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THE ARGONAUT
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Cover photo: *On October 21, 1928, the Sunset Tunnel opened for the first time. Mayor James Rolph drove the first N Judah streetcar through the tunnel and out to Ocean Beach. Department of Public Works photo, courtesy of Open SF History/wnp27.0493.*

A Second Tunnel for the Sunset

by Vincent Ring

With the completion of the Twin Peaks Tunnel in July of 1917 and the inauguration of streetcar service on a regular basis in June of the following year, one of the main recommendations of the report of Bion J. Arnold had been fulfilled.[1] However, the Twin Peaks tunnel provided rapid transportation only for those residents in close proximity to the streetcar using the tunnel. The northern section of the Sunset District, near Golden Gate Park, still lacked a direct route to the downtown area.

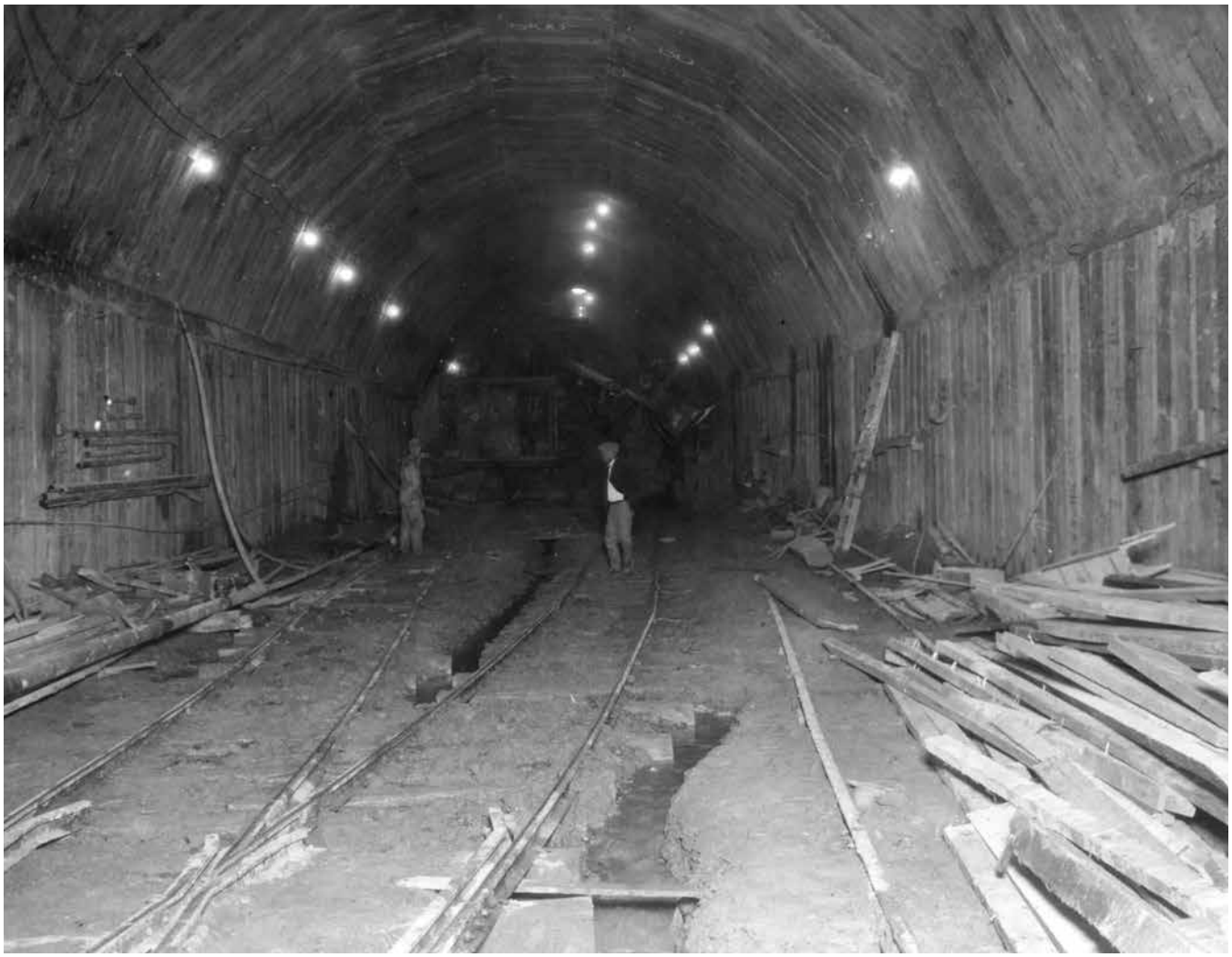
In his report, Arnold had recommended another tunnel, the Mission-Sunset tunnel, in conjunction with the tunnel through Twin Peaks.[2] Although he had given first priority to the Twin Peaks tunnel, he felt that both tunnels would be necessary for the full development of the West of Twin Peaks and Sunset Districts. The main function of the Mission-Sunset tunnel would be to link the Mission District with the northern Sunset District and provide a more direct means of transportation between the northern Sunset and the downtown area.[3]

During the years of construction of the Twin Peaks tunnel, no serious consideration seems to have been given to the proposed Mission-Sunset tunnel. Even at the time of inauguration of regular streetcar service through the Twin Peaks tunnel in June of 1918, the president of the Sunset Federation of Improvement Clubs, Daniel S. O'Brien, said:

> It is expected that the new trackage . . . will bring an immense indirect benefit by further opening the beautiful Sunset District with its rolling acres of incomparable home sites. These wide tracts, a whole section of the City, are but sparsely populated because in the past they have lacked transportation to the heart of the city. This now supplied, it is believed that 50,000 inhabitants is not a large estimate of the probable Sunset population within the next few years.[4]

However, not much more then a year later, the Central Sunset Improvement Association released a report claiming that because of the failure of the city to provide adequate transportation between Irving Street and Ortega Street in the northern Sunset was failing to develop to its potential. The report concluded:

> The City of San Francisco is losing revenue annually in real estate and personal taxes alone in the Sunset District between Irving Street and the Parkside of at least $1,000,000 on account of not having proper streetcar transportation.
>
> Three-fourths of the Sunset District has an ocean or marine view and is one of the most healthy districts in San Francisco, thus making that District for homes one of the best in the city.[5]



The Sunset/Duboce tunnel under construction, looking west from the eastern portal. Department of Public Works photo, taken September 29, 1926.

Concern for the development of the district was not limited to merely local self-interest groups in the Sunset. In early 1921, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce published a report written by Dr. B. M. Rastall. He contended that several districts remained isolated because of the "lack of direct through route streets connecting with the center of the city and streetcar transportation."[6] He also stated that these districts needed re-planning to break up their checkerboard plan and increase the size of their consistent twenty-five-foot lots. With adequate transportation and re-planning for modern home development, he felt that these isolated districts, especially the Sunset, could compete with other districts for new residents.[7]

Although the report of the Chamber of Commerce did not specifically mention a tunnel, serious consideration was given to such a project. Aside from Arnold's proposed Mission-Sunset tunnel, consideration was given to a Duboce tunnel, from Duboce Avenue and Noe Street, under Buena Vista Hill, to the area of Carl and Cole Streets. The advocates of this route felt that it would serve the double purpose of providing for the residents of the Pope Tract, in the vicinity of Carl and Cole Streets, as well as providing rapid transportation for the northern Sunset District to the downtown and business section.[8]

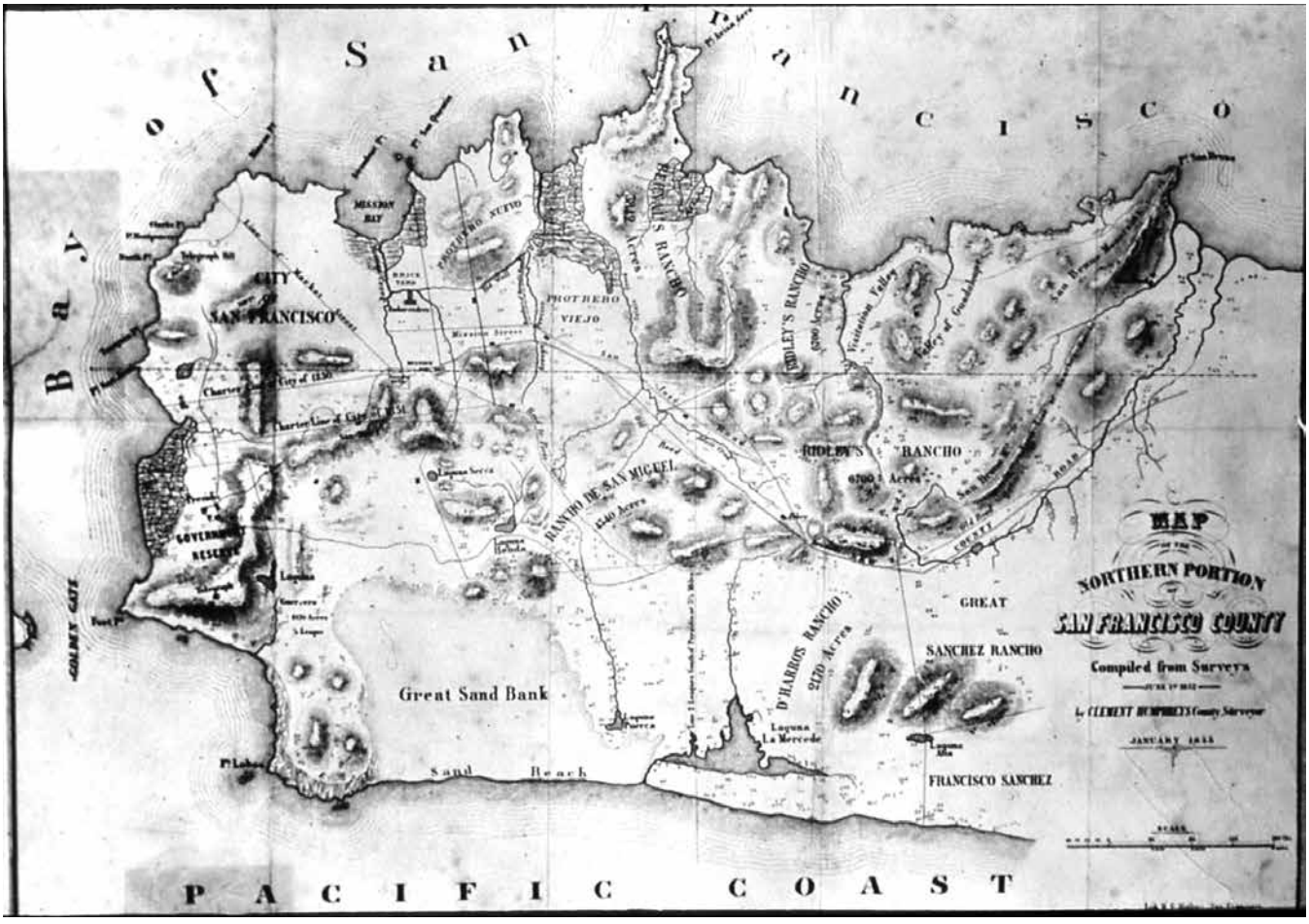
In September of 1921, the Board of Supervisors appropriated $500,000 tor the extension of street railway service to the Sunset District. It fell to the Office of the City Engineer Michael O'Shaughnessy to suggest the best possible route for the new transit line[9]. O'Shaughnessy considered four possible alternatives:

1. **Along Grove Street to Masonic**, south on Masonic to Waller Street, west on Waller to Cole Street, south on Cole to Carl Street and them west on Carl to Irving Street.
2. **A Eureka Valley tunnel**, from the Eureka Valley station of the Twin Peaks tunnel northwest to the intersection of Carl and Cole Streets.
3. **A Laguna Honda route**, which would use the Twin Peaks tunnel to travel to Laguna Honda Station and then proceed from there down Seventh Avenue.
4. **The Duboce Avenue route**, which had been submitted in 1918.[10]

Of these four routes, O'Shaughnessy personally favored the Duboce Avenue alignment. He said:

