic owners of this vast coastal rancho. In 1846 Osio took his wife and five children to Hawaii, presumably to avoid the troubles caused after the American takeover. By 1848 the Osios had returned to Mexico, leaving their rancho in the hands of "Pakito," a Mexican mayor-domo, who occupied the land until it was sold to Andres Randall in 1852.⁶¹

⁶¹ Munro-Fraser, Marin County History, pp. 194, 302; National Register Inventory--Nomination Form for "Olema Valley Ranches Historic District," compiled for NPS by James Delgado and Rojer Kelly, 1978, description sheet; Robert H. Becker, "Historical Survey of

Little documentation exists for Osio's brief occupation of Point Reyes. In 1846 John Warren Revere, an American lieutenant at Sonoma, visited what may have been Osio's abandoned hacienda. A member of a hunting party, Revere camped one night at "what was called a rancho," although it was "nothing but a broken down corral." En route to the rancho the group passed "a herd of cattle so little civilized that the very antelopes were grazing amongst them."⁶² Under Hispanic influence Punta de los Reyes remained in its wild and natural state. After American infiltration, the grasslands of Point Reyes would develop into one of the largest west coast dairy industries.

5. Rancho Tamalpais

Hilaria Sanchez, the youngest daughter of San Francisco commandant José Antonio Sanchez, was granted this two-league rancho in November 1845. She was born at the Presidio in 1817, where she presumably grew up with her seven brothers and sisters. Hilaria's father was a native of Sinaloa, Mexico, and a member of one of the first Hispanic families to come to California. José Antonio joined the Spanish Army in 1791, serving at first as a soldado de cuera at the San Francisco Presidio. He was eventually promoted to commandant, an

Point Reyes," Land Use Survey, Proposed Point Reyes National Seashore (Region Four Office, NPS, Feb. 1961), p. 42; quote and other information on Osio taken from Bancroft, CA Pioneer Register, p. 270.

⁶²J. W. Revere, Naval Duty in California (Oakland, CA: Bio-books, 1947), p. 67.

office he held from 1829-1833, retiring shortly thereafter. Famous for his skill as an Indian fighter, Sanchez was described as "a good man, of known honesty and valor."⁶³

In 1836 Hilaria married Juan Reed, an Irishman by birth and a naturalized Mexican citizen. Two years before their marriage, Reed received a grant to the rancho "Corte de Madera del Presidio," which translates as "the place where wood is [and was] cut for the Presidio." This rancho comprised the entire Tiburon peninsula, just east of Richardson's Rancho Sausalito and separated from Osio's Angel Island by the narrow Raccoon Straits. Here Reed erected Marin's first sawmill, with the assistance of "a lot of Indians" he had hired at Sutter's Fort. These Indians built a wood and adobe house for the Reed hacienda, and were employed for some time at the mill, whip-sawing boards for use in Yerba Buena as well as Marin County.⁶⁴

Hilaria's involvement with Rancho Tamalpais was minimal, as it was granted on the eve of American occupation and eventually rejected by the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners. No diseño or sketch map of this rancho has been found, although it covered on paper nearly 8,900 acres, and was probably located in the vicinity of Mt. Tamalpais. Hilaria had her own cattle brand, separate from her husband's, which formed the initials "HR." The rancho was probably occupied by a few head of cattle, as the Reeds and their

⁶³ Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 194, 386; quote and other information concerning José Sanchez, from Bancroft, History of CA V, p. 710.

⁶⁴ Munro-Fraser, ibid., also pp. 110, 385.

four children lived at Corte Madera del Presidio. According to Jack Mason, an established Marin County historian, Reed built a sawmill on the Tamalpais slope around 1835 or 1836. Constructed with the assistance of an all-Indian labor force, it was the first sawmill in Cascade Canyon. While information on Rancho Tamalpais is sketchy, it probably encompassed some of Mt. Tamalpais State Park, and may have included a portion of GGNRA's Muir Woods National Monument.⁶⁵

H. Marin County: Mexican Families and the Rancho Lifestyle

The legal history and background of rancho lands and their grantees is the beginning of a broader and more colorful history--that of the people and culture that created and formed the unique yet traditional way of life on Marin County Mexican ranchos. Of the six land grants just described, only three were maintained by Hispanic families for an extended period of time. Rancho Sausalito, run by William Richardson and his Mexican bride, Maria Martinez; Tomales y Baulines, owned and managed by Rafael and Loreta Garcia; and Rancho Baulines, occupied by Gregorio Briones and family. These large Mexican families owned equally vast parcels of land which lie, for the most part, within current GGNRA boundaries. For a brief decade before American occupation the Californios lived a hearty but unhurried life, full of amusements and few pressing responsibilities. The idyll ended

⁶⁵ See Marin County Historical Society's "Land Grants and Brands," a map and chart; Jack Mason, Early Marin, p. 15. Señora Sanchez filed her claim to Rancho Tamalpais on December 13, 1852; it was rejected by the Commission on September 26, 1854.

when Marin was hit with the great changes of 1848-1850. All three ranchos endured through the first years of American influence, although legal disputes, death, and the infiltration of greedy American settlers would lead to their dissolution by the late 19th century.

1. The Heyday of the California Rancheros

Available documentation, while scant, indicates that life on these southern Marin ranchos was typical or in keeping with life on other Mexican ranchos. Foreign visitors to California in the late 1830s and '40s frequently characterized the Mexican rancheros as indolent, pleasure-loving people--a stereotype which evolved from their peculiar mode of life.

The raising of cattle was the rancho's primary occupation and an endeavor which called for little labor. Cattle thrived on the Marin ranchos with limited attention, nevertheless providing the necessary tallow and hides upon which the local economy depended. The Marin rancheros did raise small patches of corn, beans, fruits, and grains, but there was little incentive for diversified farming until the Gold Rush population boom. Some home industries provided the families with leather, soap, oil, wool, salt, and other items of daily use, although most manufactured goods were supplied through trade with foreign ships. The few chores the rancho had were lightened by the plentitude of cheap Indian labor, which was easily procured after the secularization of the missions. As a result of this regime the rancho and his family were free to pursue their favorite amusements:

horse-racing, gambling, and dancing being a few of the popular pastimes.⁶⁶

The houses of the rancheros were built of sun-dried bricks or adobes and later whip-sawed planks. They were usually one-storied and rectangular in shape, the outside generally plastered and whitewashed. Floors were of hardened earth and the furnishings were equally primitive. The Mexican women took special pride in their bed linens and comforters, which were often intricately embroidered and edged with lace. While domestic amenities were lacking, familial hospitality was open and abundant.⁶⁷

Nearly every guest, friend or stranger, was welcome in the home of the California ranchero. The sparsity of the population and lack of inns or taverns encouraged this mutual hospitality, although the Californios did openly enjoy most social occasions, planned or impromptu. Theodore Hittel asserted that "a decent person might arrive at any hour of the day or night . . . and, though entirely unknown, he was sure of being well received and entertained without recompense."⁶⁸ Steven Richardson, the son of William and Maria, recalled that

entertaining in those days was wholesale, not retail. In order to avoid all feeling it was necessary for a hostess to invite practically the entire population between Sonoma and Monterey to any large entertainment.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 47-79.

⁶⁷Hittel, History of CA II, pp. 485-486; Mackey and Sooy, Early CA Costumes, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁸Hittel, *ibid.*, p. 486.

⁶⁹Richardson, "Days of the Dons," SF Bulletin, 29 April 1918.

Wine was plentiful at the various social gatherings, along with brandy and a form of cognac known as aguardiente. The latter liquor, according to Munro-Fraser, "was very agreeable, very volatile, and went like a flash to the brain."⁷⁰ The staple food for the rancho family was fresh beef, frijoles and tortillas. The frijoles or beans were invariably boiled and then fried with plenty of lard. Lard was obtained from the vast herds of elk in Marin, and was used as well to cook the thin cakes of meal known as tortillas. The wild elk and rancho stock furnished tallow for trade, another staple of sorts in that it brought the necessary capital to purchase other household items. Wealth on the rancho was measured by cattle, not by land. Hides were generally worth about \$2.00, the entire animal including tallow amounting to nearly \$4.00 after processing. Chocolate and sugar had to be imported, along with rice and tea. The Marin County rancheros reportedly traded wheat and salmon, in addition to the hides and tallow, for cotton cloths, velvet, silks, brandies, and wine. Fish, seafood and fowl were also consumed, but in small quantities. According to the 1800 History of Marin County,

milk and cheese, beef, mutton, vegetables, bread, tortillas, beans and fruit constituted the daily diet. Potatoes were unknown, but pinole (ground corn) was plentiful. Wild strawberries were numerous about the coast, and honey was procured from wild bees.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 48.

⁷¹ Cowan, Ranchos of CA, p. 5; for the typical daily menu on the rancho, see Markey and Sooy, Early CA Costumes, pp. 65-66; quote from Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 48.

As at the Presidio, families were few in number but large in themselves. Rafael and Loreta Garcia boasted eight sons and daughters, Gregorio and Ramona Briones had five muchachos, while one of their sons and heirs fathered a total of ten. As might be expected, many of the large families in Marin were related by marriage--a union which was celebrated for its religious as well as social implications. The Catholic ceremony took place at Mission San Rafael, and was followed by a round of feasting, drinking and dancing which frequently lasted several days to a week. For Maria Briones' wedding reception, a dance floor was constructed in the sala of the family hacienda. Built especially for this festive occasion, Maria's dance floor represented the first wood floor laid in Bolinas! Weddings were considered a chief social event, and the Californios thought nothing of traveling several miles on horseback to attend them.⁷²

Singing and dancing were passions with Californians of all ages. Most households owned a guitar and violin to accompany these evening amusements, which constituted a part of almost every social occasion. As one California historian stated, "there would scarcely be a social gathering without a fandango."⁷³ A fandango was a dance, although it generally involved some vocal and instrumental music on the side. These were no doubt quite jolly affairs, as suggested by the proper, formal usage of "fandango," which means, "disorder," or "topsy-turvy." Charles Wilkes attended one such fandango at Rancho Sausalito during his

⁷²See Munro-Fraser, *ibid.*, pp. 264-265, for details on the Briones wedding.

⁷³Hittel, History of CA II, p. 504.

American exploring expedition. "The Californians," he reported, "are always inclined for amusement, and dancing is their favorite pastime." Quadrilles and Spanish dances were popular at the fandango he attended, and despite the confining size of Sausalito hacienda, the evening was passed "with great hilarity."⁷⁴ Steven Richardson, who grew up on the Sausalito hacienda, recalled that the "fast and furious fun of the day began, say, an hour after dinner." The family harp, violin and guitars were tuned properly and dancing would begin. Richardson remembered several standard dances such as the waltz, polka and fox trot, although the most interesting were those requiring much skill and practice, such as la jota, la jarabe, and la son. Other popular Spanish dances were the borrego, the bamba, and the more dignified contradanza. Each day of a fiesta began with la jota, and "it was danced at any time, morning, noon or night." La jota involved several intricate dance steps and the singing of a popular folk song, the latter cherished by Richardson as "the most inspiring music [he] ever heard."⁷⁵

In addition to weddings and the almost daily fandangos, Mexican citizens and Hispanics celebrated their national independence day (September 16) and numerous church feast days and festivals. Christmas eve was celebrated with the customary exhibition of "Los Pastores" or the dramatic play of the Shepherds, following the solemn midnight mass.

⁷⁴ Wilkes, Narrative of the US Exploring Expedition, vol. V (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845), pp. 195-196; for translations, Edwin B. Williams, Spanish and English Dictionary (New York: Henry Holt, 1955), is recommended.

⁷⁵ Richardson, "Days of the Dons," SF Bulletin, 29 April 1918.

Easter was a day-time spectacle which included the hanging and burning of an image of Judas Iscariot, in addition to the religious mass and inevitable fandango.⁷⁶ Every Sunday was considered a festival or holiday, devoted to amusements after the morning mass. Charles Lauff of Bolinas recalled:

On Sundays it was a great diversion for the Spaniards to ride into San Rafael on their beautiful black horses, with silver mounted saddles and bridles, and encourage different sports and diversions. It was the day of the broncho rider and every Spaniard was a vaquero.⁷⁷

Rodeo-like gatherings were frequent, as the Californios loved to display their expert horsemanship and beautifully ornamented saddles. Cockfighting, gambling, and bull and bear baiting were occasionally a part of these male-dominated gatherings, although stunt riding and los carreras (horseracing) were the focal point. According to Hittel, "horseracing and card-playing were an integral part of every celebration and feast," and it was not uncommon for the men to make "such extravagant wagers as to impoverish themselves."⁷⁸ Lauff remembered that on Sunday "all the Spaniards from far and near would be in evidence, and they were ready to bet at the drop of a hat upon any old chance." The Frenchman described one favorite stunt which may have originated the expression "breakneck speed." Turkeys or chickens were placed in a row of holes so that only their heads projected above ground.

⁷⁶Hittell, History of CA II, pp. 499-502.

⁷⁷Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 81.

⁷⁸Hittell, History of CA II, pp. 497-498.

The stunt was to gallop past at a steady pace and yank the head off the unsuspecting fowl. Lauff claimed that "seldom, if ever, would these wiry Spaniards fail to pluck their prize."⁷⁹

Horses were more than a means of amusement; they represented the fastest and most available form of transportation and were an integral part of the *ranchero* lifestyle. To Richard Henry Dana, all Californians seemed to be centaurs; and Henry Augustus Wise, in 1849, noted that the paisanos passed "most of their existence on horseback."⁸⁰ Walking was indeed a lost art; horses were used for all travel by land, except during a funeral procession, when "mortuary etiquette absolutely forbade riding on horseback."⁸¹

While the men busied themselves with hunting, gambling, and stunts of horsemanship, the women were engaged during the day with household tasks such as cooking, washing, sewing, and embroidering. Male and female roles were clearly defined in Mexican California, although women were allowed certain legal rights, such as petitioning for and receiving rancho land grants. With the assistance of a large Indian labor force, women's work was not pure drudgery.

⁷⁹Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 81.

⁸⁰H. A. Wise, Los Gringos (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), p. 71; Bean, California, p. 71.

⁸¹Richardson, "Days of the Dons," Chapter 33, includes a description of Lt. Ignacio Martinez's funeral and discusses Californio beliefs and customs concerning this ceremony.

2. Indians on the California Ranchos

The rancho had the advantage of cheap and docile Indian labor, which he exploited in every imaginable task. The plentitude of this ideal work force contributed to the rancho's reluctance to work, or at least gave credence to his "lazy and indolent" stereotype. An anecdote related by Charles Wilkes during his Yerba Buena visit illustrates this phenomenon. According to the narrator, one Hispanic rancho had been known to dispense with his dinner, though the food was only a yard away, "because the Indian servant was not at hand to bring it to him."⁸² While this account represented an amusing exaggeration, Charles Lauff recalled that the rancho era in Marin typified "the early days of the barbeque, when the Indian killed the game and prepared the feast in the open."⁸³

After missions San Rafael and San Francisco were secularized, some neophytes managed to return to the wilderness, while others went into the service of private persons in Yerba Buena households or on Marin County ranchos. Original accounts and documents indicate that many of these servants and laborers were held as feudal serfs or even slaves. According to anthropologist S. A. Barrett, frequent raids were made on Indian rancherias for the purpose of capturing Indians to be used on haciendas as vaqueros, work-hands, or as household servants. This may have happened in southern Marin, as Barrett notes that "the

⁸² Charles Wilkes, Narrative, p. 176.

⁸³ Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 98.

raids of the early Mexican ranchers rarely if ever extended farther north than the villages in the region immediately north of San Francisco Bay."⁸⁴

Whatever their means of arrival, the Indians represented a significant appendage to the rancho family. Joseph Warren Revere, an American lieutenant stationed just north of Marin, noted that the rest of the rancher's family consisted of

vaqueros and servants, male and female, of Indian blood, who inhabit the rancheria or small Indian village, built of rush wigwams, near the house. The wages of the Indians are moderate, and are always paid in merchandise, a dollar in coin being sometimes thrown in on feast day.⁸⁵

The Indians employed on Mexican ranchos lived in their own separate but adjacent village, being supplied with the necessary food, clothing, and utensils in return for their daily labor. The rancho was "lord and master with full power of discipline," and the system operated not unlike a feudal establishment.⁸⁶ Indian laborers on the ranchos and in Yerba Buena households were rarely identified with a surname, although James Rawls, historian of the California Indians, reported that laborers on the ranches commonly took the name of the ranch owner as their own--or at least were so identified by other whites.⁸⁷

⁸⁴Barrett, "The Ethno-Geography of the Pomo and Neighboring Indians," UC Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, vol. 6, no. 1, 1908), p. 45.

⁸⁵Revere, Naval Duty in California, p. 78.

⁸⁶Sherburne F. Cook, The Conflict Between the CA Indian and White Civilization, p. 50.

⁸⁷James Jabus Rawls, "Images of the California Indians:

Documentation on the Indian servants and vaqueros at Sausalito, Baulines, and Tomales y Baulines is vague. Personal accounts frequently mention Indians so engaged, but they rarely delve any deeper than a brief reference or two. During the American period the Marin County Census offers little assistance. A schedule of purportedly "free inhabitants," the manuscript makes no reference to Indians until 1860, when large portions of all three ranchos were under new ownership or management. Nevertheless, each rancho employed Indians in the field and within the home--enough to manage the extensive herds of cattle, sheep, and horses and perform the daily chores of a large household, no doubt amounting to a significant number of Indians. After the '49 Gold Rush and subsequent infiltration of American settlers, Indians would find employment in non-rancho based industries like the Marin County dairies and lumber companies.

3. The Richardsons and Rancho Sausalito

Although William Richardson had constructed the largest house in Yerba Buena by 1838, an adobe called Casa Grande, he moved his wife and children over to Sausalito by 1840, probably to spend more time on the scenic lands of his rancho grant, which has been formally granted in 1838. In 1841 Richardson's household consisted of his wife Maria, two children, and one Indian servant. The family adobe overlooked what is

American Attitudes Toward the Indians of CA, 1800-1873," Dissertation, UC Berkeley, 1975, p. 179, bound typescript, Main Library, UC Berkeley.

now Richardson's Bay and was described by Lt. Wilkes as "an estancia, bordering on Sausalito Bay, prettily situated under a hill, with sufficient land for gardens, or rather fields, where vegetables are raised." Although the house was small and "rather poorly furnished," Wilkes consented that "the hospitality of the household was generous."⁸⁸

From his strategically located adobe Richardson supplied visiting ships with water and other necessary provisions, using his authority as port captain to override the 1832 edict requiring that all foreign ships purchase licenses before anchoring in a California port. The freedom from such legalities, along with the genuine hospitality at Sausalito, made Shelter Cove the recognized resort for visiting vessels.⁸⁹ The vast lands of Rancho Sausalito were used to graze Richardson's horses, sheep, and large herds of cattle, while the cultivated fields near the family adobe raised grain and several vegetables for domestic use as well as ships' provisions.⁹⁰ The vessels of the Wilkes expedition anchored off Sausalito for nearly three months, a period in which Richardson, as host, was complimented for being "very attentive and obliging in furnishing the ship with supplies."⁹¹ Despite the popularity of Sausalito harbor, the rancho remained in its wild and natural state under Richardson's control. In 1847 Lt. Henry

⁸⁸ Wilkes, Narrative, pp. 195-196.

⁸⁹ Toogood, "Civil History," pp. 74, 71.

⁹⁰ William Heath Davis' recollections as quoted in Toogood, p. 76.

⁹¹ Wilkes, Narrative, p. 253.

Wise described the ocean and GGNRA side of Rancho Sausalito.

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.⁹²

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."⁹³

As on all California ranchos, hospitality was open and abundant. Richardson frequently entertained his male guests with a day or two of hunting, and there was always the evening fandango or lavish, week-long fiesta. Stephen explained that his parents had numerous friends and acquaintances up and down the coast, and for a pre-arranged fiesta it was not uncommon "to have at the very least, a hundred smiling guests draw bridle at your door on the appointed day." These large and lengthy parties were supervised and carried out by the Indian domestic staff, whose "well trained workers never slipped a cog." Four times a day, as was the custom, the long tables "groaned under refreshments that would have tickled the appetite of an ascetic or anchorite."⁹⁴ Music and dancing characterized these gala events, along with the food itself. Charles Lauff, a Bolinas neighbor, enjoyed Christmas dinner of

⁹²Wise, Los Gringos, p. 77.

⁹³Richardson, as quoted in Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 78.

⁹⁴Richardson, "Days of the Dons," SF Bulletin, 29 April 1918. In the April 26 chapter, Stephen states that his parents had a daily average of a dozen guests or more.

1847 at Richardson's "comfortable home." Indian women served the holiday guests roasts of venison, elk, antelope, and bear, which were washed down with mission wine and described as "a feast fit for the gods." After dinner the family and guests, which included the adjacent rancho grantee Rafael Garcia, joined together for a round of Spanish and Irish songs, sung to the chords of the ever-present guitar. Mariana, Richardson's daughter, claimed that the family provided much of its own amusements, in particular music and dancing. "Our musical instruments were the violin and guitar," she reminisced, and "horse rancing was a favorite amusement, as was also bull fighting."⁹⁵

The Indian servants at Rancho Sausalito were described as versatile and well trained:

The Indian women dressed plainly and neatly, and made excellent servants. They took good care of the children, were fine cooks and very trustworthy. The carpets, commonly called serapes, were woven by the Indians. The Indian women worked the wool into strips, and the Indians made them into blankets. The women did excellent work with the needle, all the bed clothing being done by hand.⁹⁶

Charles Lauff described other Indian servants at the rancho who, among other responsibilities, saddled the horses for a hunt, accompanied and assisted the hunters during their expedition, and dressed and prepared the captured elk and deer meat.⁹⁷ Several former mission Indians could speak Spanish fluently, although Stephen claimed that "practically

⁹⁵Lauff, "Reminiscences," pp. 31-32; Torres, Memoirs, p. 5.

⁹⁶Torres, Memoirs, p. 4.

⁹⁷Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 31.

all the whites acquired the Indian language, as the Indian did nearly all the work of the country." Richardson's son stated that he learned "Indian" long before he could speak English, and could "hand out a line of Indian chatter as well as the biggest chief."⁹⁸ The local native language, according to this testimony, survived through the Spanish and Mexican periods and actually integrated, by necessity, into other cultures.

The Indian servants, vaqueros, hunters, and sailors no doubt outnumbered the relatively small nuclear family on Rancho Sausalito. Unlike traditionally large Hispanic households, Richardson and his wife Maria had only two children who grew to adulthood: their lovely daughter Mariana and her younger brother Stephen. While small, this Hispanic/English family was admired in several accounts for its charm and generous hospitality. Mrs. Richardson was described by one guest as "a model of grace and dignity," while Richardson was "a handsome man, above medium height, with an attractive face, winning manners, and a musical voice."⁹⁹ Lt. Henry Wise was impressed with the couple's daughter, who at the age of 23 was "tall, graceful and well shaped," and "as amiable as beautiful." According to Wise the youthful Mariana rode like an angel and with a rifle had the skill and aim of a marksman. These athletic abilities were equalled with feminine grace and

⁹⁸ Richardson, "Days of the Dons," SF Bulletin, 27 April 1918, p. 10.

⁹⁹ William Heath Davis, as quoted in Toogood, "Civil History," p. 78.

charm. In the words of her American admirer:

I never saw a more patrician style of beauty and native elegance in any clime where Castillian doñas bloom. She was brunette, with an oval face, magnificent dark grey eyes, with the corners of her mouth slightly curved downward, so as to give a proud and haughty expression to the face.¹⁰⁰

The Richardsons and their rancho fared relatively well during the first few years of American occupation. William Richardson's maritime and commercial enterprises prospered; with the sudden rush of immigrants following the discovery of gold in California in 1848, his investments in land and ships correspondingly increased. 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.

Richardson's daughter was not as pleased with the immediate changes under American occupation. The lovely señorita had been engaged to Ramon or "Chico" de Haro, one of the sons of Francisco de Haro, brief owner of Rancho Laguna de la Merced. Ramon and his twin brother Francisco were murdered by some of Fremont's men in June of 1846. After the death of her fiancé, Mariana reportedly "held the demonios Yankees in mortal abhorrence."¹⁰¹ Richardson's daughter eventually fell in love

¹⁰⁰Wise, Los Gringos, pp. 76-77. Mariana Richardson was born at the San Francisco presidio on April 9, 1826. At that time her grandfather, Ignacio Martinez, was in command of troops there. "Estaban" or Stephen was born on August 3, 1831, probably in Los Angeles, where the family moved until returning to Yerba Buena in 1835. A younger son, "Francisco," was also born to the Richardsons, but he died in 1847. Mason, Early Marin, p. 27.

¹⁰¹Quote taken from Wise, Los Gringos, p. 77; Pepper, Bolinas, p. 139; Bancroft, California III, P. 776.

with and married another Spanish-speaking gentleman: a native of Lima, Peru, a former general at Sonoma, and frequent guest at Rancho Sausalito. Manuel de la Torres and Mariana Richardson were married in 1852. William Richardson conveyed a parcel of Rancho Sausalito to the couple that year, possibly as a wedding present. Torres and his new father-in-law formed the "Torres-Richardson Sausalito Water Works," which supplied much of San Francisco's drinking water by way of steam scows.¹⁰²

Richardson's downfall and the subsequent loss of Rancho Sausalito occurred in the early 1850s. Fierce competition and the loss of three investment trading vessels, which sank with full cargoes, forced Richardson to mortgage his rancho for \$60,000 and even sell some of his breeding stock. The financial crash of the mid-1850s destroyed the last fragments of his business and, as son Stephen reminisced, "the tired old sea animal came ashore to die."¹⁰³ Taking the advice of his attorney, Volney E. Howard, Richardson signed a deal with Samuel R. Throckmorton, a shrewd San Francisco businessman and real estate broker. The agreement, probably made in 1854, deeded to Throckmorton almost all four and one half leagues of Rancho Sausalito, which he was responsible to manage as trustee of the estate. Richardson and his descendants would never again enjoy this vast acreage as their own,

¹⁰²Pepper, *ibid.*; Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 94; F. M. Angelotti, "Abstract of Title to Lot 'D' of the 'Sausalito' or Richardson Rancho," (Marin Co., CA: Tamalpais Land and Water Co., 1890).

¹⁰³Richardson, as quoted in Toogood, p. 106.

although Throckmorton agreed to gradually turn over portions of the rancho, debt free, until the land was eventually restored to the Richardson family. As early as 1855 Throckmorton began negotiations with the U.S. government over the Lime Point tract in South Sausalito, which the Army had expressed interest in as a possible military fortification site. Richardson died the following year, on April 20th, leaving his indebted estate to Maria, Mariana, and Stephen. The 1859 County Assessor's Roll Book shows that Manuel and Maria Torres maintained their small tract of land lying in the Sausalito township, containing 80 acres of land, livestock, and improvements valued at about \$3,000. Throckmorton claimed the greater remainder of Rancho Sausalito, some 19,000 acres valued at nearly \$60,000. The United States Government would purchase the Lime Point tract in 1866, but only after a bitter political feud and several unpleasant negotiations with Throckmorton, who confirmed his image as an unscrupulous business dealer. By 1860 Throckmorton had replaced most of the beef cattle with dairy cattle, and had leased out sections of the original Sausalito grant to tenant ranchers. Many Chilean and Portuguese laborers would find work on these ranches, although the rancho itself had lost its Hispanic traditions and was well on its way to becoming an integral part of Marin County's growing dairy enterprise.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴See Toogood, pp. 106-110 and Kinnaird, pp. 216-227, for details on the Throckmorton-Richardson deal and Lime Point affair. The 1859 Assessment Roll for the County of Marin is available in hard copy at MCHS, San Rafael. U.S. Census 1860, California, Sausalito Township, lists several Chilean and Portuguese laborers, many of whom operated their own dairy companies by 1880 (see Toogood, p. 247).

4. The Garcias and Rancho
Tomaes y Baulenes

Rafael and Loreta Garcia moved their family, servants, and livestock into the Olema Valley around 1837. They had vacated their Bolinas hacienda for Rafael's sister and brother-in-law, Ramona and Gregorio Briones. The Garcias were no doubt relocating on lands claimed by James Berry in his Punta de los Reyes grant, although the Olema Valley portion was confirmed to Garcia as early as 1853.¹⁰⁵ The Garcia's would eventually boast a family of eight, five sons and three daughters, although at the time of their Olema settlement only three to four children had been born. Their first dwellings were palizadas of wood and thatch, erected in 1837 by Garcia and his Indian assistants. A timber house was observed by John Marsh in 1838, who indicated that the site was near the family's later adobe, which was northwest of present-day Olema, within Point Reyes National Seashore. More permanent adobe structures were constructed in 1839, including a large adobe house for the use of the immediate family and their guests. According to the 1880 History of Marin County, "the work was done by Indians, and an Indian was foreman and had full charge of the work." Not far from the Bear Valley Ranch and current National Park Service headquarters, the Garcia hacienda included two adobe buildings for the Indian servants, several wood frame outbuildings, and two livestock

¹⁰⁵ Rafael Garcia, Tomaes y Bolinas, "Decree of Confirmation," filed November 22, 1853, from Cavalli family collection.

corrals.¹⁰⁶

Before American occupation, the García household included Rafael and Loreta, their eldest daughter Dolores, sons Juan, Jose, Felix, and possibly daughters Maria Helesier and Maria Guadalupe. Felipe and Thomas, the youngest sons, were probably born in the early 1850s.¹⁰⁷ Little descriptive data has been found for the early days on Rancho Tomales y Baulenes. Juan Garcia was interviewed in the early 20th century by a San Rafael reporter, although most of his published memoirs are directed toward the Spanish period. Juan recalled that his father gave barbeques "on numerous occasions," and was well acquainted with William Richardson, his neighbor to the south.¹⁰⁸ Don Rafael spent Christmas of 1847 at Richardson's Sausalito hacienda, where he revealed his love for music by playing the guitar and singing Spanish melodies. Richardson could speak Spanish fluently, although the Mexican ex-corporal could neither read nor write English, an ignorance which hurt him under American rule.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Jacob N. Bowman and George Hendry, "Spanish and Mexican Buildings in the Nine Bay Area Counties," typescript, 1943, pp. 124-126, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 277-278; National Register Nomination Form, "Olema Valley Ranches Historic District," pp. 1-2 of description sheet.

¹⁰⁷ Genealogy file for Garcia family, MCHS, taken from probate papers in the Marin County Recorder's Office, Book G, p. 98. Munro-Fraser (p. 278) states that eight children grew to adulthood, although only seven survived to be heirs in 1868: Felipe, Maria H., Thomas, Felix, Juan, Dolores, and Jose. Felipe and Thomas are not shown in the U.S. Census for 1850, but appear in the schedule for 1860.

¹⁰⁸ Juan Garcia, "Interview," pp. 3-4.

¹⁰⁹ Jack Mason, Point Reyes, The Solemn Land (Inverness, CA: North Shore Books), 2nd ed., 1972, pp. 40-41.

Lt. Joseph Warren Revere visited Garcia's hacienda in 1847, where he and a few of his men were treated to an elk hunt and the usual rancho hospitalities. After spending the night at Garcia's adobe the men were given fresh horses and joined by several rancheros for the hunt. The Californio hunters carried no firearms, only a rope or riata, "the unfailing companion of all rancheros." In Point Reyes the hunters caught sight of "not less than four hundred head of superb fat animals," six of which the rancheros brought down and killed with a luna and Revere's shotgun. A group of Indians appeared to assist in preparing the elk for dinner, and were "officially assiduous in cooking the meat." After the feast the Indians demonstrated their love of gambling by "stuffing, wrangling and gambling with jackstraws all night long," keeping the frustrated Revere awake for hours.¹¹⁰

The Garcia family employed several Indian servants, most probably former neophytes of Mission San Rafael, who managed Tomales y Baulenes' extensive herds and sizable hacienda. According to Munro-Fraser, Don Rafael owned some 400 branded horses, 3,000 head of cattle, extensive flocks of sheep, and a number of swine.¹¹¹ A bullock was slaughtered daily to feed the Garcias and their Indian retainers, who were accordingly treated "with humane considerations."¹¹² These native laborers lived in the two adjacent adobes and provided the daily task

¹¹⁰ Revere, Naval Duty, pp. 67-68; a luna was a crescent-shaped stone used for hamstringing the elk.

¹¹¹ Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 277.

¹¹² Pepper, Bolinas, p. 122.

force required for a self-sufficient rancho. Trained at the mission, the servants could wash, card, spin and weave wool into cloth; tan hides and make boots and shoes from the leather; as well as farm, ranch, and prepare food for the ranchero and his family. Juan Garcia claimed that the Indians were "expert farmers and understood pruning and raising fruit, grain, berries, and vegetables."¹¹³ With the help of a large Indian labor force, the Garcias and Tomales y Baulenes prospered.¹¹⁴

Munro-Fraser paints a rather syrupy image of life on Tomales y Baulenes during the "olden and balmy days" of the Mexican regime. While probably not a "Utopian's dream," Garcia's hacienda lifestyle was characterized by much play and little work, frequent feasts and fandangos, and the traditional shows of horsemanship. The attitude influencing these festive events was a genuine love of life and amusements, coupled with good-hearted Hispanic hospitality. Of the Garcias and Richardsons, Charles Lauff reminisced:

They were as generous and open hearted as the song birds of the forest. . . . Sociability and kindness went hand in hand, and they were never more contented than when they were showering some favor upon you.¹¹⁵

Several documents produced during the American period provide a

¹¹³Garcia, "Interview," p. 8.

¹¹⁴Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 277. Marin Pepper paints a semi-fictional picture of life on Tomales y Baulines, evidently based on material from Munro-Fraser's account. See Bolinas: A Narrative of the Days of the Dons, pp. 99-102.

¹¹⁵Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 277-278; Lauff, "Reminiscences," pp. 32-33.

more detailed account of what occurred economically and socially on Rancho Tomales y Baulenes. The Federal Census and Marin County tax assessments reveal that Rafael's wealth lay in his land, its structures and livestock--peaking in 1851 and declining rapidly after that, with less than half of the original grant left intact by the end of the decade. In the early '50s, Garcia still maintained a substantial ranching operation, "employed" several indentured Indian servants, and helped to establish the Olema Lime Kilns through a lease and labor agreement. In 1859 he entered a law suit against Oscar Shafter, et al. the San Francisco attorneys who had acquired all of Osio's Point Reyes and who now had their eyes on Tomales y Baulines. The legal battle dragged on for six years, evidently draining Garcia of what capital he had at his disposal. By 1862 all but 3,085 acres of Garcia's grant had been sold off, leaving a small portion of the Olema tract for his heirs. After Garcia's death in 1866, Doña Loreta met her own tragic death by murder, and the surviving sons and daughters gradually sold off their inherited portions of the rancho. Don Rafael's heirs were respected residents of the Olema township, although most of the Garcia legacy in Olema Valley had disappeared by the 20th century.¹¹⁶

Garcia and his Punta El Estero (Tomales y Baulenes) holdings remained intact until 1855, although a sizable portion of the rancho was leased earlier for industrial purposes. On July 13, 1850 Don Rafael signed a contract with two men who wished to develop the southern

¹¹⁶Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 94-95; Mason, Point Reyes, p. 45.

end of the valley for "liming and timber and wooded purposes." According to the agreement, James Shorb and William Mercer were promised the exclusive use of this tract, along with the assistance of Garcia's Indian labor force. The concluding paragraph of the lease states:

the party of the first part (Rafael Garcia) is to furnish oxen, carts and Indians, to haul all the lime burnt in the kiln or kilns to the Embarcadero and assist in loading or putting the lime in the vessels.¹¹⁷

The kilns were built that year, undoubtedly with the assistance of Garcia's Indian servants. Lime burned in the Olema kilns was probably shipped from Bolinas for use in the growing city across the bay, along with large quantities of Bolinas lumber. The calcium oxide produced from limestone was used locally to whitewash adobe bricks and tan leather, while San Francisco industries utilized the mineral in the manufacture of cement and sand-lime bricks. The remains of this pioneer commercial enterprise are located on the east bank of Olema Creek, within GGNRA and the boundaries of the Olema Valley Ranches Historic District.