> This route would be the most direct and quickest to the Sunset District. It would also be of material advantage to the region along Duboce Avenue from Market Street to Buena Vista Park and the congested district (Pope Tract) between Buena Vista Park and Golden Gate Park. Duboce Avenue presents the most favorable opportunity for development of a permanent solution of the rapid transit problem for the Sunset District.[11]

By the beginning of 1922, everything seemed to be proceeding well for the Duboce Avenue route. Not only had this route received the support of O'Shaughnessy and his office, but it also had the



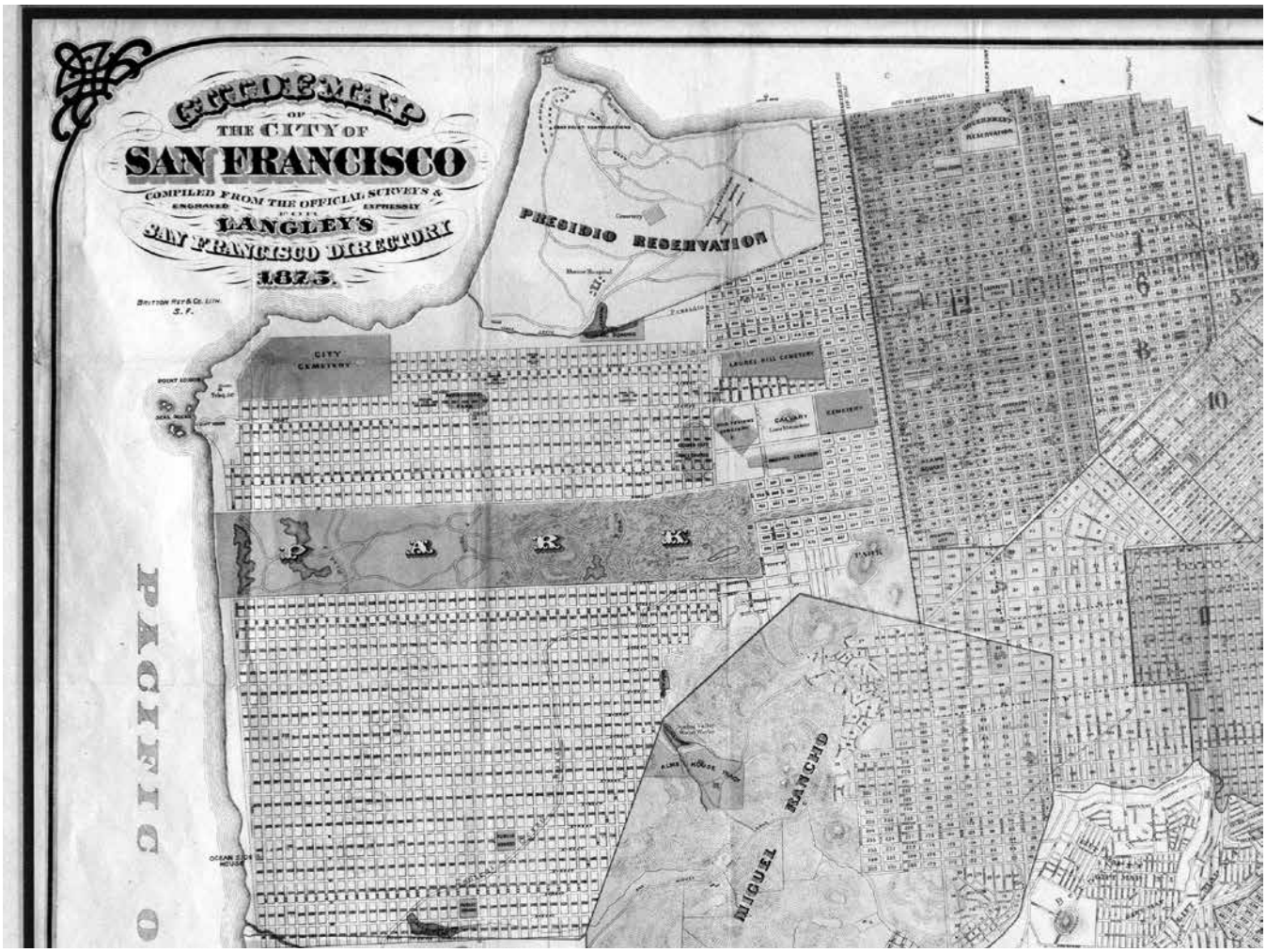
This 1853 map described the western part of San Francisco as the "Great Sand Bank." These areas were later developed and became the Richmond and Sunset Districts, and Golden Gate Park. Courtesy of Richard Brandi.

By the late 1800s a few hardy people were grading northern Sunset District land for vegetable gardens and rustic homes. Courtesy of a private collector.

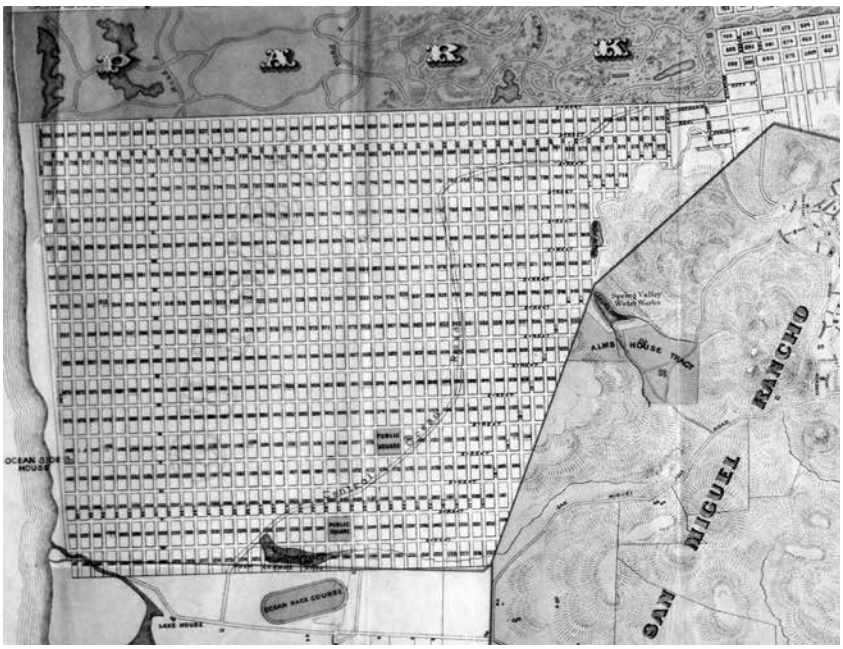
support of the Sunset Transportation Committee.[12] On February 1, 1922, the public utilities committee of the board of supervisors gave its approval and passed the matter on to the full board.[13] During the next few months the office of the city engineer prepared the assessment district for the proposed tunnel in accordance with the procedures set down by the Tunnel Procedure Ordinance of 1912. Finally, on May 31, the supervisors passed a Resolution of Intention, Resolution No. 20,003 to build the tunnel.[14] This resolution, which was signed by Mayor Rolph on June 3, 1922, stated:

> Resolved, That the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco deems that the public interest and convenience requires the construction for public use of the tunnel hereinafter described within the City and County of San Francisco.
>
> That it is the intention of the Board of Supervisors to order the construction of a tunnel with appurtenances under the elevation in said City and County of San Francisco, State of California, whereon is situated Buena Vista Park.[15]

The signing of the Resolution of Intention brought much satisfaction to those who saw the tunnel as a necessity to the future development of the Sunset. A few weeks before the supervisors had approved the resolution, Theodore J. Savage, the lawyer for the set Transportation and Development Association, had written to Mayor Rolph: "A few words from you to the Board of Supervisors referring to the necessities of the case, the patience of the Sunset people who have been waiting and hoping through many disappointments for this relief, vital to the future of the Sunset District."[16]



This 1875 Langley map shows the Sunset and some of the central part of the city. Although the map shows the now-familiar grid layout of the Sunset, in the mid-1800s the area was still only sand dunes. Map from the Dennis Minnick collection.



This enlarged section of the 1875 Langley map shows the Sunset District. The only street that was actually created at the time was the Central Ocean Road, which curved through the Sunset, connecting it to nearby areas that were developed. But without streets in the Sunset, no public transportation could connect the Sunset with downtown; consequently, residential growth was slow in the Sunset. Map from the Dennis Minnick collection.

This view from the 1920s shows housing developed in the western part of the Sunset, but most of the Sunset (see the top of the picture) was still sand dunes. Courtesy of a private collector.

The project continued to move along, and on September 18, 1922, the final report of the city engineer upon the Duboce Avenue route of the Sunset Tunnel was presented to the board of supervisors. The *Journal of Proceedings* of the board said that a large delegation of citizens, accompanied by a band, filled the chambers and corridors with music. Supervisor Scott enlivened the festivities by singing "I Love You, California."[17]

For the proponents, it was a day of victory. The mayor spoke and "pointed out the wonderful development that would follow the completion of the work."[18] Mr. McIntyre, the president of the Sunset Transportation and Development Association, presented a petition from 1,128 property owners and 458 residents who were not property owners, all favoring the tunnel.[19] The final report of the Office of the City Engineer, as presented by O'Shaughnessy, called for a tunnel that would be 4,250 feet in length and cost $1.5 million. The assessment district to pay for the tunnel would extend from the Beach to Clayton Street and from Golden Gate Park to Ortega Street, having a maximum assessment rate of five cents per square foot and a minimum of one and a half cents per square foot, depending upon proximity to the tunnel and the future streetcar line.[20]

In accordance with the provision of the Tunnel Ordinance, Section Four of Chapter VIII of Article

VI of the City Charter, it became necessary for the board of supervisors to conduct formal hearings concerning the proposed tunnel and assessment district from property owners and other interested parties. The hearings began on October 31, 1922. What people hoped would be a mere formality turned into a prolonged struggle that was to last a period of three years.

Protests came forth from two separate groups. One group of Sunset District property owners based their objections upon the assessment district and their claim that no tunnel was needed at the time; the second group protested the choice of the Duboce Avenue route for the tunnel.

During the last months of 1922 and the first months of 1923, the board of supervisors heard the protests of the first group. In March, their objections were analyzed and summarized by O'Shaughnessy. He pointed out to the board that of the 9,261 parcels of land to be assessed, protests had been received from 2,846 of them, or 30.7 percent.[21] In terms of area, the assessment area was 47,637,555 square feet, and of this area, protests came from the owners of 24,877,069 square feet, or 52.2 percent.[22] O'Shaughnessy then pointed out that of the more than twenty-four million square feet protested, 12,627,386 square feet were owned by only nineteen protesters, the vast majority of whom were investment companies or real estate firms.[23] O'Shaughnessy also drew up a typical protest of these large land owners:

> Your protestants and petitioners base their said protest on the ground that the construction of said proposed tunnel is an unnecessary improvement that its construction is not demanded by the needs of San Francisco for any purpose or purposes whatsoever except as a viaduct for street cars and that for the purpose last mentioned the cost of the construction of said tunnel as compared with other routes, is of the least possible public benefit and the greatest private injury and burden to the property owners who will be compelled to pay for the damages, costs, and expenses of such construction; that as a public improvement said tunnel would be as much an improvement to the whole city as it would be to the assessment delineated in said resolution … as a viaduct for street car tracks the said tunnel would be, as a whole, an improvement and utility for the city and county as a whole and, as such, it should be paid for, if constructed, by all the taxpayers of the said city and county and not by a limited district cut out of the said city and county.[24]

The main argument of the protestors was, therefore, quite similar to that of Carl Larsen in regard to the Twin Peaks Tunnel: i.e., that the property owners of the district should not be assessed for a benefit that would aid the entire city.

In mid-1923, just after the hearings concerning assessment protests had been concluded, new consideration was asked for the Eureka Valley Tunnel route. The finance committee in conference with the lands and tunnels committee proposed on May 14, 1923 to the full board that there be a continuance of three months so that further consideration could be given by the city engineer to the so-called Eureka Valley tunnel. They said:

> The Public Utilities Committee has repeatedly held hearings on different suggestions to provide transportation for the Sunset and Pope Tract districts and many proposals have been mentioned in the proceedings of the board.
>
> It appears, however, that the board has not officially and collectively considered the feasibility of the Eureka Valley tunnel, and as this is a matter of future development of a large section of our city a delay of a few weeks would undoubtedly lead to a correct solution of the problem.
>
> The matter is of such magnitude that every possible fact and all available information should be at hand before a decision is reached.[25]

With only two dissenting votes, the resolution was passed.[26]

During the three-month delay, the Office of the City Engineer and the joint committee of the board of supervisors considered four variations of the Eureka Valley tunnel.[27] Of these four alternatives, one was a railway tunnel, one a vehicular tunnel,

This 1916 photograph shows the removal of sand in the Sunset, part of the process of grading the streets so streetcars could run on them. Courtesy of Emiliano Echeverria.

and two were combinations of vehicular and railway tunnels. For many of the proponents of the Eureka Valley route, the purpose of a tunnel from Eureka Valley to the Sunset was not merely to provide a rapid transportation outlet for the Sunset, but also to give the residents of the Mission District a more direct automobile link with Golden Gate Park. For this reason, they favored a combination tunnel for vehicles as well as streetcars.

The final report was presented to the board on August 20, 1923. In this report, the Office of the City Engineer and the joint committee recommended that a combined vehicular and street railway tunnel be built under Mount Olympus, with its easterly portal near Merrit and Danvers Streets and its westerly portal near Cole and Alma Streets.[28] To the tunnel they gave the name that Bion J. Arnold had used in his 1912 report that had recommended a similar project, the Mission-Sunset tunnel.[29]

In a gesture toward those who thought that all the City's property owners should be assessed for tunnel improvements, they recommended that the City pay approximately 25 percent of the total cost of $1,368,107.[30] In regard to the Duboce Avenue Route, they recommended that further consideration be given to it at a meeting in December.[31]

At this time, Theodore Savage expressed the fears of the Sunset Transportation and Development Association, telling the supervisors that another "postponement of the Duboce Avenue tunnel matter and the passage of the resolution recommended by the joint committee would kill the project."[32] Despite this

protest and that of others, the supervisors followed the recommendation of the committee and postponed any decision on the Duboce Avenue route until December. At the same time, by means of Resolution 21464, the committee asked the board of public works to give further study to the proposed tunnel under Mount Olympus, the Mission-Sunset tunnel.[33]

In December the proponents of the Duboce Avenue route were in for further disappointment when the supervisors voted once again to postpone any decision about this route and passed a Resolution of Intention to construct the Mission-Sunset tunnel under Mount Olympus.[34] This same procedure of postponement continued through all of 1924 and into the early months of 1925. During this time the supervisors awaited the final engineering and assessment studies on the Mission-Sunset tunnel.[35]

During this prolonged period of time, the proponents of the Duboce Avenue route tried to gather more support for their route. The president of the Sunset Transportation and Development Association wrote the following to James D. Phelan, one of the large land-holders who had protested the assessment rates and the tunnel:

> I wish to say that ninety-nine per cent of the people living and owning property in the district which will be assessed for the construction of the tunnel, are very strong proponents of this project. Many large land-holders who heretofore were opponents, are now withdrawing their opposition and are favoring the construction of the tunnel as recommended by City Engineer O'Shaughnessy, realizing that this is the logical method for furnishing adequate transportation for the development of the Sunset District.
>
> I hope you will see the light as other large property owners are seeing it and withdraw your opposition to this very necessary development in the city's growth and progress.[36]

In November of 1924, the Transportation and Development Association sent another letter to Phelan telling him that despite the "distressing needs of the residents of the district and their willingness to pay the expenses of construction," the board of supervisors still had not given favorable consideration to the Duboce tunnel.[37] The association asked Phelan if they might meet with him "to explain the ramifications and needs of the Sunset District."[38] In his reply, Phelan requested more information.[39] The association responded by sending him *Sunset District Transportation*, the soon-to-be-published report of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce.

During the months of 1924 and early 1925, the Chamber of Commerce, in cooperation with the Bureau of Governmental Search, had drawn up a report on transportation in the Sunset. The arguments presented in this report were so strong and so convincing that the board of supervisors reversed its previous position and approved the Duboce Avenue route of the Sunset tunnel and put aside the proposed Mission-Sunset route.

Although dated April 1925, the report was actually presented to the board of supervisors on March 19. In a cover letter, the final conclusions of the study were listed:

> We wish to urge upon your Honorable Board the abandonment of proceedings for the Mission-Sunset tunnel, as a proposed means of rapid transit to the Sunset District for the following reasons:
>
> l) Rapid transit to the Sunset District is the paramount factor in the consideration of the several routes that have been proposed.
>
> 2) The future needs of the Sunset District will require the routing of several car lines through the proposed tunnel.
>
> 3) The traveling time via the Mission-Sunset tunnel (thirty-one minutes from 20th Avenue to Kearney Street) would be no faster than the time over existing surface lines.
>
> 4) The turning of cars into and from Market Street via the Mission-Sunset tunnel: e.g., the same point as auto traffic using the projected Market Street Extension would create a dangerous traffic point . . . .
>
> 5) The five percent lower cost of the Mission-Sunset tunnel could be secured only at the sacrifice of sixteen percent of the traveling time of all Sunset people who would have to use the line.

This photo is looking at Duboce Street from Noe Street in 1926, when the land was being prepared for the building of the Sunset tunnel. Courtesy of OpenSFHistory/wnp25.0296.

6) The Mission-Sunset tunnel streetcar line, although representing a slight saving in total cost, would represent an additional cost to the city of nearly $600,000.

7) The area in the Mission District proposed to be assessed for the Mission-Sunset tunnel is vigorously protesting.

8) The alternative, the Duboce tunnel, will provide a more direct route. It will be free of traffic demands of intermediate territory. It will give twenty-six minute service between 20th Avenue and Kearney Street, a sixteen percent saving over the Mission-Sunset tunnel and existing surface lines. The more direct route is especially desirable when the future requirements of four or five street railroad lines are considered.

9) The more direct route will more quickly develop the Sunset District area, comprising 1,200 acres, and furnishing homes for 50,000 people. It is stated that, since the promulgation of rapid transit plans, from 2,000 to 2,500 new homes have been constructed.

10) Since the original filing, in 1922, of the protest against the Duboce tunnel, nearly 8,000,000 square feet of protesting area has withdrawn protest or been sold, changing a 52% majority area protest to a 35% minority area protest. Resident property owners in 1922 were three to one in favor of the Duboce tunnel.

> 11) The Mission-Sunset tunnel may be a desirable public improvement for the future, to facilitate travel between the Mission and Sunset–Park districts, but it should not be considered as the most desirable means of furnishing rapid transit to the Sunset District.
>
> … The Chamber of Commerce urges upon your Honorable Board the abandonment of proceedings for the Mission-Sunset tunnel, and the speedy development of plans for the providing of rapid transit to the Sunset District.[40]

With the reception of the authoritative report of the Chamber of Commerce, the issue quickly resolved itself. On April 6, 1925, the board of supervisors passed Resolution 23856, which, with minor adjustments to the assessment district, overruled all other objections to the Duboce Avenue route and ordered that construction should proceed.[41] That same day they canceled all prior motions in regard to the Mission-Sunset tunnel.[42]

The adoption of the Duboce Tunnel route in preference to the Mission-Sunset Tunnel was celebrated by a weeklong festival by merchants and residents of the Sunset District.[43] At this time, the Sunset Transportation and Development Association sent a letter to the Chamber of Commerce voicing the appreciation of the Sunset District for the Chamber's "very effective campaign on behalf of this tunnel."[44]

Following another legal suit concerning the legality of the assessments, the contract for the Sunset Tunnel, Duboce Avenue Route, was awarded to the Youdall Construction Company on May 10, 1926 and signed on May 24.[45] The work on the tunnel started on June 5, 1926, and was not completed until February 4, 1928. The tunnel itself was 4,232 feet in length with a width of 25 feet and a height of 23 feet above the invert.[46] The tunnel, which was to cost $1,546,959.97, had a grade of 3 percent from the 155 foot altitude at the east portal to the 284 foot altitude at the western portal.[47]

Although the tunnel had been completed in February, it was not until October 21, 1928 that the first streetcar ran through the tunnel. The delay was caused by additional legal trouble concerning the use of the tracks of the United Railroads on Carl Street and on Duboce Avenue between Church and Fillmore Streets, as well as the length of time it took to lay the 4.74 miles of track through the tunnel and out to ocean beach.[48] On October 21, with Mayor Rolph acting as motorman, the first Municipal Railway streetcar proceeded through the tunnel. *The Municipal Employee* reported on the event:

> It was 1:30 p.m. when the Ferry Building siren heralded to the city the completion of the tunnel and the new addition to the Municipal Railway. The first car started, from the Duboce and Market Streets junction and was cheered by the crowds that lined both sides of the streets, The car went through the Sunset tunnel and over Judah Street to the beach. Crowds estimated at from 30,000 to 50,000 people witnessed the dedication ceremonies.[49]

At 48th Avenue and Judah Street, a crowd of more than 15,000 people heard the mayor and other orators speak of the great future that would come to the Sunset District as a result of the tunnel and rapid transportation between this district and the downtown area.[50]

With the completion of the Sunset tunnel, the final tunnel link between downtown San Francisco and the western region was opened. As in the case of the Twin Peaks tunnel, which had opened a little more than a decade before, the hope was that the new tunnel would stimulate more construction in the area west of Twin Peaks and especially in the Sunset District.

In the decade following the opening of the Twin Peaks Tunnel, the area in close proximity to the tunnel or the streetcar lines that used the tunnel had prospered. The results were not going to be as rapid or as evident with the Sunset tunnel. Even before the tunnel had become a concrete possibility, there had been substantial growth in several areas to be served by the tunnel, namely the Pope Tract along Lincoln Way, and blocks close to existing streetcar routes. With the promise of the new tunnel, the rate of construction increased. In a letter to former Mayor Phelan in April of 1923, John J. Callish, the president of the Sunset Transportation and Development Association, wrote: "Recently there has been upwards of $2,500,000 spent in improve-

On October 21, 1928, the Sunset Tunnel opened with great fanfare, ushering in a new streetcar line, the N Judah, which ran from downtown to Ocean Beach, connecting the northern part of the Sunset with the rest of the city. Department of Public Works photo, courtesy of Open SF History/wnp27.0493.

ments—the construction of homes in the Sunset District. Many contractors are preparing to acquire blocks of land for building purposes, contingent on the construction of the Duboce Tunnel.[51] The 1925 *Report on Sunset District Transportation,* stated that since the promulgation of rapid transit plans, from 2,000 to 2,500 homes had been constructed in this area.[52] The homes built were primarily single family dwellings, but for middle-income families and costing less than $7,500."

In 1930, the population of the northern Sunset District between Seventh Avenue and the Great Highway, and between Noriega Street and Lincoln Way, had grown to almost 18,000.[53] The majority of these people lived between Lincoln Way and Judah Street.[54]

Soon after the completion of the tunnel, the Great Depression began. Home building slowed down not only in San Francisco, but also in the whole nation. The growth rate of the city came to a virtual stop. During the l930s, the San Francisco population increased by only 142, from 634,394 to 634,536.[55] Despite this, it is interesting to note that the Department of City Planning lists the growth of the Sunset District in that decade to be from 35,000 to 48,000, an increase of 13,000.[56]

This restored streetcar (Car 1), as a special "excursion" car, enters the Sunset tunnel from the west side in the early 1960s. Courtesy of OpenSFHistory/wnp25.0296.

By 1940, the areas primarily served by the Sunset tunnel (Duboce Avenue Route) and the "N" streetcar, which ran through the tunnel and along Judah Street between Ninth Avenue and Ocean Beach, had achieved almost maximum growth. For instance, census tract 0-2, which was bounded by Lincoln Way, Seventh Avenue, Kirkham Street, and 19th Avenue, had a population of 6,968 in 1940. This population increased to 7,579 by 1950.[57] The next census tract to the west, tract P-I, bounded by Lincoln, Way, 19th Avenue, Moraga Street, and Sunset Boulevard, increased from 10,534 in 1910 to 13,824 in 1950.[58] So, despite the lethargy in the building industry and the failure of San Francisco to increase substantially in population during the 1930s, the areas immediately contiguous to the streetcar line had achieved almost maximum growth by 1940.