Two years after the establishment of the Olema Lime kilns, Rafael Garcia, or rather his wife, entered another agreement concerning the family's Indian retainers. Signed on June 1, 1852, this indenture placed José and Maria Antonio Silas, children of Indian Mariano Silas, in the permanent care of Señora Loreta Garcia. Aged five and seven, respectively, Maria and José were to be considered the adopted daughter and son of the Doña, who was responsible for maintaining the

¹¹⁷ Bliss Brown, "The Old Limekilns of Marin County," CHSQ 19, no. 4 (December 1940), pp. 320-321.

Indian children as her own. In turn they were obliged to "obey their mistress in all just and lawful commands and not at any time to absent themselves from the house or premises." Mariano, the father, was evidently an employee of Rafael Garcia. The single page document gives no indication as to why this transaction took place, although by placing his small cross or mark at the foot of the sheet, Mariano Silas "relinquished all claims to the said children as father." Signed by both parties in the presence of the Bolinas township Justice of the Peace, the indenture appears quite permanent and binding.¹¹⁸

Three months later Mariano Silas, his brother, and four other Indian laborers signed an agreement with Loreta's husband, all jointly agreeing

to enter the service of Rafael Garcia as general servants, as as vaqueros working on the farm or Rancho or doing any lawful work that is required by the party of the second part.

Felis, Pablo, Juan de Dios, Zacaria, Francisco and Mariano Silas agreed to

faithfully obey all the reasonable wishes and commands of the said Rafael Garcia for and during the space of two years from the tenth day of September [1852] for the compensation of one hundred and twenty dollars, per annum, payable quarterly.

All of these contracted or indentured servants were residents of Marin County. Their signed and sealed agreement provides a rare glimpse into the Indian situation on CGNRA ranchos. By investing some \$1,500 in

¹¹⁸ Signed and sealed agreement between Mariano Silas and Loreta Garcia, witnessed by Tho. Henderson, 1 June 1852, from the Cavalli family collection.

Indian labor Garcia formally recognized the value of this productive and cooperative work force, although the wages allotted for each laborer were minimal in respect to Garcia's real and personal estate at the time, about \$45,000 in 1851. All six Indians had adopted Spanish names, and two, the Silas brothers, had the additional identification of a surname. The yearly salary of \$120.00 was not competitive in these inflated post-Gold-Rush years, although monetary compensation in addition to a probable room and board situation was attractive in comparison to mission labor or complete bondage. Mariano Silas probably wished to remain near his children, while the others may have viewed the contract as a form of economic and physical protection. The early American period was not characterized by a benevolent attitude toward Indians, hence the local natives might have preferred the security of such a commitment to the unknown and potentially dangerous environment called freedom.¹¹⁹

The value of the Garcia estate declined rapidly during the decade of the 1850s. As mentioned earlier, the total valuation of Don Rafael's real and personal estate came to about \$45,000 in 1851. By 1854 Garcia's total property valuation had dropped to \$38,315; a year later Rafael would begin selling portions of his cherished Punta de Estero or Rancho Tomales y Baulenes. The 1854 tax assessment reveals that the some 3,000 head of cattle estimated during the Mexican era had dropped

¹¹⁹ Signed and sealed agreement between Filas, Pablo, et al. and Rafael Garcia, 7 September 1852, from the Cavalli family collection; Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 93.

to about 350, while the "400 branded horses" listed by Munro-Fraser dwindled to less than 40. Garcia had filed his claim to the rancho on March 23, 1852, setting the papers in motion for an exhausting court battle that would last over a decade and force Garcia to sell more than half of his lands to cover his costly legal fees and heavy debts. In 1855 Garcia sold 300 acres of his rancho grant to Messrs. Post and Taylor, 100 of which lay in the east on Daniel's Creek, where the new owners built the first paper mill on the Pacific coast. The other two hundred acres comprised three tracts lying in the Olema Valley, which were conveyed to John Connor, William Johnson and John Garrison the following year. On September 25, 1856, Daniel and Nelson H. Olds purchased over 4,000 acres of Olema Valley from Garcia--more than half of his rancho claim--for \$8,000. The 1856-1857 tax assessment shows that after this transaction Garcia's estate was worth a little over \$18,000, including about 8,500 acres of land, assorted livestock, a house, and fencing. During the spring of 1857 Garcia sold yet another tract of land--some 1,400 acres to the south of the Olds' parcel--which contained the pioneer paper mill. Gregorio Briones of the Baulines Rancho was selling off portions of his grant at the same time, so by the summer of 1857 nearly the entire floor and eastern shore of the Bolinas Lagoon had been divided into non-Hispanic ranch lands, thus founding the soon-to-be-settled dairy community. By 1859 Garcia's estate had reduced another six thousand dollars in value, containing at this point only 6,558 acres, according to the Marin County tax assessment. This year Don Rafael entered the wearisome law suit against Oscar

Shafter et al., ending in 1865 with more than 9,000 acres confirmed to Garcia, who passed away less than four months after receiving his confirmed title.¹²⁰

Don Rafael Garcia died on February 25, 1866, leaving his remaining 3,089 acres north and east of Olema, as well as six town lots, to his wife and seven sons and daughters. A plat "Showing the Subdivisions of the Rancho Baulinas y Tomales," compiled in 1868, indicates the eight parcels of the remaining rancho as laid out and claimed by Garcia's heirs. Loreta Garcia received the largest chunk of land, just south of the James Black parcel, at the northernmost end of the Olema Valley. Felipe, Maria H., Felis, Thomas, and Juan laid claim to parcels north of Olema, the latter two receiving what appears to be the smallest subdivisions. East of Olema and within current GGNRA boundaries were the tracts inherited by Dolores Hurtado and José Garcia, the former heir being the wife of Mexican born Francisco Hurtado, and mother of eight. The population schedule for 1870 lists Loreta Garcia's real and personal estate at \$21,500; the real estate held by each of her children, with the exception of Juan and Dolores,

¹²⁰Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 93-95, 120, 232-233; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 278; Tax Ass. Roll for the County of Marin, 1856-1857, 1859, available at Marin County Historical Society. Garcia also entered an agreement in the Fall of 1849 with James Hough and P. G. Hatch, giving them ten-year rights to fell trees on his land. Hough and Hatch procured rights to several other ranchos and tracts, including Baulinas. Garcia's contract issued rights to his rancho "at or near the point of Reyes and known as the Tomales," which, presumably, indicated Inverness Ridge.

was valued at \$800.00 apiece. The adopted Indian children, Jose and Maria, do not appear in the census. Juan Garcia, now employed as a farmer, maintained an estate valued at some \$10,000, which he shared with his wife and three children. In 1870 Dolores Garcia de Hurtado lived in the Bolinas township with her husband, his Mexican born brother Manuel, and a lengthy list of children. All of the heirs lived in modern wood homes in Olema, but by the mid-1870s the Garcia influence began fading away. Señora Loreta Garcia met a brutal death, Dolores and her family moved to Mexico, and several portions of the inherited parcels were sold, leaving only a hint of the great Tomales y Baulenes in the hands of Rafael's descendents.¹²¹

The lands of Loreta Garcia were nearly lost to her in 1872, when the local sheriff threatened to take everything she owned for being indebted to an Olema grocery store. Apparently the bill of \$396 was settled, for in 1873, the year of her death, Loreta was still residing in the old adobe by Olema Creek.

By this time Juan Garcia had erected a two-story frame house, which was situated just across the creek from Loreta, near the Bear Valley intersection. Juan conducted a "general farming business" with the help of a Spanish laborer named Ventura, who was a native of Manila. During the 1870s Juan and his brothers took turns driving a horse drawn stage from Olema to Sausalito, a route which was partially

¹²¹Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 279. "Plat no. 1 of Rancho Baulines y Tomales, as divided among the heirs of Rafael Garcia," completed in May 1868 by Austin, Surveyor, from Cavalli collection; Population Schedule of the 9th census of the U.S., California, Bolinas township.

replaced by the completion of the North Pacific Coast Railway in 1875. Juan drove a similar stage for the Camp Taylor guests, and in later years worked as an Olema bartender and butcher. He and his wife Guadalupe Higera de Garcia had five children who grew to adulthood: Maria, Maud, Loreta, Rafael, and Juan.¹²² Felipe Garcia, Juan's younger brother, served as constable for the Bolinas township, a position he held from 1864 to 1867, or longer.¹²³ Felix, another brother and Garcia heir, owned a gray colt named "Olema Chief" and established a saloon near the main corner of town, an enterprise which did not prove lucrative. Of the other brothers not much is known, although José, along with ex-constable Felipe, was living in San Francisco before 1873.¹²⁴

While tragic, the death by murder of Señora Loreta Garcia is one of the family's most colorful oral traditions. According to the testimony of the sole witness, an adopted daughter, the elderly Doña was visited on April 17, 1873 by a young blacksmith named Ambrosia Correra, who apparently wished to marry the widow. After some heated

¹²²"Olema Valley Ranches Historic District," Nat'l. Register Nomination form, p. 17; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 421; Pop. Schedule of the 9th Census (1870), California, Bolinas township; Jack Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas (Inverness, CA: North Shore Books, 1973, pp. 32-34.

¹²³"Certificate of Appointment of Philip Garcia as Constable," signed 30 November 1864. A letter to Garcia from the Marin Co. Sheriff, dated Feb. 15, 1867, indicates that he was constable up to this date.

¹²⁴Petition for the estate of M. Loreta Garcia," signed by Felix Garcia, 19 June 1873, available at MCHS; Jack Mason, Olema, Dear Valley, p. 8.

discussion, in which she evidently refused, the miffed young man drew a navy pistol and shot Loreta in the breast and head, "producing almost instantaneous death." After trying, unsuccessfully, to burn the adobe, the delirious blacksmith fled to a nearby home, where he breathlessly exclaimed: "Do I look pale? I have killed Señora Garcia and now I will kill myself!" Horrified by his gun and "fiendish expression" the housewife started to run but was interrupted by the shot of the gun, which the blacksmith had aimed, fatally, at his temple.¹²⁵

Loreta Garcia's death presented another bloody homicide case for Marin County's already lengthy list, while effecting one more reorganization of the Garcia possessions. The widow left an estate comprised of almost entirely real property, valued at about \$16,000. A petition signed by Felix Garcia indicates that only six heirs were present at the time of Loreta's death, namely Juan, Thomas, Dolores, Philip, Joseph, and Felix, the petitioner. The Doña left no will, as Felix petitioned for and probably received the responsibility of administrator of the estate. No information has been found concerning the conveyance of her tract, however it was probably divided among the surviving Olema heirs. In 1875 Dolores left for Mexico with her family, while brothers Felipe and Jose sold off sizable portions of the fading rancho.¹²⁶

The Marin Journal of 1875 provides brief glimpses of the final

¹²⁵Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 245.

¹²⁶"Petition" signed by Felix Garcia, 19 June 1873.

days on Rancho Tomales y Baulenes. On April 15 a notice appeared announcing the departure of Francisco and Dolores Hurtado, both established residents of Olema. The family would leave for Mexico that week, as Francisco, a native of the country, expected "to receive a large land property from the Mexican government."¹²⁷ Under the real estate notices of the same issue is an announcement concerning a deed to Jas. Shafter of Point Reyes, from Felipe Garcia. The shrewd Vermont lawyer acquired the "undivided fifth part of all the lands in Marin County, of which M. Maria Loreta Garcia died seized, \$6,000." Felipe apparently deeded a portion of his inheritance to Shafter, although the awkward working suggests a less than agreeable transaction.¹²⁸ At the same time, José was selling some 100 acres of the rancho to one William Evans, at the price of \$9,155.¹²⁹ Months later Felipe and his wife Virginia would deed their Olema tract to Edward Gallagher for a comparable \$9,636.00.¹³⁰

By 1880 Juan and Felix were the only remaining members of the family. Neither had jumped on the "deed bandwagon" of 1875, although it may have been a wise decision, as their estates diminished until

¹²⁷"Notices," The Marin Journal, 15 April 1875, Marin County Historical Society.

¹²⁸"Notices," The Marin Journal, 15 April 1875, p. 3, column 3. For a biographical sketch of the Hon. James M. Shafter, see Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 515-516.

¹²⁹"Notices," Marin Journal, 22 April 1875.

¹³⁰"Notices," Marin Journal, 18 November 1875.

both were virtually penniless by the 20th century. Felix lost his saloon to creditors in April 1879 while Juan "went to the Poor House" for a few unwise gambles at the card tables. According to the San Rafael Independent, Garcia "permitted the yellow gold to slip through his fingers . . . the gambling table was one of his weaknesses, and he often bet a thousand dollars at the turn of a card." Juan died a pauper in 1913, apparently the last Garcia descendent in Olema Valley.¹³¹

5. Gregorio Briones and Rancho Baulines

The Briones family moved to the vicinity of Bolinas in the late 1830s. Alcalde of San Mateo, Gregorio was required to stay on the peninsula until 1839, after which time he joined his wife Ramona and their five children. Pablo, Gregorio's eldest son, had built a temporary dwelling or palizada in which the family lived until Gregorio organized the construction of a larger wood frame home. The first Briones house was little more than a wood and thatch hut to which the 14-year-old Pablo had added, with the assistance of his uncle's Indians, an adobe brick reinforcement. Casa Briones was located in the present town of Bolinas, not far, according to one descendent, from the local Catholic Church. This simple, partially adobe structure contained four rooms: two bedrooms, a sala or sitting room, and a kitchen.

¹³¹Quote taken from "Olema Valley Ranches Historic District," National Reg. Nomination form, p. 17; Mason, Olema, Dear Valley, p. 14. Felix Garcia moved to San Rafael, where he died in 1900.

Living conditions must have been cramped, as the immediate family itself consisted of seven persons: Ramona, Gregorio, Pablo, Maria de Jesus, Maria del Rosario or "Rosita," Juana Inocencia, and José Jesus. Gregorio and Ramona had five children in all, three daughters and two sons, born between 1823 and 1837, the two sons being the first and last additions to the family.¹³²

Gregorio's grant contained some eight thousand acres--a generous pasturage for his extensive bands of stock. Like his brother-in-law Rafael Garcia, Briones "retained many faithful workers, whose families remained on the property and were treated with humane consideration."¹³³ Most of these retainers were undoubtedly ex-mission Indians who needed some other form of support. The western shore of the Bolinas lagoon was the headquarters of the rancho during the Mexican era. East Baulenes, much of which is current GGNRA parkland, was evidently not developed by Briones, although his branded cattle may have roamed the coastal tract.¹³⁴ Cabins of sorts were built for Indian servants and laborers, along with corrals for the wild and tame livestock. By 1846 Gregorio's rancho contained two corrals at

¹³²Bliss Brown, "Rancho Las Baulenes," p. 4; Jack Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, p. 5; Rose Briones, interviewed by Carla Ehat and Ann Kent, 29 July 1977, transcribed by M. Hoffman, typescript, Marin County Free Library, San Rafael; Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 264; Marie E. Northrop, Spanish-Mexican Families, p. 76, presents a list of Gregorio's children with their individual birthdates.

¹³³Pepper, Bolinas, p. 122.

¹³⁴See "Land Grants and Brands," a map and chart compiled by and available at MCHS, for an illustration of the Briones cattle brand.

Bolinas, a vineyard, two orchards of probable cherry and apple trees, and a thousand varas of land cultivated and fenced for grazing purposes.¹³⁵ Rancho Baulines must have prospered during the Mexican period, for by 1850 Gregorio claimed possession of 13,230 acres of land (4,409 more than granted in 1846), 50 horses, 300 head of cattle, and 15 swine--the real and personal estate valued at nearly \$15,000.³⁶

Life on Rancho Baulines was much like that on the haciendas of Rafael Garcia and William Richardson. Dances, weddings, and fandangos were the popular forms of amusement, as well as the more male-oriented pleasures of gambling, horse racing, and drinking. The marriage of Gregorio's oldest daughter, Maria Jesus, was "an event long to be remembered by those present." Don Gregorio had the town's first wooden floor laid for the occasion, as well as one of his fattest bullocks killed for the "grand barbeque." A table was set for the feast, reportedly "the like of which had not been seen before in all these regions round about." Viands were spread upon it in "bountiful profuseness," so that there was enough and to spare for all the guests. Following the ceremony at Misión San Rafael, Maria and Francisco Sebrean joined their guests at the Briones homestead, where "all was joy and gaiety." The music, according to Munro-Fraser, "consisted of a violin and guitar, and the dances were waltzes, polkas, shotisches

¹³⁵ Mason, Last Stage, p. 5; William Richardson, Testimonies, p. 35.