It was, however, to be in the 1940s that the rest of the Sunset District achieved almost full growth. During that decade, the Department of City Planning lists the growth of the Sunset District to be from 48,000 to 83,000.[59] The major part of this gain came in the area closest to the beach: census tract Q-I, which was bounded by Lincoln Way, Sunset Boulevard, Sloat Boulevard, and Ocean Beach. It gained in population from 6,259 to 25,356.[60] Another area with a large gain was census tract P-2, bounded by Moraga Street, 19th Avenue, Taraval Street, and Sunset Boulevard. This area increased from 8,171 to 15,196. All other areas also grew, but only to a small degree.

From the limited statistics available, certain basic conclusions can be drawn. In contrast to the area served by the Twin Peaks tunnel, there had been substantial growth in areas to be served by the Sunset tunnel in the years before its construction. This was especially true in the Pope Tract at the western portico of the tunnel and along Lincoln Way, which had been served for many years by a street railway. In anticipation of the tunnel and as an immediate result of its construction, home building increased in the areas close to Judah Street.

However, because of the Depression and a minimum population in San Francisco during the 1930s, the Sunset failed to expand at the rate that had been expected. It was not until the 1940s that population in the area increased to a great degree. This growth was in the areas closest to the street railroad lines and the beach. Overall, the construction of the Sunset tunnel did not produce the dramatic change in population that resulted from the construction of the Twin Peaks tunnel. However, it did bring the northern Sunset District into closer and quicker communication with the downtown business area and, thereby, aided in the long-term development of the Sunset District.

In 1924, Anita Day Hubbard wrote of the Sunset District:

> There is the tang of the sea in the Sunset and the true spirit of San Francisco in the health giving fog and winds that sweep in from the great sea. The district is young with the youth that is perennial, and still will be young when the last sand dune is buried deep under a garden, for the ocean is always at the edge of it, and the ocean is as old as the world and as new as tomorrow.[61]

The sand dunes are now gone and one of the major reasons for their disappearance was two tunnels, tunnels that serve as connecting links between the ocean and the Ferry Building. In the place of the sand dunes came houses and people, and with the houses and people, came a greater San Francisco.

James E. Vance of Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies has written that "Urban structure is the product of a whole series of allocational decisions, whose effect is cumulative. Once a city has been sited it cannot deny its site."[62] This is true of San Francisco. The men who chose the site of the future city of San Francisco did not envision the day when the tip of the rugged peninsula would be the hub of one of the major metropolises of the world. The first settlers came for military and religious reasons and chose the site in accordance with their goals. They were followed by the merchants and the traders who chose the land around the cove of Yerba Buena on the basis of its nearness to the best anchorage. This site served as the base for the future city. In order for the original pueblo to grow into a major metropolis, many limitations of the site had to be overcome. The cove had to be filled to provide quick access to the ships, the low sand-hills had to be leveled to provide room for the homes and the factories, and new means of transportation had to be devised in order to provide access up the steep hills and into the empty valleys.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, further major steps were necessary to ensure the prosperity of the city. An essential need was for the new residential sections to provide for the growing population and to ensure that the working class did not move to other communities surrounding the bay. To open up the southwestern section of San Francisco to residential development, tunnels were constructed, tunnels that provided rapid transit between the downtown area and the new residential areas. These tunnels overcame a major limitation of the site and opened for settlement an area that would house more than 20 percent of the city's population by 1950.

The decision to tunnel the hills of San Francisco and guarantee the continued urban growth of the city was the cumulative decision of many people. Engineers like Bion J. Arnold and Michael M. O'Shaughnessy were able to demonstrate the practicality of the idea. Politicians like P. J. McCarthy and James Rolph, Jr. were able to mobilize the voters behind a policy of expansion and the municipal membership of the street railroads. Businessmen and realty speculators were willing to risk large sums of money in the development of new residential subdivisions. Most importantly, countless individual citizens were willing to invest in homes in this western area.

San Francisco has never completely overcome her site, but neither has she been defeated by it. Her civic leaders and citizens have been willing to make new decisions and new commitments. Because of these, San Francisco continued to grow and prosper. Present-day San Francisco is the result of past decisions and commitments. The future of San Francisco will be the result of the decisions and commitments of her current leaders and citizens.

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About the Author

Father Vincent D. Ring was born and raised in San Francisco. He attended local schools and was ordained a Catholic priest in 1964. After ordination he served local Catholic parishes. He also earned a Master's degree in U.S. history from the University of San Francisco and taught at the high school and college levels. His specialty was urban history. He is now retired from education and Parish ministry.

Fr. Ring is most grateful to Lorri Ungaretti, who made this article possible.

Notes

1. Vincent Ring, "The Twin Peaks Tunnel," *The Argonaut*, 25:Winter 2014, 66–87. In 1911, Bion J. Arnold was hired by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to work on issues concerning public transportation.
2. Arnold, *Transportation Facilities*, 69.
3. Ibid.
4. Press Release of D. S. O'Brien, June 1, 1918, Rolph papers.
5. Report of the Central Sunset Improvement Association, July 1918, Rolph papers.
6. Dr. B. M. Rastall, *The San Francisco Program* (San Francisco: Chamber of Commerce, April 1921), 8.
7. Ibid.
8. Office of City Engineer, File 11129. According to a chronology sheet in this office file, a D. T. Berry suggested the Sunset tunnel along the Duboce Avenue route on July 22, 1918.
9. Michael M. O'Shaughnessy was born and educated in Ireland. Mayor James Rolph, Jr. hired him as city engineer in 1912. He remained in that position until 1932.
10. *Journal of Proceedings*, Vol. 16, November 21, 1921, 994.
11. Sunset Transportation and Development Association, "Question and Answers – The Duboce Avenue Tunnel Route – Why?" 1922.
12. *Journal of Proceedings*, Vol. 16, November 21, 1921.
13. Offices of City Engineer, File 111.29
14. *Journal of Proceedings*, Vol. 17, May 31, 1922, 454.
15. Ibid., 454–55.
16. Letter, Theodore Savage to Mayor Rolph, May 15, 1922, Rolph papers.
17. *Journal of Proceedings*, Vol. 17, September 18, 1922, 742–3.
18. Ibid., 743.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Letter, M. M. O'Shaughnessy to the Board of Supervisors, March 8, 1923, Office of the City Engineer, File A-111.12.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.

Name	**Area in Sq. Ft.**
Rosa Morbio1,	813,991
Ortega Investment Co. (M. H. deYoung)	1,512,150
Crocker Investment Co.	1,128,500
Sterling Realty Co.	1,095,888
Sherry Bros.	932,000
Sol. Getz and Son	929,146
Jas. D. Phelan, et al.	720,000
Carl Larsen	628,380
Kierluff, et al.	565,735
Joseph Estate Co.	517,750
Fernando Nelson	469,334
Anglo American Land Co.	380,250
Fred H. Coon	288,000
Jacob Goldberg	288,000
Geo. Crim, et al.	286,875
Market Street Railway Company	284,880
Clara de Choiseul	280,157
Edwin E. Brownell	278,500
San Francisco and Los Angeles Realty Co.	225,850
TOTAL	12,627,386

24. Office of City Engineer, File A-11112, Typical Protest Sunset Tunnel.
25. *Journal of Proceedings*, Vol. 18, May 14, 1923, 185–6.
26. Ibid., 186.
27. San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Sunset District Transportation, March, 1925, 2.
28. *Journal of Proceedings*, Vol. 18, Augustt 20, 1923, 903.
29. Ibid., 904.
30. Ibid., 903.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.

A PCC streetcar exits the Sunset tunnel on the east side. Courtesy of Open SF History/ wnp14.3900.

34. Ibid., 18: December 31, 1923, 1364–65.
35. Office of City Engineer, Chronology sheet.
36. Letter, John J. Calish to James D. Phelan, April 7, 1923, Phelan papers.
37. Letter, R. McIntyre to James D. Phelan, November 6, 1924, Phelan papers.
38. Ibid.
39. Handwritten note of Phelan at top of letter.
40. Letter, attached to report, Colbert .Coldwell, President of Chamber of Commerce to Board of Supervisors, March 19, 1925, Office of the City Engineer.
41. *Journal of Proceedings*, 20:April 6, 1925, 444–5.
42. Ibid., Resolution No. 23855 A (N.S.), 442.
43. "Sunset Residents Celebrate Tunnel Victory," *San Francisco Business*, May l, 1925, p. 14.
44. Ibid.
45. Office of City Engineer, Statistics for Duboce Tunnel.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid.
48. Paul J. Ost, "New Tunnel an Engineering Feat," *The Municipal Employee*, October 1928, 12, 54.
49. Walter Gaines Swanson, "A Gala Day for Sunset Folk," *The Municipal Employee*, November 1928, 4. It is interesting to note that James D. Phelan who had shown no great enthusiasm for the tunnel sent a contribution of twenty-five dollars to defray the costs of the celebration. (Phelan papers, letter of celebration committee to Phelan, May 25, 1925).
50. Ibid.
51. Letter, John J. Gallish to James D. Phelan, April 7, 1923, Phelan papers.
52. Chamber of Commerce, "Sunset District Transportation," covering letter.
53. McClintock, Citywide Traffic.
54. Ibid.
55. U.S. Census, 1930, I, 127.
56. City Planning Department, *Population*, Figure 18, p. 26.
57. The figures taken for this brief survey are taken from a compilation made for the San Francisco Unified School District by the Stanford Research Institute based upon the official United States Census, mimeographed, n.d.
58. Ibid.
59. City Planning Department, *Population*, Figure 18, p. 26.
60. San Francisco United School District.
61. Anita Day Hubbard, "Cities Within the City," *San Francisco Bulletin* from August to November of 1924. Typed manuscript, Rare Book Room of the San Francisco Public Library, 34.
62. James E. Vance, *Geography and Urban Evolution in the San Francisco Bay Area* (Berkeley: University of California, 1964), 3.

The Last Bastion of San Francisco's Californios:

The Mission Dolores Settlement, 1834–1848

by Hudson Bell

In January 1833—by orders of the Mexican government—José Figueroa arrived in Monterey to begin his term as governor of the Alta California territory.* A "sensible, industrious, and above all . . . popular man,"[1] Figueroa would go on to become the first Alta California governor to enact the secularization[2] of the Alta California missions throughout the territory,[3] putting forth provisional regulations on August 9, 1834.[4] Per this decree, the missions were to become curacies, and the government was to appoint commissioners and administrators to take over temporal affairs. The friars, however, were to remain in charge of the neophytes (Native Americans) attached to the missions, as well as the general spiritual affairs surrounding the churches. According to Franciscan historian Zephyrin Engelhardt, following Figueroa's decree, Mission Dolores—on the San Francisco peninsula—was "among the first to be confiscated."[5]

Founded by New Spain in 1776, Mission Dolores was the first of five missions established in the San Francisco Bay region following Gaspar de Portolà's discovery of the bay in 1769. Though officially named Mission San Francisco de Asís (in honor of St. Francis of Assisi) and because its location was determined on the liturgical Friday of Sorrows (Viernes de Dolores), it eventually took the nickname Mission Dolores.[6] The general region surrounding this mission—including the bay on which it was founded—became known as San Francisco.

As Mission Dolores was secularized in 1834, it became the largest Mexican settlement on the San Francisco peninsula. However, little is known of this era of the mission. While there are numerous reasons for this lack of knowledge, the main reason is that following the Mexican-American War (1846–48) and the California Gold Rush of 1849, the historiography of San Francisco focused mostly on the beginnings of Yerba Buena—the port of the peninsula—which was more easily propagated as an Anglo story. In other words, the winners wrote the history.