¹³⁶ Toogood, "Civil History," p. 89A; Census for Marin County, 1850, "Gregoria Briones."

and reels."¹³⁷ Ramona, Gregorio's wife, no doubt joined in the festivities, as dancing was one of her favorite amusements. Rose Briones, Pablo's daughter, recalled that her grandmother was quite a dancer, even in her later years:

She was just a tiny little old lady and you ought to see her dance, it was wonderful. She was so tiny, much shorter than I am, and she'd pick up her petticoats and dance around the jinks--Spanish jinks so she said.¹³⁸

Gregorio Briones, like his brother-in-law, spoke no English, and apparently did not care for many of the Yankee newcomers. Daughter Juana's marriage to Daniel Smith did not sit well with Gregorio, who specified in his will that her inheritance was for "her separate use, free from the interference of her husband." Jack Mason suggests that Maria broke off her engagement with Charles Lauff, her first love, under the influence of her father's nativist sentiments. Gregorio had reason to question American sincerity, as his extensive rancho grant was almost completely dissolved as a result of the U.S. political system.¹³⁹

Most available accounts of the rancho lifestyle at Baulenes are based on conjecture, as are the descriptions of the Briones' Indian retainers. Marin Pepper creates a feasible picture of the domestic scene at Rancho Baulenes, where Indian women were responsible for

¹³⁷ All quotes taken from Munro-Fraser, Marin County, pp. 264-265.

¹³⁸ Rose Briones, Interview, p. 3.

¹³⁹ Mason, Last Stage, pp. 13-14; Maria Jesus Briones married Charles Lauff in 1862, after Sebrean had died of smallpox.

washing the family clothes and cooking the daily meals. According to Pepper's depiction, Indian servants performed all the household tasks-- a situation which accords with historic accounts of Sausalito and Tomales y Baulines. With his substantial herd of stock, Gregorio undoubtedly employed or contracted the services of several vaqueros or cowboys. When Baulenes Rancho faded away, after costly court proceedings and the death of its original grantee, the Indian retainers found employment in the growing Bolinas lumber business. During the first years of American takeover, Briones leased sections of his forested rancho to various lumber companies. In the 1850s Bolinas lumber was reportedly worth two dollars a foot, and "all the Indians who cared to work earned from five to six dollars a day."¹⁴⁰

Under American rule Rancho Baulenes lost its Hispanic inhabitants and traditions, but not as rapidly as Garcia's Tomales y Baulenes. The 1854 county tax records indicate that after the first few years of American influence the rancho actually prospered. By the mid-1850s 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 new wood frame house was evidently the result of a lumber contract. Briones and his brother-in-law Garcia signed a joint agreement with the San Francisco firm of Hough, Hatch, and Armas, dated 12 October 1849, giving them ten-year rights to fell trees on

¹⁴⁰Quote from Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. ; see Pepper, Bolinas, pp. 103-105 for a sketch of the Briones household.

their land. The agreement favored the lumbermen by granting them the right to make or use any roads, wharfs, mills, houses, barns, or other improvements on the land; to graze any cattle or horses without payment; and to sell their privileges to a third party. In return, they were to pay Garcia and Briones with one third part of the lumber or one tenth of the payments received for the lumber, withholding transportation costs, and to leave at least one good sawmill and one good house on the property. The first sawmill in Bolinas was built at Woodville (Dogtown) in 1851, while Briones' house was probably completed in 1849. The new Casa Briones was more spacious than the wood and adobe dwelling, having two stories and three bedrooms, including a large sala downstairs for entertaining the numerous guests and visitors.¹⁴¹

Briones entered another lumber contract in 1852, this one with George R. Morris, who wished to cut wood and timber. Signed March 15, 1852, the agreement dealt with the land "running northerly along the top of said coast ridge to a point opposite the first lime kiln."¹⁴² This would have included a section of today's GGNRA, at the southern end of the Bolinas Ridge, near Garcia's lime kiln.

In July Gregorio began selling sections of his rancho claim. On July 4, 1852 he sold Isaac Morgan a tract on the east side of Bolinas lagoon, contained by Richardson's Sausalito boundary, the

¹⁴¹Mason, Last Stage, p. 7; Toogood, "Civil History," pp. 120-122.

¹⁴²Bliss Brown, "The Old Limekilns," p. 321.

ridge line, and the San Rafael road which dropped west from the ridge to the bay shore. Morgan was allowed to live rent free on the land he planned to buy when Briones received a valid title. Contingent on the confirmation of his title to Rancho Baulines, Briones charged Morgan a mere five dollars per acre. In 1853, the following year, Briones filed his claim with the United States Land Commission, a process that dragged on for nearly five years, and left Gregorio indebted to his lawyer Volney Howard. On January 15, 1857 District Judge Ogden Hoffman approved the grant, thus confirming Morgan's claim to the GGNRA side of Bolinas Bay, which included some 2,600 acres. This transaction reduced the Briones rancho and seriously depleted the family's capital, as Morgan paid no rent for those transition years and may have avoided the formal settlement altogether.¹⁴³

During the mid- to late-1850s Gregorio sold off a goodly percentage of his Baulenes Rancho, possibly to pay recently incurred debts and legal fees. His American attorney Howard received a 500-acre tract on the Bolinas mesa, as well as the former Morgan tract. Whether Morgan and Howard had any dispute over the land has not been determined. Around 1855 Gregorio conveyed a portion of his claim to son José Jesus, who purchased livestock by the following year and started ranching for himself. José's parcel was located near the Bolinas landing, where the small coastal town stands today. In

¹⁴³Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 91; Mason, Last Stage, pp. 14-15; according to Mason, "no money changed hands" during the final transaction between Morgan and Briones.

January of 1856 Gregorio sold some 2,200 acres in the northeast quarter of the rancho to one Charles Corcens. This parcel undoubtedly included lands that had been previously contracted out to San Francisco lumber companies. In the wake of Briones' financial difficulties, smaller parcels of Baulenes were sold to Manuel Torres, husband of Mariana Richardson, Benjamin Miller, Thomas Joyce, Henry Strain, and Joseph Almy. Some of these lands were situated on the western shore of Bolinas Bay, where the Briones family still maintained all of its residences and livestock. While most of Marin was attractive to immigrant ranchers and real estate speculators, the protected harbor of Bolinas Bay and the valuable redwoods of Bolinas Ridge made Gregorio's rancho particularly desirable. After his death in 1863, Gregorio's heirs salvaged a few lots of the once vast land grant, although most of it wound up in non-Hispanic hands.¹⁴⁴

In the spring of 1863 Briones established his will, naming Pablo, now 40 years old, as executor. To his wife Ramona he bequeathed their Bolinas home and his "old yoke of cattle known as 'Dark and Bright.'" About 3,000 acres were left to be divided among the five daughters and sons, with one acre in Bolinas reserved to finance Gregorio's funeral and burial. "It is my will," he concluded, "that my body be dressed in a winding sheet of our father, St.

¹⁴⁴Toogood, *ibid.*; Mason, *ibid.*, pp. 14-17; Bliss Brown, "Rancho Las Baulines," p. 6. The county tax records for 1856-1857 indicate that José Briones owned \$589 worth of livestock.

Francis."¹⁴⁵ The Don's decision to write his will was timely, for less than two weeks later, on May 10, he passed away. Rumor has it that the 66 year old Briones died of poisoning by a disgruntled Indian servant, although the Marin Journal's obituary makes no mention of foul play. Gregorio died an "honest, upright and truthful man," "beloved and respected by all who knew him," and with a few exceptions, without "an enemy in the world."¹⁴⁶ He left behind several heirs whose children preserved the Briones-Baulenes bond well into the 20th century. Rose Briones, Gregorio's great-granddaughter, is 97 years old at the time of this writing, the only surviving member of the once-influential Mexican family.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵Excerpts from Gregorio's will, as printed in Mason, Last Stage, p. 16.

¹⁴⁵Mason, *ibid.*; quote from Munro-Fraser, Marin County, p. 264.

¹⁴⁶Rose Briones interview, p. 1. Ramona Garcia Briones married a Chilean named Benancha Munos, and lived to be 98, dying on June 24, 1901 (Mason, Last Stage, p. 17). The other Briones heirs will be discussed in Chapter V.

V. GUADALUPE HIDALGO AND AMERICAN OCCUPATION, 1846-1900

American interest in San Francisco Bay dated from the country's first exploratory expeditions, although formal efforts to acquire the port and state of California began in 1835, as an extension of President Jackson's plans for the purchase of Texas. Jackson considered acquisition of the commercially invaluable port as an appeasement for the North following the proposed annexation of Texas as a slave state. Old Hickory's scheme was quelled during the tumultuous decades before the Civil War, although his aim, the conquest of California and the acquisition of its magnificent harbor, was realized after the Mexican-American War and subsequent Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in which Mexico ceded California to the United States (1848).

During the era of Manifest Destiny, roughly the 1840s, Americans quite guiltlessly pushed for western expansion, rationalizing their actions as their fated responsibility as citizens of the strongest and most powerful nation. California and Texas, both northern Mexican territories, were viewed as desirable regions colonized by indolent rancheros and settlers who had failed to develop their respective land and were, therefore, unworthy of them. This prejudicial rationale was solidified after the American occupation of California, evidenced in various anti-Mexican (and Indian) legislation and general racial discrimination. In addition to exclusive legislation and discrimination, the Californios and Mexicanos were forced to prove legitimate title to their ranchos, a process which led to the dissolution

of these vast land grants, as in the cases of Marin County's Rafael García and Gregorio Briones.

Another change under American control was an unprecedented population boom encouraged by the new political system and more immediately the central and northern California gold rush. The 1848 discovery of gold at Coloma, on the American River, excited a mass migration to the diggings about the Mother Lode. The mania for instant wealth peaked in 1849 and eventually resulted in an unexpected burst in San Francisco's population. Disillusioned with the crowded and generally unpleasant conditions at the mining camps, many '49ers found themselves settling in San Francisco, thus creating a more populous and ethnically diverse community. In 1845, on the eve of American occupation, the population of San Francisco was estimated at about 300: 150 of Spanish blood, 100 Indians and Hawaiian Kanakas, and about fifty foreigners. On July 9, 1846, Captain John Berrien Montgomery landed with a force of 70 sailors and marines and declared American possession. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was not signed until February 1848, about a week after gold dust was discovered at Sutter's mill. According to the Annals of San Francisco, many of the early '49ers arriving in the city were from Chili, Mexico, and other Pacific coast countries. The native Hispanic community was thus supplemented by immigrant Spanish-speaking peoples. By 1853 some 3,000 residents of San Francisco were estimated to be Hispano-Americans, a significant number in respect to previous estimates, although somewhat dwarfed by the total population of nearly 50,000. During the second half of the nineteenth century the

Hispanic community grew while the Indian populations dwindled. Nevertheless, American laws and attitudes suppressed both ethnic groups and their respective communities faded from the vicinity of today's GGNRA.¹

A. Exclusive Legislation
and Discrimination

1. Proclamation of 1846

In September, 1846, Commodore J. B. Montgomery, the naval commander who raised the American flag over San Francisco, issued a "Proclamation to the Inhabitants of California." This Proclamation of 1846 ordered that all Indians being held against their will be released, while qualifying that all Indians obtain employment of some sort. Under this official order all unemployed Indians could be arrested and forced to labor on the public works. The aim, evidently, was to abolish the "enslavement" of Indians under the old Mexican system but still subordinate the California Indian labor force by refusing them complete freedom. A significant number of Indians in San Francisco worked as household servants during the early American period, although it would be difficult to affirm whether this was in response to Montgomery's proclamation.²

¹Soulé et al., The Annals of San Francisco, pp. 243, 488; Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 86; Thompson, Seacoast Fortifications, p. 15; Bean, CA: An Interpretive History, pp. 90-91, 108-109.

²James Rawls, "Images of the CA Indians," pp. 148-149.

2. "The Hounds"

During its transition years the new state of California was almost lawless. Within this vacuum period, roughly 1846 to 1850, a violent group of self-proclaimed "Regulators" appeared in San Francisco. Known more commonly as the "Hounds," this organization was allegedly dedicated to maintaining public order, although its methodology was harrassing Spanish Americans and other "foreigners" in hopes of chasing them out of the city and state. The Hounds directed their attacks on the Chilean, Peruvian, and Mexican communities--all located within the city of San Francisco but fairly removed from the current GGNRA boundaries. This lawlessness was eventually controlled by counterorganizations such as the Law and Order party and Vigilante Committee of 1849, but only after an ugly era of terrorism and several cruel, unnecessary murders.³

3. Law of 1850

The Law of 1850, described as "An Act for the Government and Protection of Indians," was adopted by California's first state legislature. This law formalized Montgomery's Proclamation of 1846 by permitting any vagrant or unemployed Indian to be sold at public auction. The act specified that no Indian be held against his or her

³ Bean, California, pp. 138-139; Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios--A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1980 (Berkeley: UC Press, 1966), pp. 64-65. Little Chile was located at that time near the foot of Telegraph Hill; the Mexican and Peruvian communities were within the Mission district.

will but nevertheless made it possible by legalizing, through auction, a form of Indian slavery. An 1860 amendment to the 1850 law stated that any person wishing to obtain Indian children could appear before a county judge to prove that the children had been obtained with the consent of their parents or the consent of "persons having care or charge of any such child or children." This so-called indenture law permitted an Indian laborer to be legally bound to a citizen in exchange for subsistence.⁴

Indian indentures from the Garcia family, dated 1852, prove that this form of employment was in use within the Marin GGNRA. Outside of the rancho system Indians were employed in American lumber and dairy enterprises--possibly through this system of servitude. On the San Francisco side of the bay various Indian laborers may have been similarly obtained. James Rawls, a historian of the California Indian, claimed that the Law of 1850 had "a devastating impact" on native peoples throughout the state. Concerning the 1860 amendments, Rawls found that the San Francisco Bay area counties supplied one of the main markets for Indian children.⁵ As early as January, 1858, an article discussing the slaving of Indian children appeared in the San Francisco Bulletin. Sympathetic to the Indian's situation, the anonymous author hinted that the slaving business was quite active in San Francisco:

⁴James Jabus Rawls, "Images of the CA Indians," pp. 206-207; Cook, Conflict, pp. 54-55.

⁵Rawls, *ibid.*, pp. 206-207, 217.

There are not a few "Indian servants," even in San Francisco today, who are bought and sold, and passed from family to family with the same facility that slaves are in Mississippi. Of course, there is no law for this--but what can a young Digger know of his legal rights? He is told to work, and if he refuses to obey, is thrashed into submission. If the government has assumed the charge of these simple people, it should protect them against outrage.⁶

In 1863 William H. Brewer, author of Up and Down California, re-confirmed that a "regular business" of stealing Indian children existed within the western state. According to this report, children were kidnapped from the northern counties and taken to "the civilized parts of the state, even to San Francisco," where they were sold.⁷

Legalized through the California legislature, this peonage system operated throughout the state and within or very near the present GGNRA. Reflective of the antebellum south, the Proclamation of 1846 and Law of 1850 reveal the degree to which the American government supported racial discrimination and oppression.

4. Foreign Miners Tax of 1850

The gold rush of 1849 and 1850 created a mixed population at the diggings about the Mother Lode. Most of the '49ers were newcomers to the state, many traveling from as far away as China, Europe, and Mexico. American miners found themselves competing with substantial numbers of these foreigners, particularly the Mexicans and Orientals.

⁶"California Indians," San Francisco Bulletin, vol. 5, no. 72, 2 January 1858, p. 2.

⁷Rawls, "Images," p. 217.

Traditional believers in racial superiority, the Anglo-Americans at the mining camps developed an intense hatred for the Mexicans, whose dark complexions and Catholic faith made them an easy target for discrimination and prejudice. Fearful that the skilled Mexican miners would remove most of the available gold and still hostile over the Mexican War, the first session of the California legislature adopted the Foreign Miner's Tax Law. Designed to drive "foreigners" from the diggings, the act required miners who were not citizens of the United States to pay a fee of \$20 a month. Most of the burden fell on the Mexicans, who represented the poorest and most populous ethnic group at the camps. Forced out of the better diggings by vigilance committees and various mining-camp codes, a substantial number of Mexicans settled in San Francisco or in the nearby county of Marin. Like the early soldier-settlers, many were natives of the northwestern state of Sonora.⁸

5. Prejudice and Discrimination

If exclusive legislation reflects dominant social attitudes, it is no surprise that the Indians and Mexicans of California and the San Francisco Bay area were treated as social inferiors. Americans consciously forced the Mexicans and Californios out of their ranchos

⁸ Bean, California, pp. 162-163; John W. Caughey, CA: A Remarkable State's Life History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 266; Carey McWilliams, Southern California: An Island on the Land (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1973), p. 58.

and gold diggings and denied Indians the right to vote and to live in complete freedom, justifying their selfish ambition as the country's "manifest destiny." Many of the early American immigrants to California "considered a dead Indian the only good Indian," while a Spaniard, "no matter what his condition or degree of culture and refinement," was regarded as "a greaser," "entitled to no respect or consideration."⁹

The Hounds represented one manifestation of this social intolerance; less obvious but equally damaging were the day-to-day harassments inflicted by a social order obsessed with racial superiority. A study of Bancroft's two-volume miscellany on popular tribunals, conducted by one social historian, indicated the inordinately high number of Mexicans whipped, banished or hanged from 1849 to 1860. As the San Francisco Daily Alta California sneered angrily in 1854, "it was almost a by-word in our midst, that none but Mexicans could be convicted of a capital offense."¹⁰ The Annals of San Francisco, published in 1854, reflect, quite blatantly, these social prejudices:

The Hispano-Americans, as a class, rank far beneath the French and Germans. They are ignorant and lazy, and are consequently poor. . . . The Hispano-Americans fill many low and servile employments, and in general engage only in such occupations as do not very severely tax either mind or body. They show no ambition to rise beyond the station where destiny, dirt, ignorance and sloth have placed them.¹¹

⁹Eldredge, The Beginnings of SF, vol. 2, p. 482.

¹⁰Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios, p. 70.

¹¹Soulé et al., The Annals of San Francisco, pp. 471-2.

Indians were invariably described as lazy, stupid, and dirty. Joseph Warren Revere, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, remarked that the California Indians were "the most wretched of mankind. To give them civil rights," he continued, "would be more absurd than to grant such rights to children under ten years of age."¹²

The question of Indian suffrage and citizenship was debated by the delegates at California's first constitutional convention, which met in Monterey in 1849. It was finally decided that only "white male citizens" could vote, thereby denying civil rights to all persons with Indian blood.¹³ Under Mexican law the California Indians had technically been citizens, although only a few had been able to exercise the franchise due to strict property requirements. After American occupation the Indian had no civil or legal rights to speak of. Native Americans were not permitted to testify in court; San Francisco resident Manuel Dominguez, for example, was dismissed from the witness stand in 1857 due to his Indian heritage.¹⁴

Despite the confining and culturally insensitive conditions at the California missions, Indians were generally better off before American occupation. Sherburne Cook outlined the various differences between Ibero-American and Anglo-American influence: a major divergence occurring in each group's economic and social attitude toward

¹²Revere, Naval Duty in California, pp. 102, 104.

¹³Rawls, "Images," p. 200.

¹⁴Pitt, The Decline of the Californios, p. 202; Cook, Conflict, pp. 54-55.

the aborigine. Americans, on the whole, rigidly excluded native Americans from their social order, while the Spanish, generally, incorporated the natives in their social and economic structure. Thousands of Indians died as a result of the mission system, although wholesale slaughter or annihilation was never an aim of this frontier institution.¹⁵ Stephen Richardson of Rancho Sausalito recalled the "wholesale and entirely unprovoked slaughter of peaceful Indians" under American occupation, when "the killing of an Indian was regarded as a sportsman-like pastime."¹⁶ James Rawls and Sherburne Cook confirm this horrid reality:

Thousands of Indians were killed on the California frontier by whites bent on Indian extermination. These deaths were the result of a conviction by whites that extermination was the only way that new lands could be developed in security.¹⁷

The native's life was worthless, for no American could even be brought to trial for killing an Indian. What little property the Indian possessed could be taken or destroyed at the slightest provocation.¹⁸

These statements indicate the extremes of racial discrimination and prejudice. Social and cultural oppression was, obviously, not absolute; it formed an unpleasant but nevertheless significant theme in California's ethnic history.

¹⁵Cook, *ibid.*, pp. 257-258.

¹⁶Richardson, "Days of the Dons," Chapters 9 and 42.

¹⁷Rawls, "Images," pp. iii, iv.

¹⁸Cook, Conflict, p. 5.

B. Status of Mexican Land Grants:

Scrutiny by
Board of Land Commissioners

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, signed in 1848, guaranteed the security of all property belonging to Mexican citizens and lying in those territories ceded to the United States. In order to carry out this principle, the United States Congress passed an "Act to Ascertain and Settle the Private Land Claims in the State of California." Passed in 1851, the act created a three-man Board of Land Commissioners, appointed by the President, whose purpose was to determine the validity of all Mexican land grants. The Board, which began hearings on January 2, 1852, represented the first step in a lengthy legal process which left most of the claimants bankrupt. Both sides--the land claimant and the United States--had the right of appeal in the Federal district courts and then in the United States Supreme Court. Of the more than 800 cases presented to the land commission, which held most of its sessions in San Francisco, some 209 claims, involving about four million acres, were rejected. It was not uncommon for a case to drag on for several years; the average length of time required to secure evidence of ownership was about seventeen years from the time of submitting a claim.¹⁹

Few of the landholders had sufficient financial reserves to pay the heavy legal expenses; most were forced to sell large sections of their grants in order to keep the rest. Rafael Garcia, for example,

¹⁹Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 88; Bean, California, pp. 156-157.

had some 9,400 acres confirmed to him in 1866, although he owned, by that time, only 3,000 acres. Gregorio Briones, another GGNRA grantee, began selling sections of his Rancho Baulenes in 1852. By 1863, only six years after receiving a valid title, about 3,000 acres remained of the original 8,900 acre rancho.

The dissection and ultimate dissolution of these vast Mexican grants effected the end of Marin County's colorful rancho era. A few native Californios remained, but they were soon outnumbered by the American settlers and European immigrants who developed the area's agricultural potential.

C. GGNRA, San Francisco: Waning
Indian and Hispanic Influence

Within the current park boundaries, Indian and Hispanic influence—in the latter half of the 19th century--was minimal. The fishing industry based in San Francisco Bay attracted some Indian and Spanish fishermen, while Washerwomen's Lagoon, near Fort Mason, offered a perfect site for a few Mexican and Indian-run laundries. Of the few Indians who remained in the city, most worked as household servants. The U.S. Army prison on Alcatraz Island held Indian military prisoners during the 1870s and 1880s, including two participants in the infamous Modoc War. Immigrant Mexicans assured the continuance of Spanish-American culture, but unlike the Californios, most settled away from the current park territory. A proliferation of Spanish and Mexican newspapers followed this influx of immigrants, whose communities tended

to evolve, like their periodicals, independently of the native born.²⁰

1. Spanish, Mexican and Indian
Employment

a. Laundry Businesses at Washerwomen's Lagoon. Located, roughly, between Bay and Filbert to the north and south and Franklin and Octavia from the east to west, Washerwomen's Lagoon served as "the favorite spot for laundry work" during the early American period.²¹ Mentioned in the accounts of the 1776 Anza expedition, this once-extant pond was known by the Spanish as Laguna Pegueña. In the latter half of the 19th century the lagoon was surrounded by Mexicans and Indians engaged in a large-scale laundry business, complete with make-shift tents for the ironing and stoves for the boiling of water. According to Zoeth Eldredge:

The washerwomen, of whom there were a few, principally Mexicans and Indians, ranged themselves on one side [of the lagoon] and the washermen on the other. The men went into the business on a large scale, having their tents for ironing, their large kettles for boiling the clothes and their fluted washboards along the edge of the water.²²

Charles Lauff asserted that "the Indian women were the washerwomen in

²⁰Pitt, The Decline of the Californios, pp. 266-267. A survey of ethnic newspapers in the bay area reveals that at least 12 exclusively Spanish journals were published in San Francisco during the mid- to late-19th century. Bunje, Schmitz and Penn, "Journals of the Golden Gate, 1846-1936," UC Berkeley, 1936.

²¹Eldredge, Beginnings of San Francisco, pp. 615-616.

²²Ibid.

the early days," and "were rapidly growing rich from the profits." Laundry in San Francisco was priced by the dozen pieces, the scale ranging from six to eight dollars a dozen. Lauff recalled that "among the Indians were a few of the poorer Spanish people from the Presidio, who [were] also engaged in the laundry business."²³ These laborers, most of whom lived in their make-shift laundry tents, comprised the small minority of Hispanic and Indian residents near GGNRA lands.

b. Transport of San Francisco's Water Supply. In the late 1840s Charles Lauff observed a group of Indians transporting water from the presidio to the business district of the expanding city. Described as a "fresh water pond below the reservation," the natural reservoir was probably Mountain Lake or the smaller El Polin Spring, both located within GGNRA's legislated boundaries. The Indians employed a donkey and cart for this enterprise, carrying the water in wooden barrels worth three dollars upon delivery. Lauff noted that a few of the poorer Spanish people were also engaged in "carting water from the fresh water pool." No other mention of this GGNRA-based business has been uncovered.²⁴

c. Fishing Based in San Francisco Bay, Fisherman's Wharf Area. During the late 19th century San Francisco gained recognition as the largest Pacific Coast fish market. In addition to canned and salted fish, San Francisco supplied most of California, as well as other

²³Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 46.

²⁴Ibid.

Pacific/Western states, with fresh fish. California's fresh fish catches came predominately from the waters of 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 1890, under the brow of Telegraph Hill--not far from GGNRA's Aquatic Park area. The San Francisco fishing business was carried on almost exclusively by foreigners from Southern Europe, principally Italians but including some Greeks, Slavs, Portuguese, and Spaniards.²⁵ These European crews were supplemented by a few local native Americans, who probably earned the customary four to five dollars a day, when at work.²⁶ The Sacramento Union reported in 1871 that Indians speaking a "Digger dialect" (Central California) were working on board the vessels plying San Francisco Bay and the Sacramento River.²⁷

Nearly all of the fishing boats, excluding those of the Chinese, were rigged with the lateen sail. Known by the fishermen as the Catalan sail, it formed a right-angled triangle, the same as that originally adopted by the Catalans of Spain. Spaniards from Catalonia, an eastern region of Spain, made their first appearance in San Francisco

²⁵Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 145-146; Olmstead et al., San Francisco Waterfront, p. 569; Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries of the Pacific Coast," Overland Monthly 20, no. 116 (August 1892), pp. 155-156.

²⁶Hittel, The Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast, p. 362.

²⁷Rawls, "Images of the CA Indians," p. 181.

as members of the Catalan volunteer troops, circa 1796. The widespread use of "Catalan," in reference to the popular lateen sail, is reminiscent of San Francisco's early Hispanic history.²⁸

In 1892 five wealthy Italian, Spanish, and Greek fish dealers formed the Peter Koster and Company, in order 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, for when pulled between the company's two steam tugs, the Golden Gate and the Farragut, the nets hauled in tons of marine life, much of which was unfit for market and deliberately destroyed.²⁹

Peter Koster and Company operated its fishing business along the shore from the Golden Gate to Point Reyes--passing by or rounding several current park sites, i.e. the Golden Gate headlands and Point Bonita. A. Paladini, an Italian, was president of the company, while Peter or Captain "Costa" (Koster), a Spaniard, managed the business. In 1894 James H. Griffes described the Spanish captain who managed and jointly owned "the biggest fish monopoly in the world," which was based, for a time, near the present GGNRA:

Peter Costa is a taciturn Spaniard and a typical fisherman. He wears a blue flannel shirt and no suspenders, but he is a rich man for all that, and a one-fifth owner of the biggest fish monopoly in the world. His company supplies the

²⁸ Olmsted, et al., SF Waterfront, p. 569.

²⁹ Weaver, "Salt Water Fisheries," pp. 152-153, 157.

fish market of the entire coast, and a good many boxes of their wares find their way as far eastward as Denver and Salt Lake This Peter Costa is both feared and admired by the Slavs and Latins who work under him. You can find him almost any hour of the day, standing silently and thoughtfully at the head of fisherman's wharf. He is like the Sphinx, but is only one element of the whole strange and picturesque equipment.³⁰

d. Indian Miners. While not related specifically to GGNRA, a substantial number of Indians supplemented the Mexican element at Mother Lode diggings and mining camps. They were particularly numerous during the first two or three years after the 1848 discovery at Coloma, and were usually employed by white men, through force or free venture.³¹

The native's experience in wilderness survival helped him to cope with life at the makeshift mining camps. Charles Lauff recalled that the Indians were "the happiest of all at the diggings," as they would "go back into the hills and bring out venison, rabbits, bear meat and go away with plenty of gold dust."³²

In San Francisco the Indian miners would sell their gold for any article they wished to buy, including a drink of whiskey. The gold was sold by weight; one local historian asserted that some dealers kept special price lists and special scales and weights for trading

³⁰James H. Griffes, "Drake's Bay Fishing," Overland Monthly 24, no. 143 (November 1894), p. 460.

³¹James Rawls, "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," CHSQ 55, no. 1 (Spring 1976), pp. 28-45.

³²Lauff, "Reminiscences," pp. 39-40.

with the Indians, "considering it quite legitimate to rob them."³³

2. Indian Prisoners on Alcatraz

During the 1870s and 1880s Alcatraz Island served as a military fortification and disciplinary barracks site. The U.S. military prison held a variety of offenders, including several native Americans. In August of 1873 "Boncho" and "Slolux," two participants in the infamous Modoc War, were incarcerated at Alcatraz. These Modoc tribesmen assisted in the slaughter of General Canby and Dr. Thomas, a clergyman, by delivering the deadly rifles into the hands of Captain Jack and Schonchin, the men who shot the peace commissioners. Captain Jack, Schonchin, and two others were hung at Fort Klamath in Oregon, while Boncho and Slolux, accessory to the deed, were sentenced to life imprisonment on Alcatraz. These two "stocky, tight-lipped Modocs" were delivered into custody at Alcatraz in August 1873. Boncho died of consumption May 26, 1875, on his prison cot at Alcatraz. Slolux was released in 1877 by the U.S. Government, who no longer considered the Modoc "warrior" a menace to the Republic.³⁴

Throughout the 1880s several U.S. Army Indian scouts were sent to Alcatraz for deserting after battle. In 1881, for example, two Apache Indian scouts were sent to Alcatraz in chains for the

³³ Eldredge, Beginnings of San Francisco, p. 609.

³⁴ John Godwin, Alcatraz: 1868-1963 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1963), pp. 57-73; Jeremiah Curtin, Myths of the Modocs: Indian Legends of the Northwest (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), p. viii; Caughey, California, p. 262.

alleged mutiny and murder of Captain Charles Hentig, Company A, 6th Cavalry. Six years later another batch of five Apache scouts, again from Arizona, were sent to Alcatraz for organizing a mutiny. According to John Godwin, these native Americans were treated with contempt, being "sent to work on the island rock quarry, chained while in their cells, and terribly beaten on several occasions--their guards regarding them as traitors."³⁵

3. The Last of the Costanoans

By 1850 most members of the Costanoan and Coast Miwok ethnic groups had died or migrated away from their ancestors' homelands. Mission Dolores, where many Indians had lived out their lives, was transformed into a German brewery, complete with two taverns, a dancing room, and a saloon for drinking and gambling.³⁶ Drinking and gambling, while acceptable to most fun-loving Californios, were ironic pastimes for this formerly religious institution. Local Indians acquired a taste for these Hispano-American traditions--amusements which, according to some accounts, turned into tragic vices. Charles Lauff recalled that in San Francisco, "the Indian was the greatest victim of the gambling table," through which many "turned bandit in the early days."³⁷ Another description of the surviving San Francisco

³⁵ Godwin, Alcatraz, p. 73.

³⁶ Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 317.

³⁷ Lauff, "Reminiscences," p. 62.

Indians comes from a German named Frederick Gerstaecker, who reportedly visited the city in 1849. His account bemoans the group's widespread alcoholism and mentions their various employments about the city:

Drunkenness is a vice for which the Indians have to thank the (so-called) Christians. One's heart aches at sight of the strong figures who, degraded to the state of brutes by vile liquor, roll on the wayside and end in destruction. The few Indians who still lingered about the Mission, professed to be Christians, and the women, at least, conducted themselves very properly, washing and sewing for the Spaniards into whose families they were sometimes received as domestics. There are still small bands of these Indians roving about, camping in the open air, and living on what they secure in some way, or beg from the settlers. The better class, however, live in well-kept houses, wear suitable clothing and speak the Spanish language.³⁸

A year later Adam Johnston, the first U.S. Indian agent in California, reported on the condition of the San Francisco Costanoans:

Almost the entire tribe of Costanoes, or coast Indians, have passed away. Of the numerous tribes which but a few years ago inhabited the country bordering on the Bay of San Francisco, scarcely an individual is left. The pale faces have taken possession of their country and trample upon the graves of their forefathers. In an interview with a very aged Indian near the mission of Dolores, he said, "I am very sad; my people were once around me like the sands of the shores--many, many. They have gone to the mountains--I do not complain; the antelope falls with the arrow. I had a son--I loved him. When the pale-faces came he went away; I know not where he is. I am a Christian Indian; I am all that is left of my people--I am alone."³⁹

By the end of the 19th century, according to one source, there were only seven full-blooded Ohlones (Costanoans) alive. In 1968, it was estimated that approximately 130 descendants of the Ohlone tribe

³⁸Engelhardt, Mission Dolores, p. 318.

³⁹Heizer, ed., The Costanoan Indians, p. 4.

were still living, none being full-blooded or knowledgeable of the aboriginal language. Many of these descendants are living today near San Jose mission, where more than 4,000 Indians are buried. The cemetery is known as the Ohlone Indian Cemetery and was recently restored by the Ohlone people and the American Indian Historical Society, headquartered in San Francisco.⁴⁰

D. Marin County: Decline
of the Rancheros

The heavy legal expenses incurred during the lengthy court battles imposed by the U.S. Board of Land Commissioners led to the dissolution of many Marin County Mexican ranchos. By the mid-1860s all of Marin was in confirmed private ownership, most of the new landowners being non-Hispanic immigrants. These settlers were soon to realize the area's agricultural potential--an enterprise the rancheros never considered beyond family needs and subsistence trading. Lumbering and construction industries provided a labor pool for some Indian and Hispanic residents, while the dairy industry, southwest Marin's most profitable and widespread business, created jobs for members of the same ethnic groups.