For instance, take the newspaper account of U. S. Navy Commodore Robert F. Stockton's visit to Yerba Buena in October of 1846, three months after the United States had claimed the village during the Mexican-American War. When describing a procession performed in Stockton's honor, while naming Russian and French officers present, when it came to the Californios—that is the Mexican inhabitants—it reads: "General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, with several others, who had held office under the late Government, took their appropriate place, in the line."[7] Their "appropriate" place was

* Being the northernmost territory of Mexico at the time, Alta California included all of the land that is today the State of California.

Mission Dolores, looking toward Yerba Buena. Drawing by William Rich Hutton. Courtesy of the Huntington Library.

perhaps last, but quite clearly these "several others" were already considered inconsequential and on their way out as far as the Anglo version of San Francisco's history was concerned.

While for a short time Mission Dolores remained the last bastion of Californio culture on the peninsula following the Mexican-American War, ultimately, the Gold Rush and its effects on the landscape brought about the settlement's rapid demise.[8] Furthermore, amid this transformation, the understanding of the Mission Dolores settlement's pivotal role in San Francisco's early history was quickly tangled and confused, as land lawyers debated over who actually owned Mission Dolores and its surrounding lands.[9] My goal is to better examine the history of the Mission Dolores settlement between 1834 and 1848 in hopes of filling in this gap of its general history; shedding light on what was happening there during these years; explaining how the settlement related to the founding of Yerba Buena; and, ultimately, revealing the history of the city of San Francisco.

There is no question that the Californio most remembered by historians of Mexican-era California is Mariano G. Vallejo,[10] and when Figueroa's regulations were published, the San Francisco region, district, or *partido* rested under Vallejo's military authority. At the time, Vallejo was a twenty-seven-year-old *alférez* (second lieutenant) and was military commander of the Presidio of San Francisco.

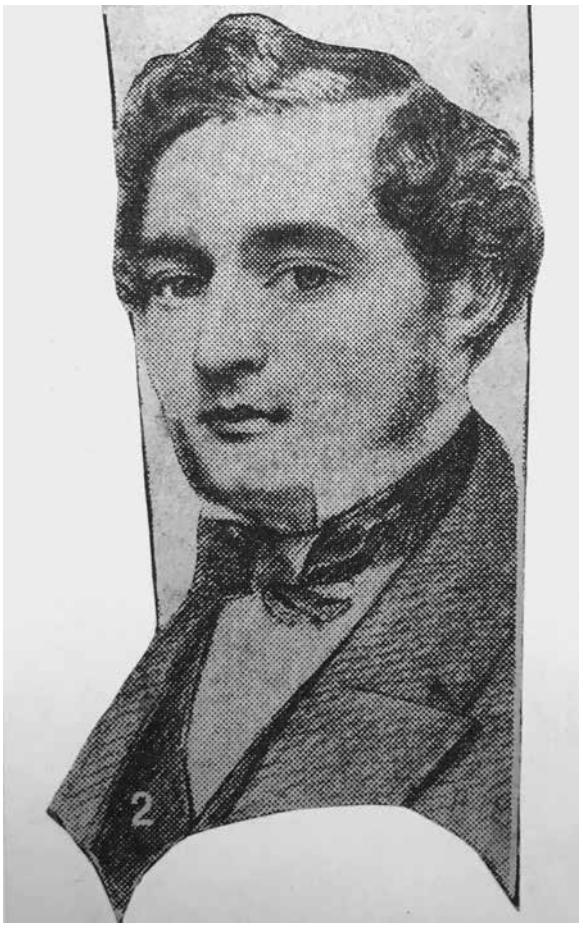
In November of 1834—with the secularization of Mission Dolores already underway—Vallejo received communication from Governor Figueroa to hold an election for an *Ayuntamiento* (Town Council) that

would thereafter take over municipal control of the San Francisco District.[11] Up to this point "the town of San Francisco"[12] referred to the community surrounding the Presidio, where, as trader William Heath Davis later wrote, "all the white inhabitants lived."[13] The San Francisco District, however, encompassed most of the territory around the bay north of San Jose: the upper portion of the San Francisco peninsula, and much of the East Bay, as well.

In December of 1834, Vallejo held an election, and Francisco De Haro was elected the first *alcalde* (mayor/judge) of the San Francisco District.[14] The forty-two-year-old De Haro had come to the Presidio in 1819—when he was Vallejo's age and California was still part of Spain—as *alférez* of the San Blas infantry company, which was sent up the coast after Argentinian Hipólito Bouchard's attack on Monterey the previous year. Furthermore, in 1821, De Haro accompanied Luis Argüello on his explorations up north, and in 1822, following news of Mexico's independence from Spain, when Argüello was elected first governor of Alta California under Mexican rule, De Haro was appointed secretary to the "first legislature of California."[15] Thereafter, and into the 1830s, De Haro remained tied to the Monterey *diputación* (Alta California legislature) in some capacity.[16]

As De Haro took on the responsibilities of *alcalde* of the San Francisco District, his secretary was his brother-in-law, Francisco Sanchez, one of José Antonio Sanchez's four sons.[17] A native of Sinaloa, Mexico, José Antonio Sanchez had immigrated to the Presidio as a Spanish soldier in 1791, and in 1827 received permission to take over Rancho Buri Buri,[18] in what is today San Mateo County.[19] Buri Buri became the main rancho on the San Francisco peninsula, and José Antonio was the main family-head of his generation to remain on the peninsula, having many children in a sparsely populated country.

During this time of instituting San Francisco's first *ayuntamiento*, Vallejo rose to the rank of Commandant General, military governor of the "Free State of Alta California,"[20] and relocated the territory's military presence from the San Francisco Presidio to the new pueblo of Sonoma with the objective of establishing a better buffer between the Russians and Native Americans to the north.[21]



Francisco De Haro, first alcalde *of the San Francisco District, who relocated from the Presidio to Mission Dolores after secularization of the Alta California missions was enacted in the 1830s.*

As the soldiers vacated the San Francisco Presidio, the secularization of Mission Dolores was well underway, and other than a few families, there was an immediate shift of the remaining Californio population from the Presidio to Mission Dolores. Not only were the best farming lands of the upper peninsula attached to Mission Dolores, but the area was also the peninsula's hub surrounding the hide and tallow trade.

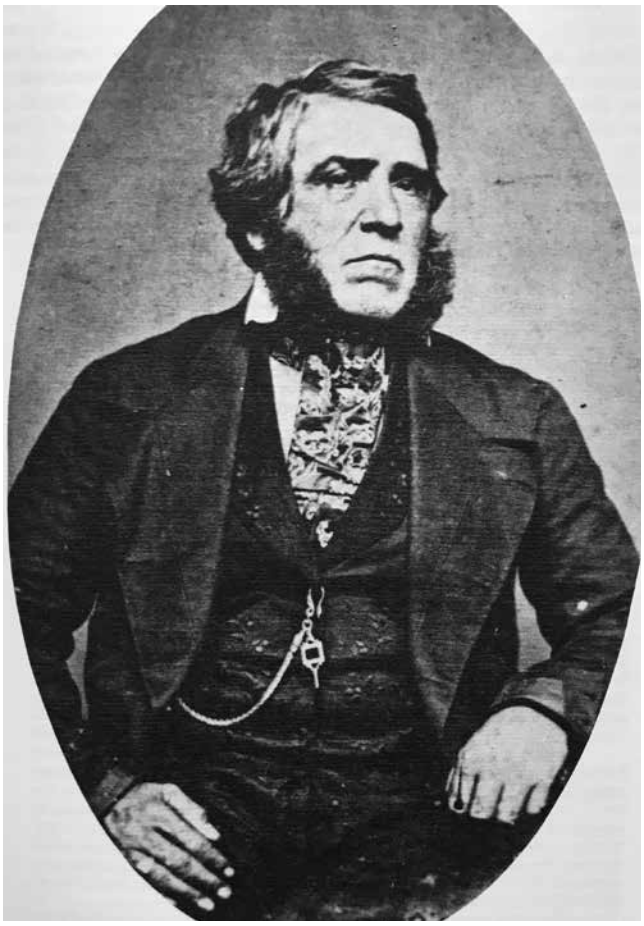
It is interesting to note that in May of 1834, De Haro had been present as a "vocal" at the Monterey *diputación*. On May 10 he brought forth a proposition to officially survey and fix the boundaries of Mission Dolores, in what appears to have been an anticipation of its being divided for individually owned properties in the wake of possible secularization. However, nothing was decided that day. Three days

later, De Haro brought it up again, but his proposition was ultimately rejected.[22] Despite the failure of De Haro's proposition and De Haro and company's inability to own any of the Mission Dolores lands at the time, once back on the peninsula, they relocated to Mission Dolores.[23]

* * * * *

Taking charge in September of 1834, the first commissioner appointed to handle temporal affairs at Mission Dolores was José Joaquin Estudillo,[24] a thirty-six-year-old soldier from the Presidio, son of Capt. José María Estudillo. José María had brought his family up from Spanish Mexico in 1806, when he was appointed lieutenant at the Monterey Presidio. At Monterey, José Joaquin began his military career in 1815—around the age of 16—and was immediately a distinguished soldier. The following year he was sent to the Presidio of San Francisco.[25] Obviously by 1834, he and Francisco De Haro were well acquainted.

Estudillo's stint as commissioner at Mission Dolores was short-lived, however, as he was replaced perhaps as early as November of 1834.[26] It appears that after leaving this position he briefly acted as commander at the Presidio,[27] despite there not being much of a military presence there. Interestingly, in the summer of 1835, Estudillo asked De Haro if he could settle in the port of San Francisco, the place of the Yerba Buena, where the trading ships harbored.[28] De Haro indeed attempted to grant Estudillo a lot there—which would have been the port's first—but Governor Figueroa rejected it, saying that the *Ayuntamiento* of San Francisco did not have the authority to grant lots in that place.[29] While the reason for this was later thought simply due to the fact that the "municipal and common lands of [San Francisco] had never been formally marked out,"[30] it is interesting to consider that Figueroa clearly had other designs for the port, as he had already made moves for William A. Richardson (a mariner and naturalized Mexican citizen married into the Martínez family—one of the prominent Bay Area Californio families) to be Yerba Buena's first official inhabitant. It seems highly likely that this was due to Richardson's being a native of England.[31]



Francisco Sanchez, who conducted a census of the peninsula in 1842, and served as military leader of the local Californios during the Mexican-American War.

According to Richardson, Figueroa approached him at Mission San Gabriel in the spring of 1835, saying he had seen an earlier communication of Richardson's to Governor Echeandía regarding the place of the Yerba Buena. "[Figueroa] asked me if there was any spot sufficient to lay off a small village or town," Richardson recalled in the 1850s. "I told him there was one abreast of the anchorage where the vessels lay, a small place. He asked me the extent, and wished me to give him a small sketch of it, which I did, stating the dimensions to the best of my knowledge of the clear spot."[32]

Soon after, Figueroa declared Richardson Captain of the Port of San Francisco,[33] and in early May of 1835, traveled north with Richardson and his family. That summer, Richardson pitched a tent at Yerba Buena, and awaited further orders from

Governor Figueroa.[34] However, Figueroa took sick and died in Monterey on September 29.[35] Therefore, when Richardson's further orders finally arrived, they were from Figueroa's replacement in Monterey, José Castro, by way of De Haro at the Mission Dolores Settlement. "In 1835, in the month of October," recalled Richardson,

> the *alcalde* of the Mission of San Francisco de Asís, Don Francisco de Haro received orders from the Political Government to lay off [plot out] a small town at the Yerba Buena for the convenience of locating public offices at the port of San Francisco, for the convenience of the shipping. . . . The same orders directed me to assist De Haro in doing it, and the orders also directed De Haro to give me a 100-vara lot, and to reserve 200 varas along the beach for government buildings, and to make a plan of the place selected and measured off for the town.[36]

As for Mission Dolores:

> When I came here in 1835, the *Ayuntamiento* of San Francisco held their meetings at the Mission of San Francisco Asís, and continued to hold them at that place until the war of 1846. . . . I never knew of an *ayuntamiento* sitting at the Presidio. . . . De Haro resided in the Mission most of the time, but a part of the time on his farm.[37] [Francisco] Guerrero resided in the Mission; he had a rancho five or six leagues south from the Mission, but was seldom on it. . . . [Francisco Sanchez] stayed with his relations when he was there. Most of these persons lived in the old buildings of the Mission when they were at that place. [José de Jesús] Noé . . . had a house at the Mission. Guerrero fitted up one of the old houses of the Mission and lived in it.[38]