1. Southwest Marin: The Hispanic and Indian Element

Point Reyes, Olema Valley and Sausalito were transformed into

⁴⁰ Galvan, "The Ohlone Story," The Indian Historian 1, no. 2 (Spring 1968), p. 12; Rupert Costo, personal communication, American Indian Historical Society, July 1979.

pioneering dairy operations in the mid-1850s. The seaside region of West Marin provided a mild climate with cool nights--ideal for the storage of products and open-air raising of cows. With a cooperative environment and nearby market within San Francisco's growing population, it is no wonder that these seaside townships, lying within GGNRA's present and projected boundaries, held the biggest and most profitable dairies. Butter, cheese and milk proved to be such lucrative products that the San Francisco investors who acquired these rancho tracts broke up their property and leased individual tracts, containing 50 to 1,500 acres, to tenant farmers. Most of these tenant farmers were foreign born; by the 1880s the ranchers at Point Reyes were predominately Swiss and Portuguese, while all of Throckmorton's Sausalito ranch was under Portuguese management. Many of the Portuguese ranchers had immigrated from the Azores, where they had already learned to operate a dairy ranch. 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 ranchers often hired young men from their native country who were willing to work for minimal wages while learning the language and ways of their new home. A study of the U.S. Census, Marin County, reveals that several Indian and Spanish-speaking laborers were also employed on these dairy farms, no doubt engaged as general ranch hands or vaqueros.⁴¹

⁴¹Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 130, 174, 247; Population Schedules of the 8th, 9th and 10th Census of the U.S., California, vol. 3, 4, and 5 (1860, 1870, 1880), Marin County, Inhabitants:

In 1852 a special Federal census was compiled for the state of California. The enumerator of Marin County listed a total of 218 Indians, representing 21% or about one-fifth of the entire Marin population. If interpreted as no more than a fair indication of population figures, the census is informative, especially with respect to the more descriptive schedules for 1860, 1870, and 1880. During the latter half of the 19th century Indian settlement was heaviest in San Rafael, county seat of Marin. The GGNRA and vicinity townships of Bolinas, Point Reyes and Sausalito appear to have been inhabited by a minority of Marin County's Indian population.⁴²

In 1860, in Bolinas Township, one Thomas Joise, an Irish farmer, employed a twenty-five year old Indian laborer named Harry, presumably as a ranch hand. In addition to the Briones and Garcia families, the Olema-Bolinas Township was inhabited by at least five Mexican-born residents in 1860: Francisco and Manual Notas, Stephen Carony, and Ambrose Carelis and wife. All lived in Olema and the men were all engaged as laborers. Within Sausalito Township, a nineteen-year-old Indian laborer, identified as Jimmy John, was employed by a farmer. A white farmer in the same township is listed as married to a young Indian woman named Magiline, who was occupied as housewife.⁴³

Bolinas, Point Reyes and Sausalito Townships.

⁴²For a reprint of the 1852 census, see Stephen Dietz, "Echa-Tamal," pp. 41-42.

⁴³U.S. Census, California, vol. 3 (1860), Inhabitants, Marin County, pp. 23-37.

The 1870 census of the county of Marin lists all Indian inhabitants under a supplementary schedule, which is, as its title suggests, simply the "Names of Indians in County of Marin." The Point Reyes Township, much of which was owned by the Shafter, Park, and Heydenfelt law firm, boasted a total of 18 Indians--their ages ranging from 2 to 66, with a fairly even ratio of males to females.⁴⁴ By 1860, the Shafter et al. law firm had divided and leased some 25,000 acres of its Point Reyes holdings among some ten tenant ranchers. In the summer of 1858 some of these early ranchers hired three Indian vaqueros to corral and brand the colts. Later that year the Shafter brothers, who maintained their own dairy, hired five Spanish vaqueros to handle the family's extensive herds of cattle. In regard to these Spanish cowboys, Oscar Shafter noted: "Such riding you never see or hear of in the East. The feats of the circus are tame in comparison."⁴⁵ A few years later, a reporter from the Daily Alta California visited the Shafter Ranch House and observed the existence of native American ranch hands:

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 to the dairy to be sieved, left to stand and the collected cream made into butter.⁴⁶

⁴⁴U.S. Census, California, vol. 4 (1870), Marin County, Supplement, Names of Indians, p. 1.

⁴⁵Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 192-193.

⁴⁶Quote reprinted in Toogood, *ibid.*, p. 212.

The Indian and Spanish ranch hands followed a daily routine on the ranch, starting at 4:30 in the morning with one hour of milking. Breakfast was served next, followed by duties that included tending the garden and grain field, managing the stock, and maintaining the lighter built to carry the produce out to the schooners. At noon all of the ranch hands returned for lunch in the dining room, a meal that was followed by more chores and the evening milking. Most hands retired to bed after an early supper.⁴⁷

The 1870 supplement for Bolinas Township lists 16 Indian residents. Most are identified by first names only, although one small family, the Rivas', included two children, Carlos and Juana, and an adult female named Alida. The regular schedule of inhabitants includes two Spanish-born farmers, Louis and Paul Figueras, who evidently employed five French Canadian laborers. That same year only 5 Indians are indicated under the list for Sausalito, although the regular schedule included a number of Mexicans and Chileans--listed as dairy laborers, duck raisers, and housekeepers.⁴⁸

The 1880 Population Schedule for Marin County includes Indian residents within the traditional format, revealing the extent of white and Indian intermarriage. Of the five Indians listed in the Bolinas township, one, an adult female named Cuasera, is married to Christopher Blasdel, a white farm hand. Point Reyes again boasted the largest

⁴⁷Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 214-215.

⁴⁸U.S. Census, California, vol. 4 (1870), Marin County, Schedule of Inhabitants and Indian Supplement.

number of Indian inhabitants. Of the 28 Indians listed, four are housewives married to Chilean, Mexican, or Italian laborers. Sausalito Township was populated, according to this source, by seven native Americans divided into two white, male-headed households. Toedora Mesa, a white laborer, and Benjamin Johnson, a white butcher, were married to Indian women with whom they shared a small family.⁴⁹

2. Pablo Briones and Family:
Second Generation Ranchero

Pablo Briones, eldest son of Gregorio Briones, maintained the family's tie to Bolinas through the 19th century. A resident of Woodville or Dogtown--situated between GGNRA and Point Reyes National Seashore--Pablo was considered "one of the most honorable and respected Spanish American men in the country."⁵⁰ He owned several tracts of land, a large house to accommodate his numerous offspring, and an assortment of livestock. Pablo served for many years as Bolinas' only doctor, a profession he acquired through the instructions of his grandmother, Juana Briones. When not visiting a patient, Pablo tended his cattle or drove a stage to Olema. In 1863 he organized, with five other men, the Union Cooper Mining Company, located in Cooper Mine Gulch,

⁴⁹U.S. Census, California, vol. 5 (1880), Marin County, Schedule of Inhabitants: Bolinas, Point Reyes and Sausalito.

⁵⁰Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 418. The name "Dogtown" originated from the multitude of vagrant dogs in the area, used for hunting deer and bear. It was changed to "Woodville" in the late 19th century, in hopes that the less offensive name would attract more female residents.

approximately one mile north of the head of Bolinas lagoon, within GGNRA's Olema Valley tract.⁵¹ Three years later Pablo pleased the local residents by donating a school site to the Bolinas School District. A prominent and contributing inhabitant of the Bolinas Township, Pablo accepted the Americans but chose to retain fragments of the rancho lifestyle. Spanish was the only language spoken in the Briones household, while music and dancing were the family's favorite amusements.

Pablo was born at Mission Dolores, San Francisco, on January 15, 1823. He resided with his parents--for a while at the Presidio--until the fall of 1837, when he moved to his father's Rancho Baulenes. The fourteen-year-old lad took full charge of the tract, building a temporary dwelling or palizada in which the family lived until Gregorio organized the construction of a larger wood frame home. Pablo grew up here with his three sisters and brothers, who eventually became heirs to the Briones estate.

Upon Gregorio's death, 10 May 1863, Pablo became executor of a will which bequeathed some 3,000 acres to the Briones children. County surveyor Hiram Austin's 1873 map of Marin County shows that Pablo received a substantial tract at the head of Bolinas Bay, including Woodville on the north, a section of the current Point Reyes National Seashore (east of the old Olema-Bolinas Road) and a chunk of the present GGNRA, including McCurdy Trail, Cooper Mine Gulch, and Old

⁵¹Toogood, "A Civil History," p. 257.

Ranch Road. Pablo had moved to Dogtown or Woodville as early as 1849, where he resided in a succession of two to three houses, all built, reportedly, by American loggers.⁵²

Pablo's many-gabled Dogtown house sheltered a traditionally large Hispanic family. Married on February 2, 1861, Pablo and Rafaela Sotelo Briones raised a family of 12 children, three of whom did not live, evidently, to adulthood. Munro-Fraser's 1880 account listed a total of eight sons and daughters, born between 1861 and 1879.⁵³ Of these eight--Pableto, Fannie, Mary, Teressa, Juan, Bell, Francisco, and Carlotta--only Fannie, Juan (John), Bell, Francisco (Frank), and Carlotta (Lottie) receive later mention. An obituary in the Marin Journal, 17 April 1917, announced the death of Rafaela Briones. She is identified as the wife of Pablo Briones and the mother of Paul, John, Frank, Albert, Rose, Belle, and Inez.⁵⁴ Inez Briones was born in 1881; her sister Rose was born two years later.⁵⁵ Paul and Albert are mentioned in the Rose Briones interview, along with John ("Jack"), Frank, Bell, Lottie, Inez, and Fanny. These sons and daughters (a total of nine) lived to adulthood. The only surviving child of Pablo Briones, to date, is Rose Briones--aged 97 at the time of this writing.⁵⁶

⁵² Jack Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, pp. 18-19.

⁵³ Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 418.

⁵⁴ "Obituaries," Marin Journal, 17 April 1917.

⁵⁵ "Obituaries," San Francisco Chronicle, 5 February 1971, p. 35, col. 4; Rose Briones interview, p. 1.

⁵⁶ Rose Briones interview, pp. 1, 10.

Pablo Briones' greatest contribution to the Bolinas township was his medical practice. Issued a license from the Internal Revenue Service in the 1850s, "Dr. Pablo" was entitled to "carry on the occupation of physician," surgery excluded. His healing techniques, like those of many "physicians" in that day, relied upon herbs, gentle reassurance, and a bit of luck. Arthur Bourne, a prominent Bolinas resident, watched Pablo set a broken leg. "He would spit on his fingers, and work the bones back into place" This successful technique was used twice on another Marin County resident, whose leg, after Pablo's treatment, was reportedly "as good as new."⁵⁷ Rose reminisced that her father Pablo wasn't at home much, as he was always busy "lassoing cow for the butcher or he'd be visiting somebody--he was the only doctor around." Pablo made his house calls by buggy or horseback, and traveled as far as Stinson Beach, Olema, Point Reyes, and San Rafael.⁵⁸

In 1863 Pablo Briones and five other local Bolinas citizens organized the Union Copper Mining Company, one of three mining companies established that year in the Bolinas Township. The prospect of striking it rich, reminiscent of the '49 gold rush, was revived in Bolinas when traces of copper ore were discovered in gulches recently shorn of their redwood trees. Among the organizers and stock holders of the Union Copper Mining Company were William Ewing, owner of a

⁵⁷ Jack Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, pp. 18-19.

⁵⁸ Rose Briones interview, p. 10.

carpenter shop in Dogtown; V. M. Gordon, a San Rafael banker; Charles Lauff, pioneer, early lumberman in Bolinas and husband of Marie Briones; Edward Nelson, and William Miller. The Union Copper Mining Company operated for several years, during which time it shipped several tons of ore to San Francisco for reduction. The company prospected for a few months during the spring of 1867--a brief endeavor which represented the only copper mining that year in California. Despite the company's high expectations, the Union Mine was abandoned around 1870. According to Anna Coxie Toogood, "the low price of copper combined with the heavy cost of transportation worked against its financial success."⁵⁹

In 1866 Pablo donated a 75 x 75 foot site to Bolinas School District. Known as Pablo's School or Bolinas School, the institution constructed on the site was "to be used for religious and temperance meetings if it [was] not used for school purposes."⁶⁰ Sources vary concerning the history of "Pablo's School." Some believe the recently vacated home of Rose Briones, near Dogtown, to be the old Bolinas schoolhouse. Jack Mason asserts, with others, that Rose's residence was indeed an old schoolhouse, but was originally known as "Wilkin's School," and not built until 1885.⁶¹

⁵⁹Toogood, "A Civil History," pp. 257-259; Munro-Fraser, History of Marin County, p. 273.

⁶⁰Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, pp. 20, 160.

⁶¹Mason, *ibid.*, p. 160; Marin County Schools, a pamphlet prepared by the Marin County Historical Society; Rose Briones interview, p. 1.

Life in Dogtown during the second half of the 19th century was less rustic than that in the Mexican rancho era, although many of the customs from that period were still in use. Rose Briones recalled that "if there was any amusement there would be a dance you'd go to. A bunch of us would go together," she reminisced, and popular dances included the waltz, polka, and square dance. Music for the dances was derived from the banjo and accordeon, while the events themselves were usually held at Druid's Hall, in Bolinas. At home, Rose remembered that she helped with the milking of the cows when her brothers weren't available. Livestock at the Briones casa included cows, hogs, horses, goats, chickens, turkeys, geese, and ducks. The family simply "killed what they wanted to eat" like most rancho families. Pablo drove Rose and the other children to school every morning, by buggy. There were only about six students in Rose's class. She had to learn English in school, as Spanish was always spoken in the home.⁶²

Before his father's death in 1863, Pablo had acquired two houses, two town lots in San Rafael, a wagon, and a substantial number of livestock. The County Assessor's roll for 1856-1857 reveals that Pablo's assorted property was valued at a total of \$1,355. Two years later his holdings had increased by some \$300.⁶³ Most of the family income came from milling lumber and, apparently, from property

⁶²Rose Briones interview, pp. 3-10; Assessment Roll for the County of Marin, 1856-1857, "Pablo Briones."

⁶³Assessment Roll for the County of Marin, 1856-1857 and 1859.

sales. The 1873 map of Marin shows David McMullin and Samuel McCurdy co-owners of 1,835 acres north of Woodville purchased in 1868, while John Brown bought a 15 x 17 foot lot for a mere \$20 in 1883. In July of 1892, too old for strenuous labor, Pablo leased his ranch in Woodville to Peter Bourne for \$500 a year. The lease was for five years, but Pablo died December 8, 1896, a year before the lease ran out.⁶⁴ Nearly 75 years old at his death, Pablo Briones was remembered by his daughter Rose as "very kind to everybody and full of the old nick."⁶⁵ Pablo was buried in the Bolinas cemetery, beside the Catholic Church, on land Gregorio had bequeathed in 1863.

⁶⁴ Mason, Last Stage for Bolinas, p. 20.

⁶⁵ Rose Briones interview, p. 3.

Appendix A

HISPANIC AND INDIAN PLACE NAMES
GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA:
Their Meaning and History

GGNRA in San Francisco

Alcatraz: (pelican) The diary and chart of Captain Ayala of the San Carlos, first ship to enter San Francisco Bay from the sea, show that this name was apparently given, in 1775, to what is now Yerba Buena, "because of the great abundance of those birds." "La Isla de los Alcatrazes" was evidently transferred to the barren rock we know today by a British charting expedition led by Richard Beechey in the 1820s. Alcatraz properly means "albatross," but is used in Spanish to designate the pelican.

Angel Island: (Americanization of "La Isla de los Angeles") This island was named in 1775 by Captain Manuel de Ayala, of the San Carlos. The original name was Nuestra Senora de los Angeles (Our Lady of the Angels), but was soon abbreviated to La Isla de los Angeles and finally translated into English.

Lake Merced: (Mercy Lake) The lake which currently borders on San Francisco Zoo and GGNRA's Fort Funston was named by Fray Francisco Palou and members of the Spanish land expedition under Captain Bruno Heceta, in September 1775. As chaplain of the expedition, Palou named the lagoon "Nuestra Senora de la Merced," in recognition of the date, September 24: the Feast of Our Lady of Mercy.

Point Lobos: (Seal Point, from the Spanish lobo marino, or sea wolf) The first white men to explore this current GGNRA site were the Spanish, led by Captain Rivera y Moncada and Father Francisco Palou. The survey expedition arrived at "Seal Point" in December 1774, and erected a cross upon the cliff. The point itself was probably named for the numerous seals or sea wolves that still occupy the large sea stack near the immediate shoreline.

Presidio: (from the Latin, "Praesidium") This section of GGNRA is within the legislated boundaries but currently under U.S. Army management. Derived from the Latin, this word was used by the Hispanics and Mexicans for the double meaning of prison and military post.

San Francisco: (St. Francis) When Father Serra pointed out to the Visitador General that no mission had been provided for St. Francis (founder of the order of Franciscans) in Upper California, Señor Calvez reportedly replied: "Si St. Francis quiere misión, que haga

se halla su puerto y se le pondra." (If St. Francis wants a mission, let him cause his port to be found and one will be placed there for him.) Thus a name actually existed before white man's exploration of the bay. The great bay itself was probably first seen by Sgt. Ortega in 1769, during the famous Portolá expedition. The name "San Francisco" was applied for a short time to Drake's Bay, and was not used in reference to the town and growing city until the mid-19th century.

Yerba Buena: (the good herb) Before the town of San Francisco was known as such, "Yerba Buena" was applied to both the island and nearby mainland cove and settlements. The name comes from a tiny vine with a small white flower, native to the California woods. Known for its agreeable aromatic odor, the "good herb" was used by Hispanics for its medicinal qualities and to add a pleasant scent to their tea.

GGNRA in Marin County

Bolinas: The name of the present town and 19th century rancho is probably a corruption of "Baulines," an Indian word of unknown meaning. Descendents of Marin County Coast Miwoks informed anthropologist S. A. Barrett that an Indian village of this name ("Bauli-n") was located on the lagoon shores, probably within the present Audubon Canyon Ranch. The current term is most probably derived from an Indian village or place name, and may even have some tribal significance. Bolinas Bay appears on an 1859 map as "Ballenas," giving rise to another theory that the name may have been corrupted from Ballenas (whales), as the Spaniards often named bays after sea mammals that frequented them.

Cavallo Point: (from Caballo or "Horse Point") This narrow peninsula near East Fort Baker (within GGNRA boundaries) has an interesting tale behind it, which dates back to the Rivera-Palou expedition of 1774. When Father Palou described the channel we know as the Golden Gate, he observed that there appeared to be "no difficulty in the way of having boats cross and load and unload--and even horses and mules--in order to be able to get to Point Reyes, near which the harbor of San Francisco is said to lie; perhaps, since the channel is so narrow, even of getting animals across behind canoes." According to historians Stanger and Brown, there are persistent tales that exactly this feat of getting horses to swim the Golden Gate was often done in Spanish times. Present Caballo Point retains the name Playa de los Caballos (Horse Beach), which was once attached to the Marin shore here.