* * * * *

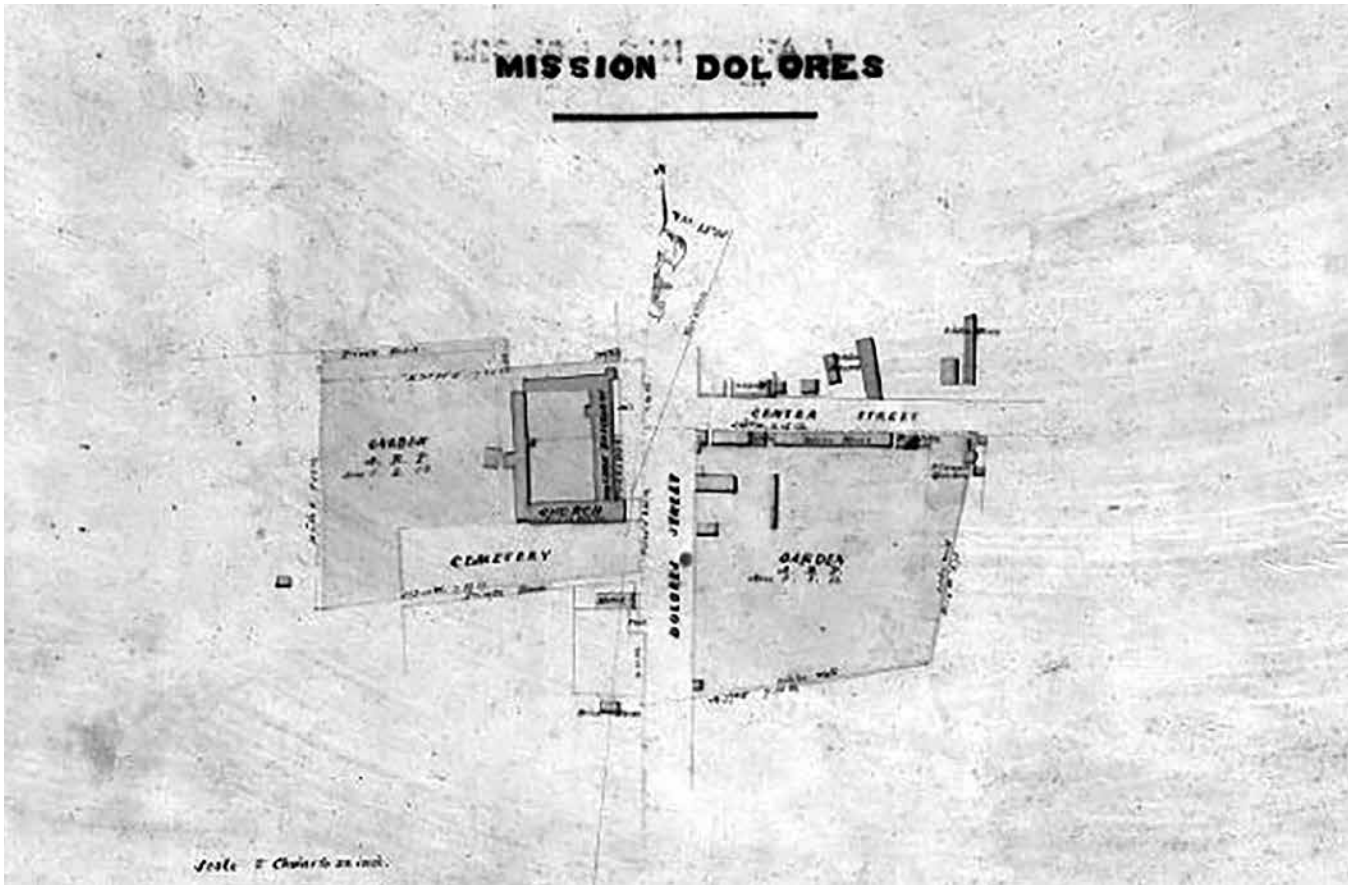
On November 1, 1834, Estudillo reported to the government that Mission Dolores's debt was equal to $10,089 (roughly $250,000 today).[39] Missions and Californios involved in the hide and tallow trade initially took on heavy debt for want of material items offered to them by traders arriving in the bay, but production of hides and tallow varied year to year due to drought and other factors. Therefore, when hide production dipped, debt compounded.[40] And for Mission Dolores, debt remained the number one reason the government continued to delay its transformation into a proper pueblo, despite being the largest settlement on the peninsula at the time.

As previously mentioned, Estudillo's time as commissioner proved short,[41] and he was replaced later in 1834 by Ignacio del Valle, son of Lieutenant Antonio del Valle. Gradually making his way up Alta California, Ignacio had been at the forefront of the idea of secularization with Governor Echeandía, and served as commissioner at Mission San Gabriel in 1833 and then at Mission Santa Cruz in 1834. A native of Jalisco, Mexico, after first arriving in Alta California with Echeandía, Ignacio del Valle had become a cadet at Santa Barbara. In 1828, he followed Echeandía to San Diego, where he took a job at the San Diego Plaza. It appears he remained there until experimenting with secularization at San Gabriel.[42]

Once at Mission Dolores, Del Valle inventoried the property. About the settlement were twenty-nine structures, including a main hall and the church. Some of these structures were used as shops, granaries, and storerooms. One of them also housed a library. There was a fenced-in orchard with 114 fruit trees, a corral, a cemetery, and livestock.[43] Hubert H. Bancroft estimates that around 150 Native Americans were still a part of Mission Dolores in 1835,[44] and a visitor in 1840 reported 77 still there.[45] In the wake of secularization, the majority of the Native Americans at Mission Dolores appear to have relocated to San Mateo and to Rancho Buri Buri.[46]

Furthermore, when Father Gutiérrez requested "to turn an old granary into a stable and barn"[47] for his horse(s) in late 1834, the acting commissioner refused. Quite clearly, as Richardson's comments above reveal, there were already ideas for many of these buildings, many of which were converted into living quarters for those previously at the Presidio. In fact, after analyzing all records and reports, Bancroft's conclusion was that the Presidio was "almost entirely abandoned after 1836."[48]

José Joaquín Estudillo was elected new *alcalde* of the SF District in 1836. Sitting at the Mission, he

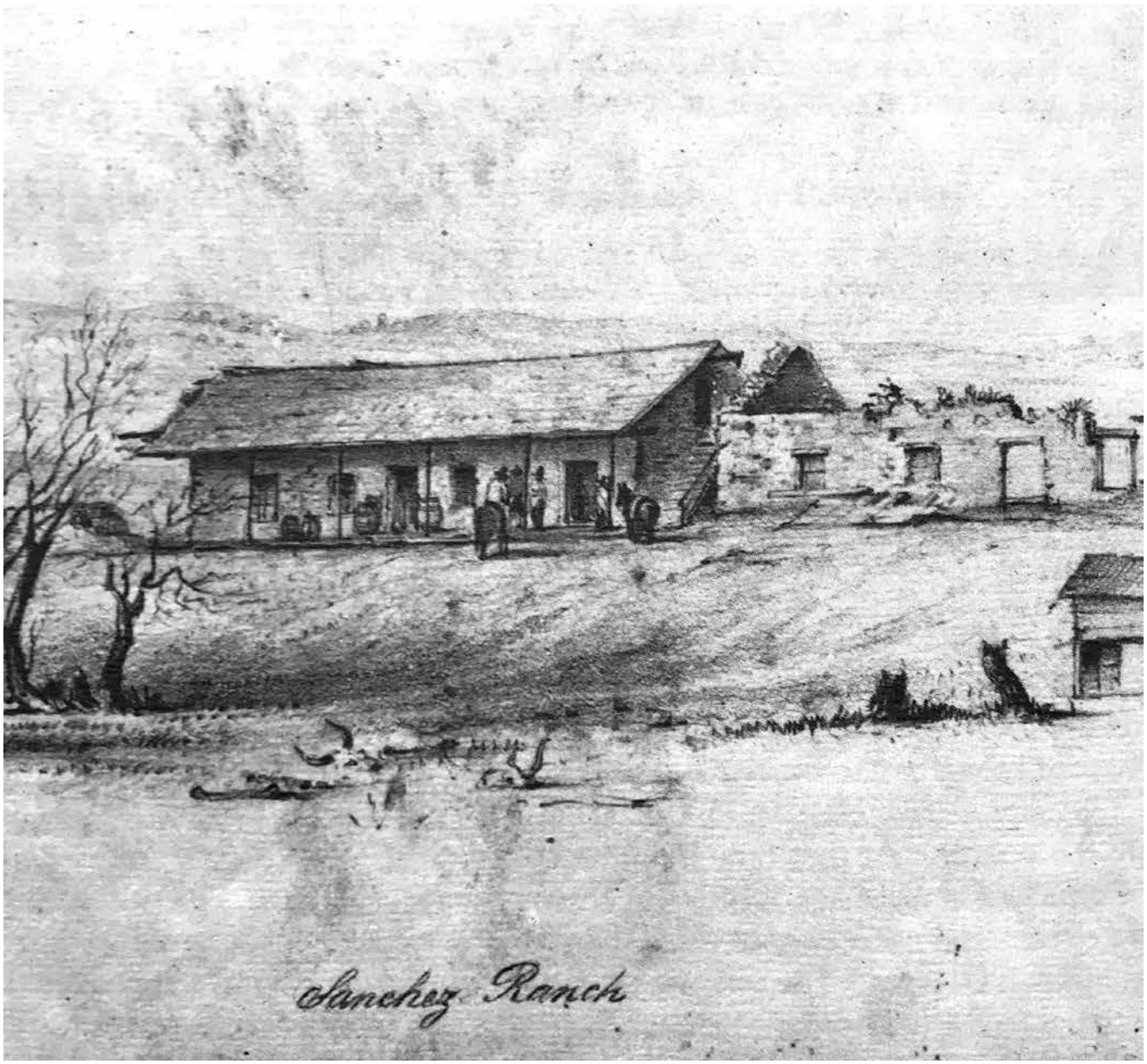


Map showing remains of Mission Dolores and nearby adobes in 1854.
Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

confirmed Richardson's 1835 grant at Yerba Buena.[49] (It appears that the original grant from De Haro had been misplaced, or gone missing.[50]) Notably, Estudillo granted another lot in Yerba Buena to an Anglo settler at this time: trader Jacob P. Leese—a native of Ohio—who went on to build the "first solid structure in [Yerba Buena]."[51] As for Mission Dolores, however, grants of land were still prohibited by the government. This remained the case until 1839.[52] Because of this, over the next few years, while the Mission stagnated, many Californios secured grants—and a few built houses—in Yerba Buena, so that settlement began to grow.

For a glance at the Mission Dolores settlement during the late 1830s, consider Boston trader William Heath Davis's remembrances from an 1838 visit, in which he notes the "prominent families around the bay"[53] at that time: "At the Mission Dolores were Francisco de Haro, who was then *alcalde* [De Haro became *alcalde* again in 1838], who was married to the daughter [Emiliana] of Don José Sanchez; Francisco Guerrero, who was afterward *alcalde* and sub-prefect; Tiburcio Vasquez, Dona Carmen Cibrian, Candelario Valencia, married to the daughter of Don José Sanchez; Jesus Valencia, married to another daughter of Sanchez; Don Jesus Noe."[54]

In the above quotation relations to José Antonio Sanchez stand out. Being the elder of the community, and owner of the area's most prominent rancho, José Antonio Sanchez was clearly the *patrón*, or "boss," of the San Francisco peninsula, at the top of the peninsula's socioeconomic ladder. Keep in mind that he was the only Californio in his sixties on the peninsula at that time.[55] The Californios' way of life was seigneurial, that is, the "rule of a 'big' man over family, laborers, and land." Though each family had



José Antonio Sanchez's Buri Buri rancho was the closest thing to a hacienda on the peninsula. Before dying in the 1840s, José Antonio had at least thirty-five grandchildren alive on the peninsula.

its male head, relationally many traced their lineage directly back to José Antonio Sanchez, who, when he died in the 1840s, had at least thirty-five grandchildren living on the peninsula.[56] Furthermore, in an 1842 census, while most all of the Californios are listed as "laborers," José Antonio Sanchez is singularly distinguished as *harcendo*,[57] that is, the harnesser, or the man who harnesses the horses.