Marin: There are several different accounts of the origin of this place name, but most refer to an Indian named Marin. One story recounts the tale of a famous chief and military leader of the Lacatuit or Hoo-koo-ek-o Indians, who was involved in several skirmishes against the Spanish. Chief Marin was finally captured by his enemies, but managed to escape sometime later to a little island in San Francisco

Bay. The island was named after the brave Indian chief, and then applied to the adjacent mainland as well. Other accounts alter this version a bit, claiming that the Indian chief began a gentler life under imprisonment and commenced operation of a ferry between Sausalito and San Francisco. His crude but convenient ferry earned him the Spanish name of El Marinero, which is equivalent to the English word "sailor." According to historian Charles Dobie, "the land from Sausalito northward became known as the Land of Marinero, abbreviating later to just plain "Marin." While these accounts may be based on pure legend, Captain Ayala of the San Carlos did in fact name the bay between San Pedro and San Quentin Points "Bahia de Nuestra Senora del Rosario la Marinera" (San Rafael Bay). This lengthy Spanish name may well have been condensed to Marin, although there is no evidence yet to substantiate either Indian or Spanish origin. Hubert Howe Bancroft found no evidence to support Chief Marin's existence, but states nevertheless that there is "no special reason" to doubt it.

Mount Tamalpais: This current state park and mountain are located near GGNRA managed lands, but are not within the park's legislated boundaries. Tamalpais is based on two Coast Miwok Indian words, "tam-mal" the bay country, and "pi-es," a mountain. According to anthropologist C. Hart Merriam, the Indians formerly inhabiting the Tamalpais region called themselves "hoo-koo-ek-o," "Tam-mal-pi-es" or "Tam-mal-pis" being their name for the mountain. The resemblance of the latter word, "pi-es," to the Spanish word "pais," is thought by ethnologists to be purely accidental.

Olema Valley: "Olema" is evidently derived from the Coast Miwok Hoo-koo-e-ko dialect: "O-la-mah lo-kah" being the native word for Olema Valley, which translates into "coyote valley." Spanish mission records, explorer's accounts, and the testimonies of living descendants all confirm that a major Indian settlement was located on the present site of Olema, on the edge of GGNRA's northernmost boundary. "Ole," or Coyote, was an important figure in both Costanoan and Coast Miwok mythology.

Point Bonita: (pretty point) The name of the soon to be acquired peninsula and lighthouse has been corrupted from Punto de Bonetes (hat point), which was given to it in 1776, during Anza's settlement expedition. It was originally named bonete in reference to its resemblance to a sort of hat worn by the Catholic clergy. It appears as such in the old Spanish documents, and was probably altered sometime during the late Spanish or Mexican period.

Point Reyes: (Punta de los Reyes, Point of the King) This national seashore and peninsula lies within GGNRA's projected boundaries, and was named by General Sebastian Viscaino in 1603. Most accounts claim that the "point" was named in honor of the three wise men or holy kings, as it was discovered on the day of their devotion: January 6,

1603. Another historian proposes that "in sailing by the headland, just from the proper point of view, a throne may be seen in the granite cliffs with a king seated upon it," an image which prompted Viscaino to name the headland "point of the King."

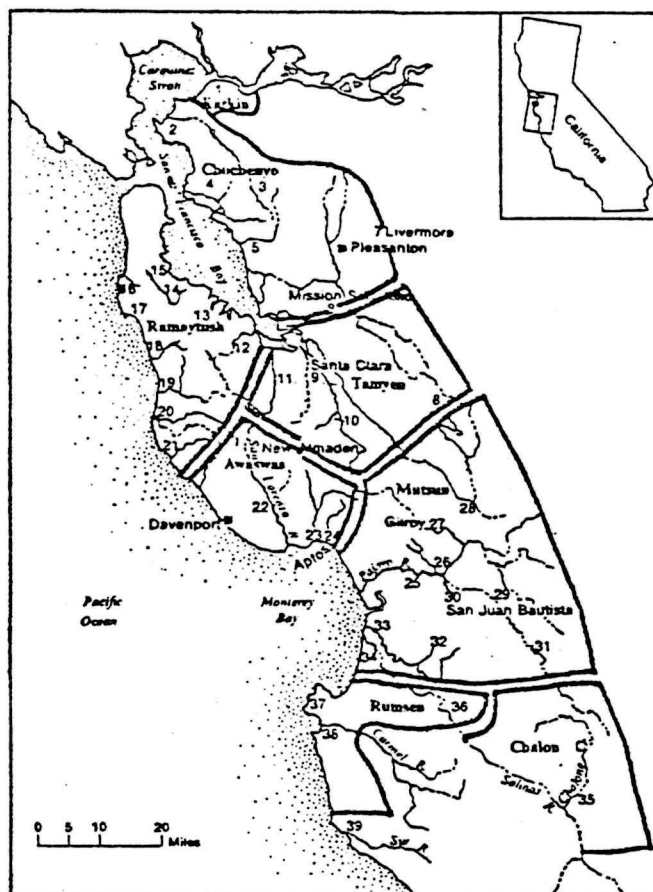
Sausalito: (little willow grove) The name of the present town and 19th century rancho and township comes from the proper Spanish word "Sausalito," diminutive of "sauzal," meaning willow grove. According to Sausalito historians, the region was named by Spanish explorers for the willow trees found growing along its stream banks. The original rancho and township covered nearly 20,000 acres, including all of GGNRA below Stinson Beach.

Appendix B

MAPS

- Figure 1. Costanoan ethnic groups and tribelets (late 18th century).
- Figure 2. Marin County with Select Aboriginal Settlements.
Olema-Loke, Bauli-n, and Liwanelowa are within or near
current GGNRA boundaries.
- Figure 3. North Central California Linguistic Groups.
- Figure 4. The Peninsula of San Francisco. A rough sketch of
San Francisco ranchos.
- Figure 5. Marin County Rancho Grants, 1834-1846. Emphasis on
tracts under current GGNRA management.
- Figure 6. Map of the Final Survey of the Rancho Saucelito,
March 1858.
- Figure 7. Rancho Tomales y Baulines.
- Figure 8. The Bolinas Rancho in 1873.

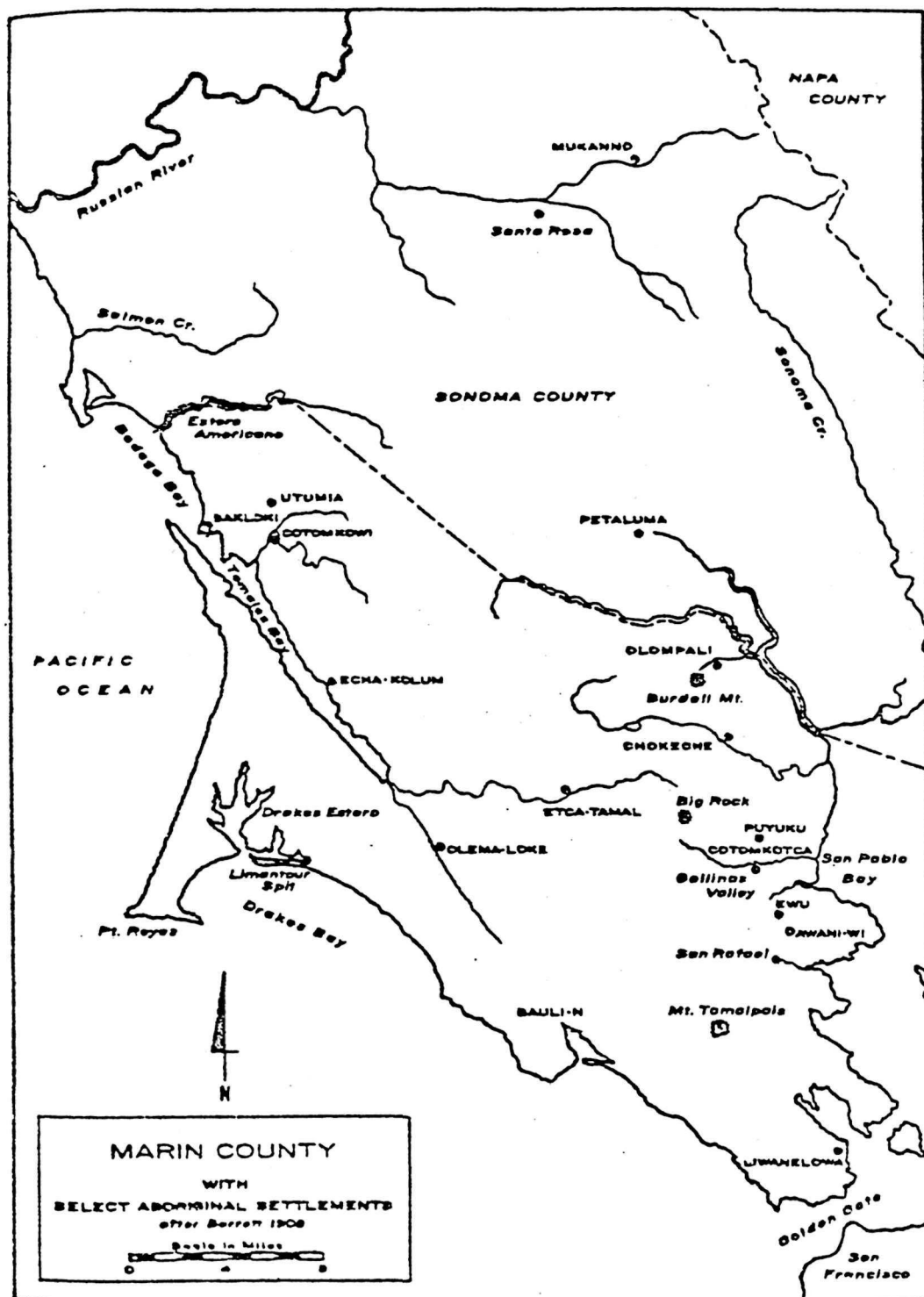
Figure 1. Costanoan ethnic groups and tribelets (late 18th century).



Tribelets: 1, *karkin* (Los Carquines); 2, *xučyün*; 3, (Palos Colorados); 4, (San Antonio); 5, *lisyan*; 6, *ʔoroyšom* (San Francisco Solano); 7, *šewnen* (El Valle); 8, (Santa Ysabel); 9, (Santa Clara); 10, (San Juan Bautista); 11, (San José Cupertino); 12, *puyšon* (Arroyo de San Francisco); 13, *lamšin* (Las Pulgas); 14, *šalšon* (San Matheo); 15, *šipliškin* (San Bruno); 16, *ramay* (Cañada de las Almejas); 17, *šatunumno* (San Egidio); 18, *koixen* (La Purísima); 19, *ʔolxon*; 20, *kaxašta* (San Antonio); 21, *čitaktak* (San Juan); 22, *šayan* (San Juan Capistrano); 23, *ʔuypi* (San Daniel); 24, *ʔaptoš* (San Lucas); 25, *ʔawsayma*; 26, *xuristak*; 27, *kulu-listak* (San Bernardino); 28, *ʔorestak*; 29, *košetak*; 30, *xumoniwaš*; 31, *paxšin*; 32, *mutsun* (La Natividad); 33, *wačron*; 34, *kalenta ruk*; 35, *čalon*; 36, *ʔensen* (Los Sanjones); 37, *ʔačista* (San Carlos); 38, *ʔičxenta* (San José); 39, *sarxenta ruk* (R. del Sur). Names in parentheses are Spanish designations.

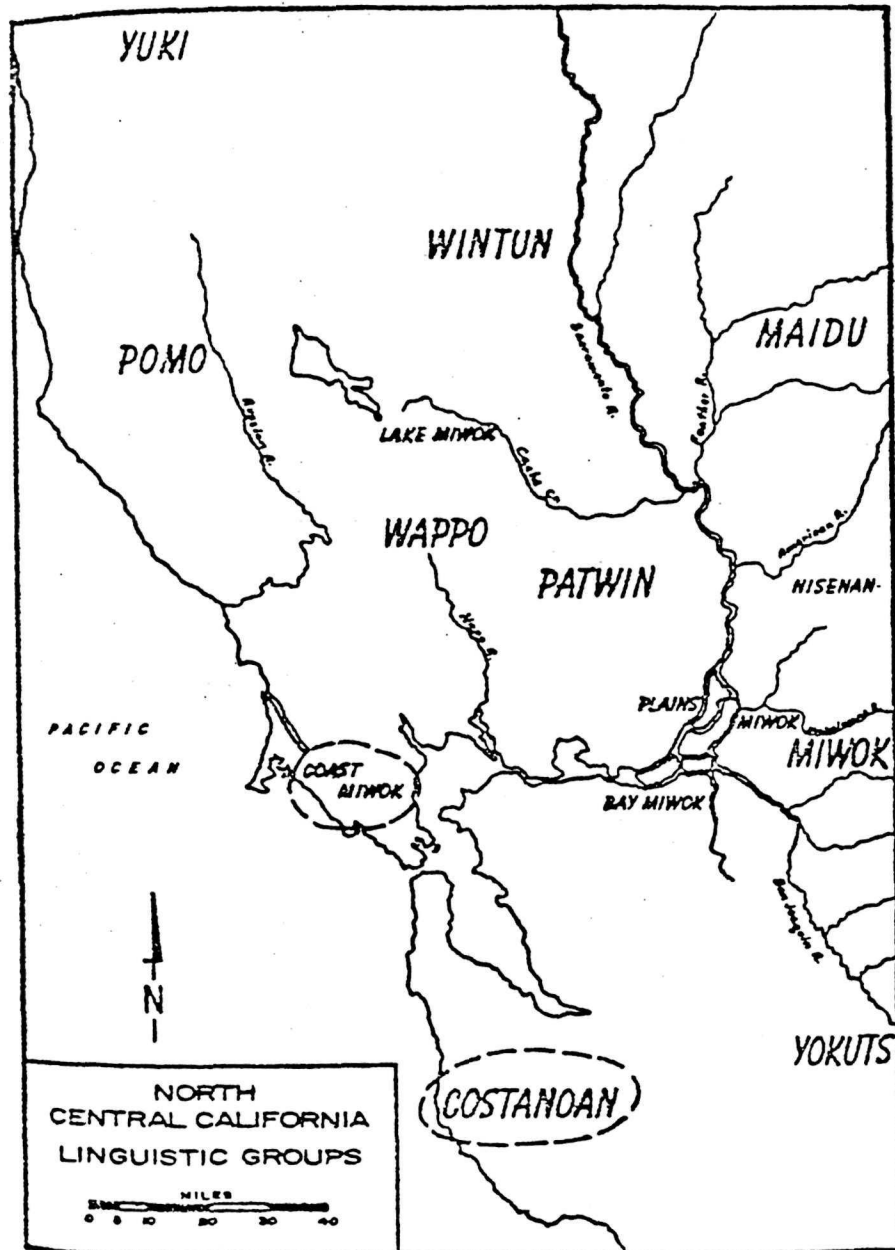
Source: Robert Heizer and William Sturtevant (eds.), The Handbook of North American Indians, 1978.

Figure 2



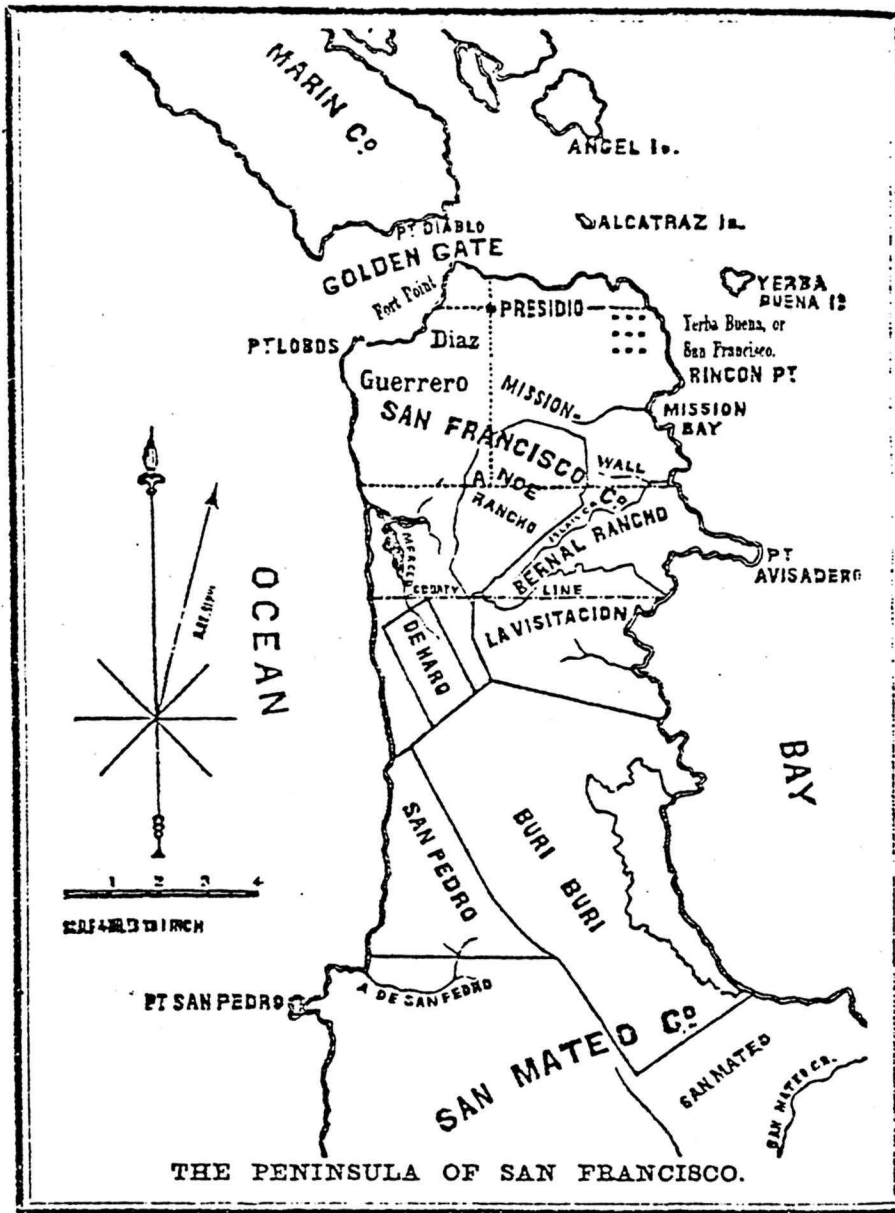
Source: Stephen Dietz, "Echa-Tamal," 1976.