This era was later romanticized as "California Pastoral," when the Californios rode horses freely about the sparsely populated territory with little care or concern for the rest of the world. When Richard Henry Dana visited California, he was baffled by the lack of economy, or "true work" as he defined it. Dana penned the phrase "California fever," referring to what he considered laziness.[58] The Californios had their ranches, along with numerous Native American helpers who worked in servitude for food and shelter. Outside of these ranches, there was indeed little to no real economic activity as we would

think of today, except for the hide and tallow trade that thrived along the coast until the mid-1840s.

The Californios measured their wealth and status by their horses and cattle;[59] in addition to food, cattle translated into hides and tallow for trading to the ships that visited the bay. Californios didn't trade with these ships for the furtherance of industry, however. They simply traded for material items that would aid their existence. As historian Douglas Monroy puts it, the Californios "did not transform the bovine produce of the land into anything resembling 'capital,' that is, the sort of machinery, land, or money to reinvest that would generate more profit and wealth. Instead, they sought trade goods to facilitate a particular style of life."[60]

While Mission Dolores served as a central meeting place for the family heads, the families that lived at the settlement, would have lived and farmed—along with their Native American servants—as an extended family and community. Outside of the basic day-to-day activities surrounding meals and Californio culture, most of the economic activity focused on preparing hides and rendering tallow for trading with visitors. Much of this work would have surely been handled by Native Americans, as W. H. Davis is clear that, pre-secularization, Native Americans at the mission were skilled as blacksmiths, tanners, shipwrights, carpenters, masons, tailors, shoe-makers, and more.[61] In fact, the 1842 census mentioned above is also enlightening in this regard, as the only men—other than the Native Americans—labeled with specialized professions, like merchants, carpenters, and blacksmiths, are Anglos located at Yerba Buena. While the Californios were sneered at by foreigners for their love of horseracing, gambling, billiards, and generally laid-back lifestyle, Monroy explains,

> In their own estimation they were honorable men, not idlers. . . . [they] earnestly endeavored to be successful. . . . But success derived not from producing and accumulating; rather, the rancheros valued material goods only insofar as they allowed genteel openhandedness—a sure mark of seigneurial status. The bestowal of some of their surplus through ritualized generosity safeguarded the social standing of the elite . . . This gracious form of disaccumulation became part of their individual and collective characters."[62]

Lastly, given what we know about the secularization of the missions coinciding with the height of the hide and tallow trade, it seems most likely that Francisco De Haro and company slaughtered a large portion of the Mission Dolores cattle when they inhabited the mission in 1834,[63] and traded the produced hides and tallow with those like Davis, therefore elevating their material existence somewhat in a poor, neglected Mexican territory. When the mid-1840s came around, however, due to an overabundance of hides entering the eastern markets, this once lively trade dropped off forever. Mission Dolores was considered a poor mission compared to other Alta California missions,[64] and those living on the San Francisco peninsula clearly lived way below the means of a man like Vallejo. José Antonio Sanchez's Rancho, Buri Buri, was the closest thing to a hacienda on the peninsula.

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Political instability followed Governor Figueroa's death in September of 1835, culminating in civil war for the remainder of the 1830s. Mission Dolores steadily declined in its structural integrity, and given the inability of the Californios to own lots at Mission Dolores, any new construction on the peninsula occurred in Yerba Buena.

In 1839, the *Ayuntamiento* of San Francisco was abolished, and a new system of prefectures was put into place. The first *juez de paz* (Justice of the Peace) of the San Francisco District was Francisco Guerrero y Palomares, who—as Richardson mentioned above—lived in one of the old houses at the Mission Dolores Settlement.[65] Guerrero is an interesting case, for it appears that as part of the Híjar-Padrés colony in 1834, Guerrero was the only person up to this point who was granted an actual lot at Mission Dolores.[66] Because of this, he became the settlement's main proponent and diplomat. Without a doubt, Francisco Guerrero was one of the "several others" with Vallejo at the procession for Commodore Stockton in 1846,[67] and later in the nineteenth century, Davis, the trader from Boston, noted: "Guerrero was one of the few real founders of San Francisco."[68]

A native of Tepic, Mexico, Guerrero was twenty-three in 1834 when he immigrated to the San Francisco peninsula as part of the aforementioned Híjar-Padrés colony.[69] Therefore, compared with the others discussed so far, Guerrero was a newcomer; however, it is clear that the community instantly embraced him. Bancroft writes that he was a "kind-hearted, genial man, of much intelligence, and good character."[70] Not long after his arrival, Guerrero married Francisco De Haro's daughter, Josefa.[71]

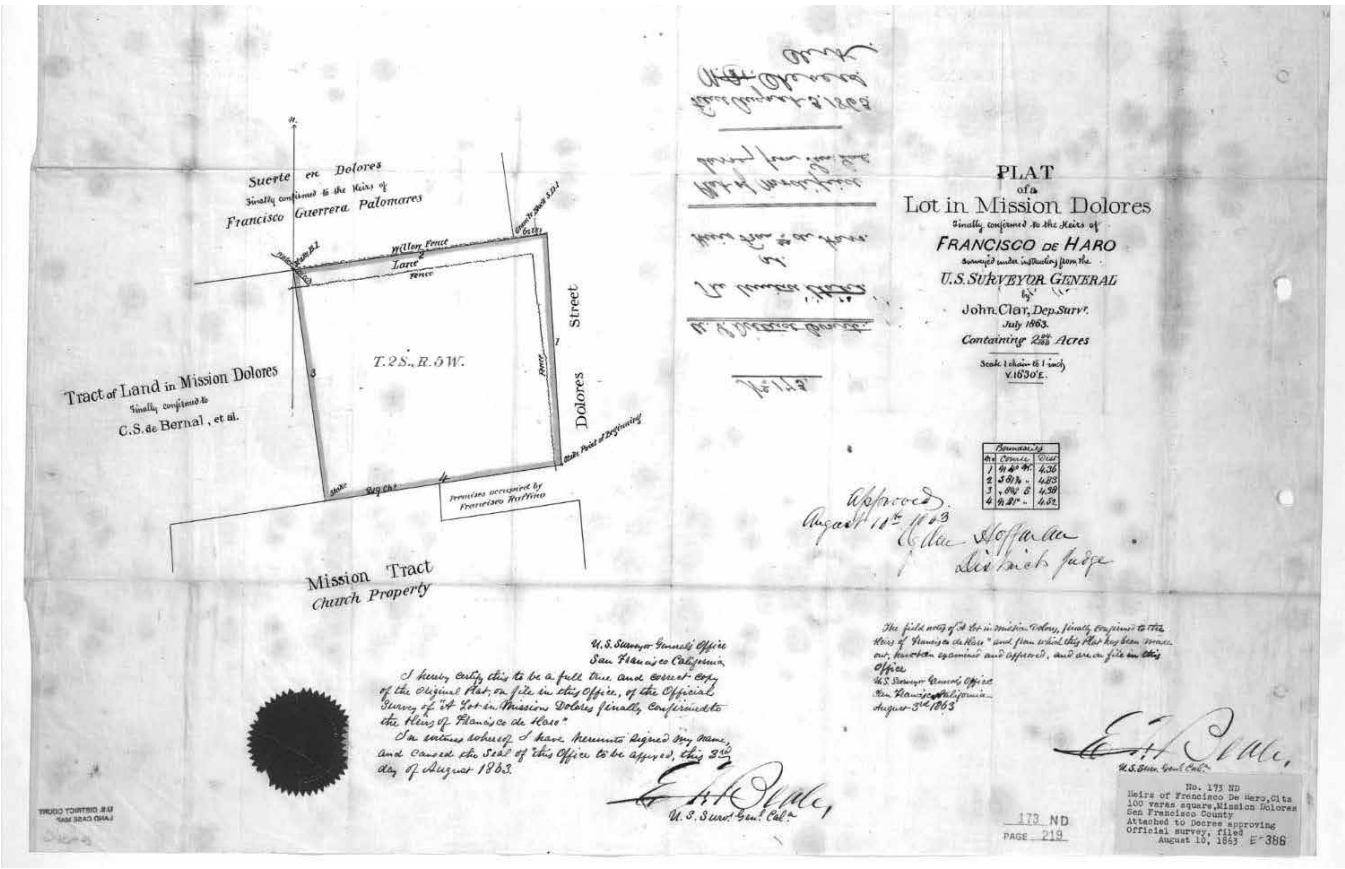
During Guerrero's time as Justice of the Peace of the SF District in 1839, the Mission Dolores settlement was officially designated the *cabecera* (the head settlement, or capital) of the San Francisco District.[72] Francisco De Haro once again asked the government for a lot at Mission Dolores.[73] Guerrero also reached out to the government at this time, voicing the "desire of citizens to settle at the mission."[74] For whatever reason, it was Guerrero's plea that worked, and in November of 1839, communication came back from the government authorizing the "granting of [50-vara] lots at the Mission."[75] In addition, it stated that the settlers should "use for their cattle the surrounding lands except [San] Mateo and the coast, but not to disturb the [Native Americans]or embarrass the administrator as long as the community exists."[76]

Guerrero had designs for the new *cabecera* of the district and put together a greater plan for the settlement moving forward, with the church at its center, looking to "repair some of the ruined buildings which the [Californios had] occupied for many years."[77] He also asked the current administrator to "give up or lend a room for a jail."[78] It wasn't until 1840 that other lots in Mission Dolores were granted. The next three people to receive lots were Leandro Galindo, Candelario Valencia, and Felipe Gomez.[79]

In 1841 Guerrero was still Justice of the Peace. In March of that year he asked for a copy of the official order allowing him to grant lots at the Mission Dolores settlement, stating that while he'd already granted some, he had never received the official, physical order. In April, a copy of said order was at last sent to him.[80] In May, Guerrero wrote to Governor Alvarado, who had just won the governorship through revolution, asking that the mission administrator provide—or have the Native Americans build—a space for a court and its archives. However, given the continued political chaos in the territory, nothing had progressed in this regard by April of 1842.[81] Quite clearly, while Guerrero was persistent, and had hopes for the future of the Mission Dolores settlement, he was unable to gain any government aid whatsoever. Despite Mission Dolores's status as *cabecera*, the mission buildings remained in major disrepair. Neglected, they became progressively destitute while Yerba Buena, the port of the peninsula, saw development.

Josepha De Haro, daughter of Francisco De Haro, wife of Francisco Guerrero.

In 1841, the Hudson's Bay Company opened a depot in Yerba Buena, and soon after, George Simpson of the company visited the bay. "[Yerba Buena's] shores are doubtless destined, under better auspices, to be the site of a flourishing town," wrote Simpson, "though at present . . . [it] contain[s] only eight or nine houses, in addition to the Hudson's Bay Company's establishment."[82]



Plat of a lot in Mission Dolores, confirmed to the heirs of Francisco de Haro. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Guerrero met Simpson in Yerba Buena and escorted him to Mission Dolores. Simpson later wrote of his time at Mission Dolores, following a visit with Vallejo in Sonoma:

> . . . but here [at Mission Dolores] one wilderness of ruins presented nothing to blend the promise of the future with the story of the past. This scene of desolation had not even the charm of antiquity to grace for it. . . . The church . . . remained in perfect preservation, amidst the contrast of the surrounding ruins. . . . In the vicinity of the church was formerly situated the garden. . . . It was now choked with weeds and bushes; and the walls were broken down in many places, though, by a characteristic exertion of Californian industry, piles of skulls had filled up some of the gaps.[83]

In 1843, Guerrero's plans for the Mission Dolores settlement were further stymied with the arrival of Manuel Micheltorena, the new Mexico-appointed commandant general and governor of Alta California. On March 29, 1843, Micheltorena signed a proclamation that gave the church full control of twelve Alta California missions, an attempt to restore these missions to the pre-1833 system.[84] Despite Mission Dolores not being one of these twelve, the granting of lots was suspended "until it should be definitely ascertained by official acts of great formality, that such lands would not be needed . . . either [by the Mission], or as [a] possible future Indian [pueblo]."[85]

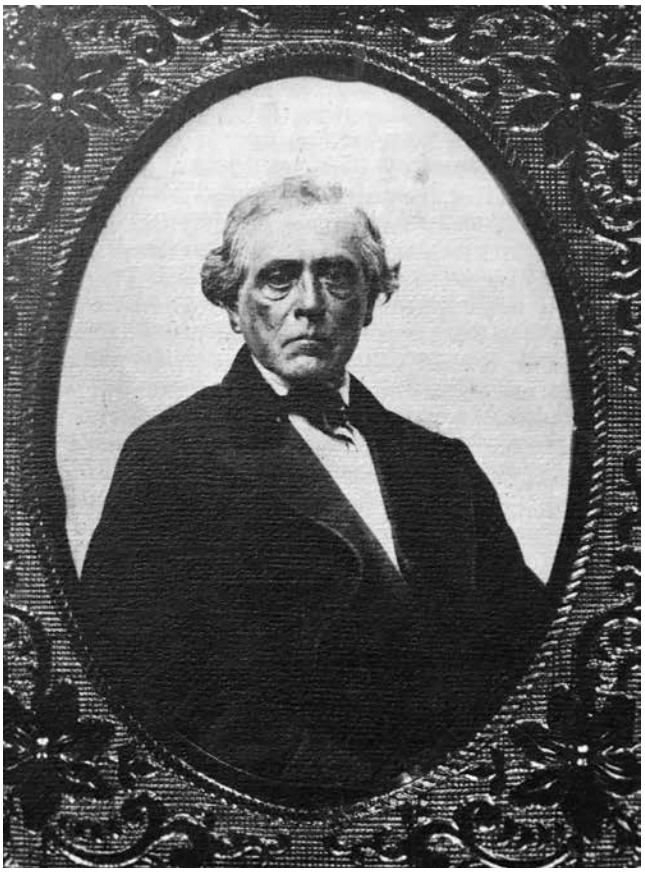
In 1842, as Micheltorena was still traveling north from Mexico, Francisco Sanchez, who was then acting Justice of the Peace for the San Francisco District, recorded a census of those living on the

San Francisco peninsula. The census total came to 196 people: 76 men, 42 women, 42 boys, and 36 girls.[86] My determination is that about 50 of those listed were located at Yerba Buena and around 30 (the Miranda/Briones family, Miramontes family, and some of the Sanchez family) were on the fringes of the Presidio, and other parts of the peninsula. This puts the total of those at the Mission Dolores settlement in 1842 at a little more than 100.

Clearly, the census shows that despite its "desolation," the Mission Dolores settlement remained the largest on the peninsula, while Yerba Buena saw its growth mostly from Anglo and foreign settlers. In 1844, a letter was sent to the government by those at Mission Dolores begging for the settlement's legal transformation—at last—into an official pueblo.[87] The signers were Francisco de Haro, José de la Cruz Sanchez, Francisco Guerrero y Palomares, Francisco Sanchez, José de Jesus Noé, Manuel Sanchez, Candelario Valencia, Ramon de Haro, Vicente Miramontes, José de Jesus Valencia, Francisco M. Haro, Isidro Sanchez, Felipe Soto, Domingo Felix, and José Cornelio Bernal.[88] Due to the remaining debt, however, their request was once again refused.[89]

Yerba Buena continued to progress into a cosmopolitan village, however, and the Californio and Mission Dolores communities grew more and more concerned about the increasing foreign influence there. In fact, following the election for 1845 *alcalde* of the San Francisco District, tension came to a head between the two settlements.

Juan N. Padilla, a newcomer to Yerba Buena who had taken over Vioget's saloon,[90] was elected *alcalde*. However, the Sanchez brothers felt that José de la Cruz Sanchez was the rightful winner, as it seems they didn't think foreigners should influence the election.[91] Despite Padilla's having served as a lieutenant under Captain Francisco Sanchez's SF District militia,[92] Padilla was harassed and threatened by the Sanchez brothers, until he offered his resignation in March of 1845. In May, however, twenty-two locals (mostly non-Californios) petitioned newly appointed Governor Pío Pico to keep Padilla in office.[93] At the same time, José de la Cruz Sanchez sent a request to Governor Pico to be confirmed as *alcalde*, stating, "The people have met and compelled Padilla to give up the baton because of non-residence and arbitrary acts."[94] Pico, along with his Los Angeles *junta* (assembly), discussed the issue, and, though leaving Padilla in office, had the justice of San Jose conduct an investigation into the matter.[95]



José de la Cruz Sanchez, who became alcalde *of San Francisco in 1845 following a dispute between the Mission Dolores settlement and the hamlet of Yerba Buena.*

In June of 1845, before hearing back from the government, the Sanchez brothers and residents of the Mission Dolores settlement attacked Yerba Buena, stoning the houses and "insulting" its residents.[96] While more particulars are unknown, by at least August of 1845, José de la Cruz Sanchez was officially sitting as *alcalde* of San Francisco, with a "patrol of citizens . . . appointed to keep order."[97] Furthermore, in September of 1845, when gearing up for elections and meetings of the San Francisco district government, "there was a general objection to meeting at Yerba Buena, and to the predominant influence of foreigners there."[98]

The reality was that Yerba Buena—with its Anglo presence and gradual integration into the world market[99]—was winning out as the predominate settlement. Despite the Californios' reservations, this reality could no longer be denied. In fact, as the government under Pío Pico reinstituted the prefecture system (San Francisco was again named *cabacera*), the "much troubled" Sub-Prefect Francisco Guerrerro asked to build an office and prison in Yerba Buena, using materials from the Presidio and mission ruins.[100] Furthermore, Jesus Noé was Justice of the Peace in Yerba Buena, and José de la Cruz Sanchez was Justice of the Peace at Mission Dolores.[101]

The Mexican-American War and the San Francisco Californios

In April of 1846, the United States declared war against Mexico. Although most of the action took place in Mexico, Californios here feared that further aggression would be levied against them. Following the murders of Francisco De Haro's twin sons near San Rafael, Francisco Guerrero urged Californios at both Mission Dolores and Yerba Buena to vacate and retire to the ranchos.[102] As a result, when Captain John B. Montgomery and his men from the *USS Portsmouth* landed at Yerba Buena on July 9, 1846, and raised the American flag in front of the custom house, there was no resistance. In fact, the Mexican flag had been removed from the pole a few weeks before.[103] Soon after, Guerrero turned over all of his municipal records; likewise, Francisco Sanchez "surrendered 'all troops, arms, munitions of war, and public property' under his control."[104]

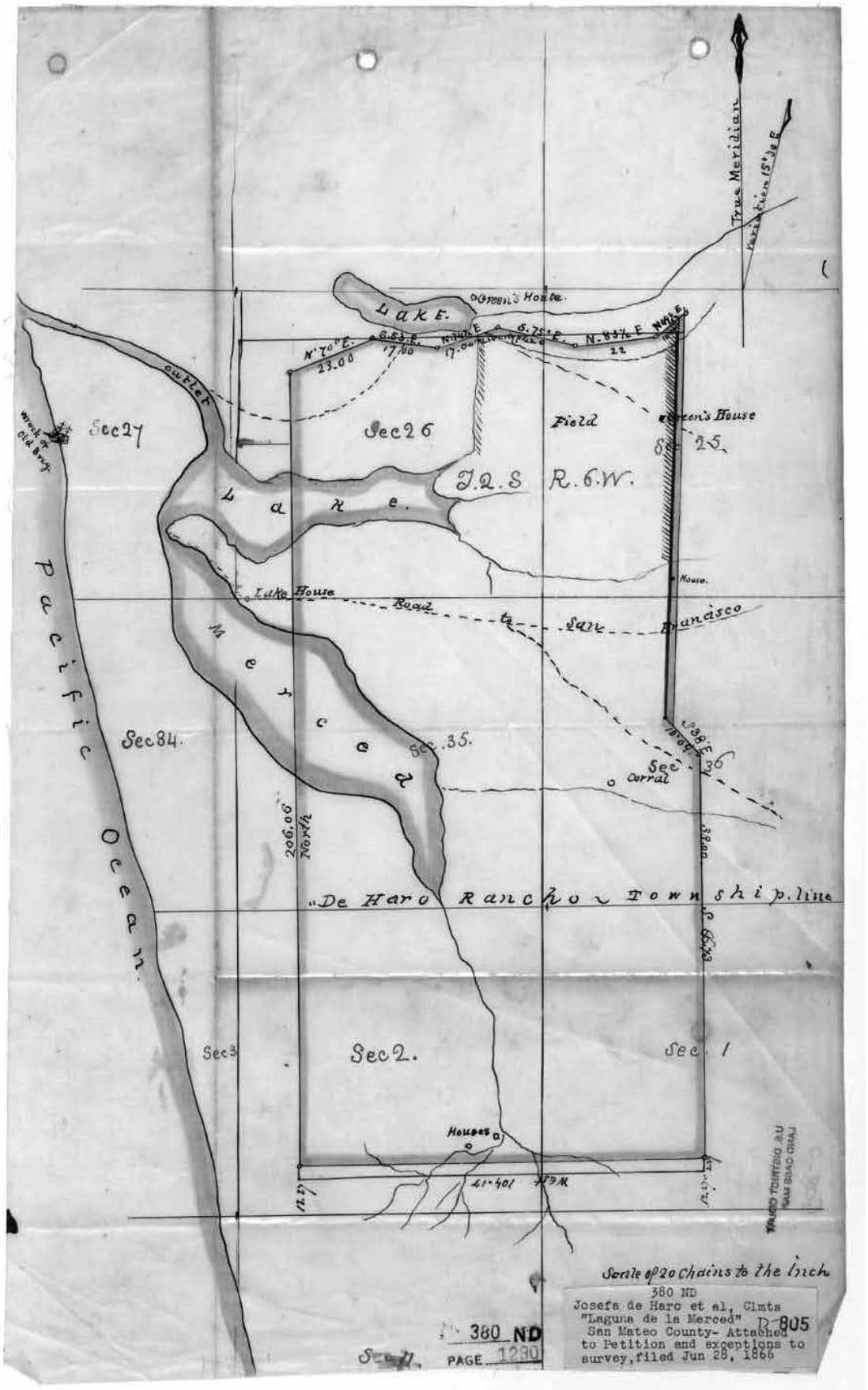
In late September, when the Mexicans took back control of Los Angeles, rumors spread that Mexican General Manuel Castro was down in Mexico amassing more than one thousand men, with plans to move up into Alta California and move northward. In October, Commodore Robert F. Stockton visited Yerba Buena. Francisco Guerrero, the Sanchez brothers, and Tiburcio Vasquez[105] all lent their best horses for the procession held in Stockton's honor, and they also accompanied him to Mission Dolores.

There was no real U. S. presence at San Jose at that time, so while he was in the Bay Area Stockton appointed Charles M. Weber—a naturalized Mexican citizen originally from Prussia—to head a small militia to protect San Jose in the event of Castro's arrival. Taking advantage of the situation, Weber raised a company of sixty-five men, called them his "Rangers," and set about confiscating Californio livestock and "ravag[ing] every rancho between San Jose and Yerba Buena."[106] Rancho Buri Buri "suffered greatly in these raids."[107]

One day Manuel Sanchez (the youngest of José Antonio's sons) and Ramón Aguila wandered into Yerba Buena and were taken prisoners aboard the *USS Savannah* by U. S. Navy Captain William Mervine.[108] With rumors that General Castro's army would soon arrive on the San Francisco peninsula and inhabit Mission Dolores, the two Californios were assumed to be spies.

Furthermore, in the same paranoid vein, on December 14 Washington A. Bartlett—the first *alcalde* of the San