Figure 3



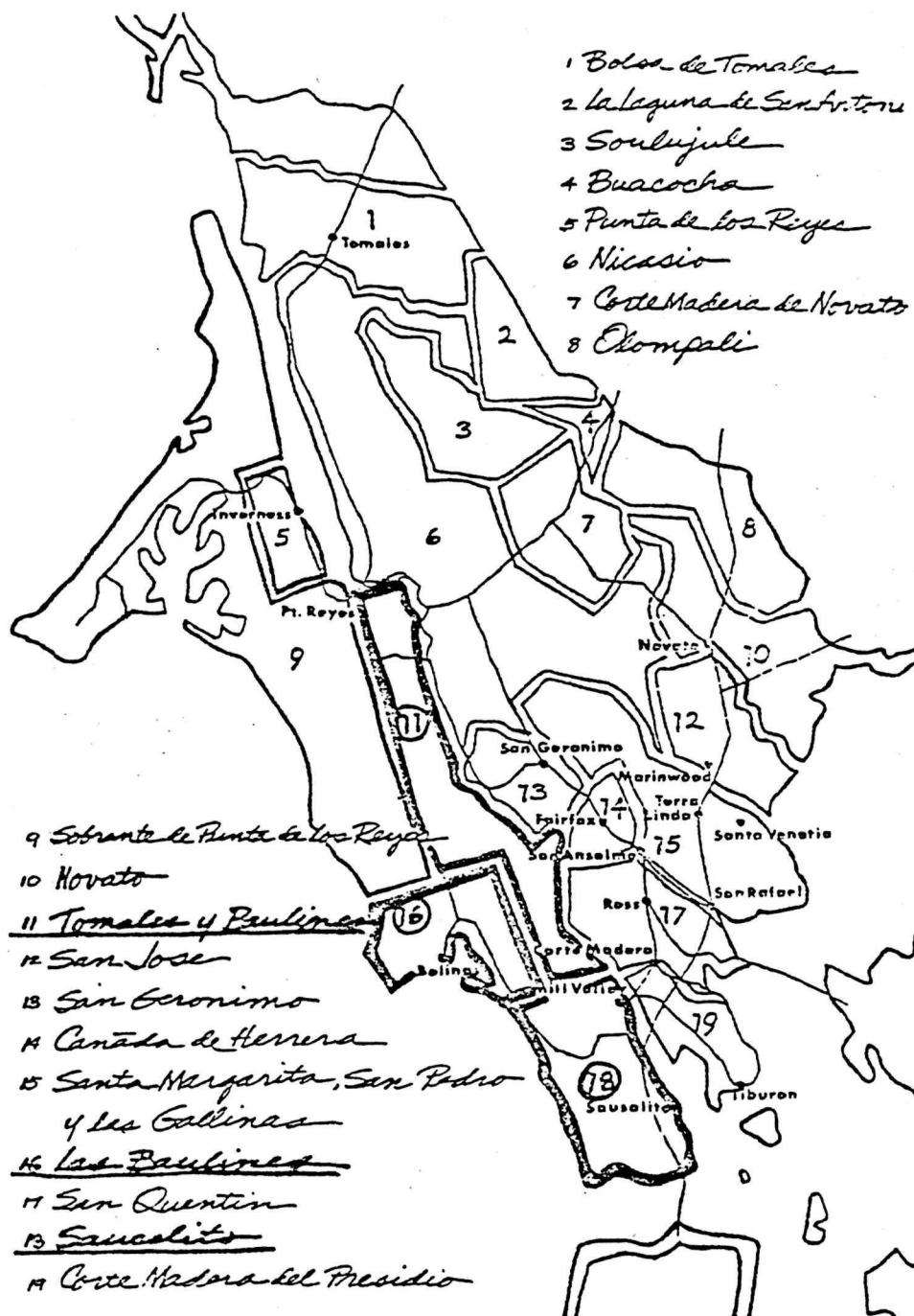
Source: Charles Slaymaker, "The Material Culture of Coto-mko-tca," Mapom Papers, 1977.

Figure 4



Source: John Dwinelle, The Colonial History: The City of San Francisco, 1867.

Figure 5. Marin County Rancho Grants,
1834-1846



Source: Glen Dines, Kit Carson's Black Deed, 1968.

Figure 6. Map of the Final Survey of
Rancho Saucelito, March 1858.

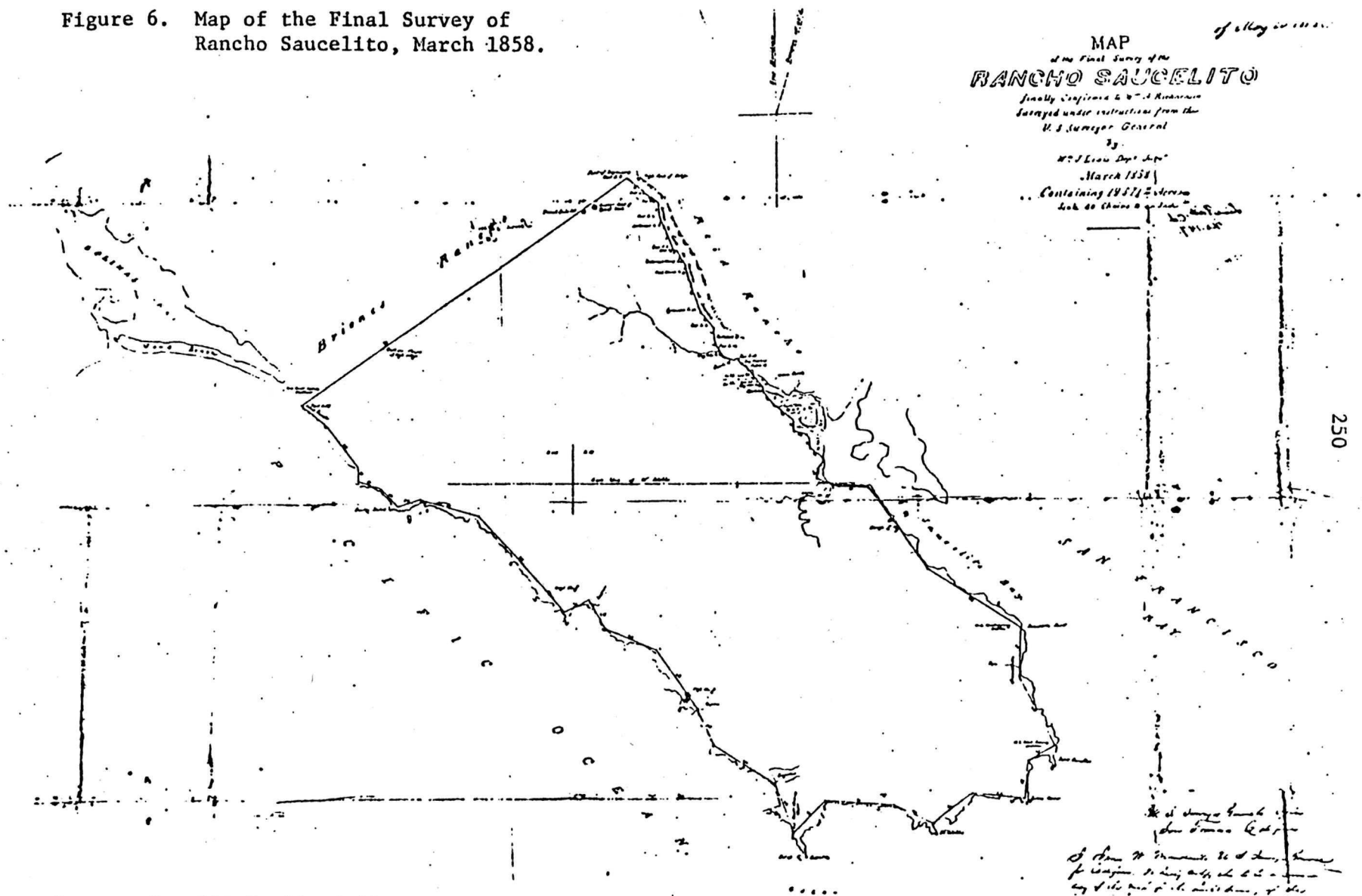
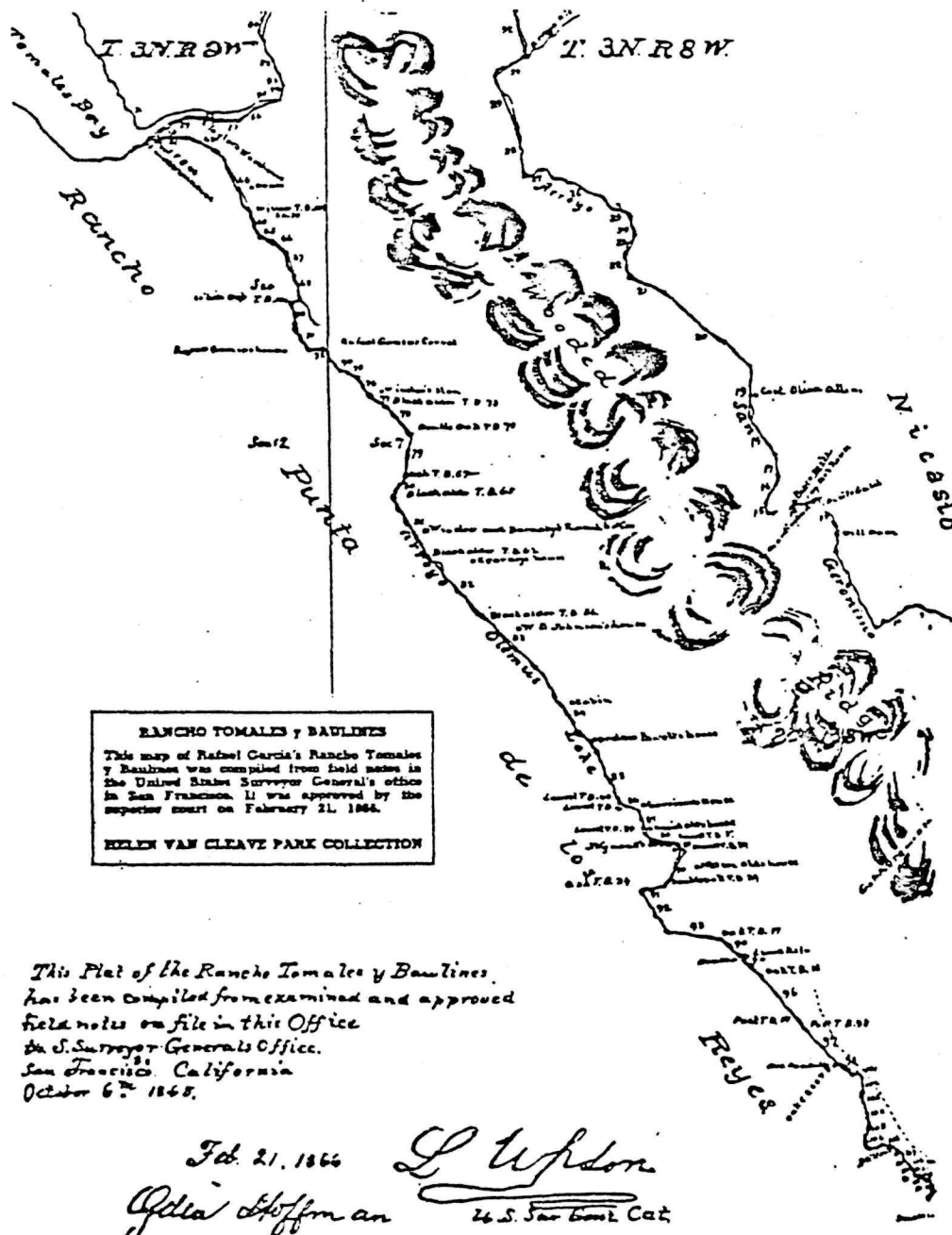
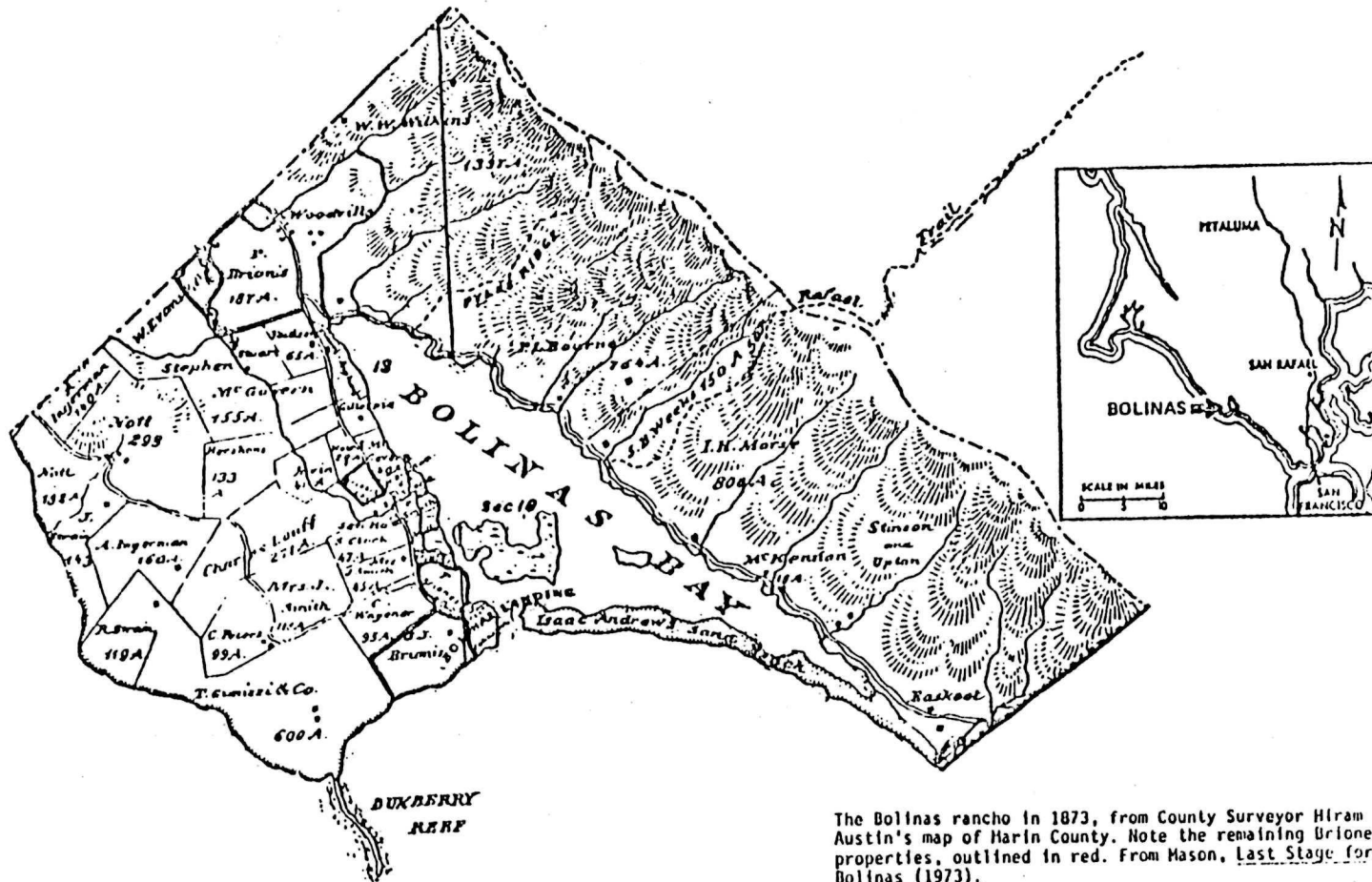


Figure 7



Source: Jack Mason, Olema, Dear Valley, 1976.

Figure 8



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KATHRYN MARY LANG

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Professional Interests: Urban and ethnic history, cultural resource management

EDUCATION

- 1978 -- Present M.A. Candidate, History, Program in Public Historical Studies,
University of California, Santa Barbara
Emphasizes the application of the historical method toward
work within the community at large.
- 1974 -- 1978 B.A., History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Graduated magna cum laude
- Winter/Spring 1976 Redlands University in Salzburg, Austria
Courses in European history and Austrian culture

HONORS

- 1978 - 1979 Rockefeller Foundation Fellow
- 1976 - 1978 Dean's List

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

- Winter/Spring 1979 Currently involved in an M.A. and Ph.D. level group research
project for the Public Historical Studies Program, focusing
on the political, economic and social history of Santa
Barbara's waterfront district.
- 1978 - 1979 Co-wrote and produced a multi-media slide presentation,
titled "A New Professional: The Public Historian."
- Winter 1978 Conducted an extensive research project in urban crime,
concentrating on the activities of the Ku Klux Klan.
Presented as thesis for the Bachelor of Arts degree.
- Winter 1977 Research paper: "The Irish and Germans in Boston and New York,
1845 - 1860, A Study in Immigrant Conflicts."

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Phi Alpha Theta (International Honor Society in History)
National Trust for Historic Preservation
American Historical Association

COMMITTEES AND ASSOCIATIONS

- 1978 - 1979 Graduate Student Representative for the Affirmative Action
Faculty Development Committee
- 1975 - 1976 Panhellenic Representative
- 1974 - 1975 Historian for Gamma Kappa Chapter of Delta Gamma
Community Affairs Board project volunteer

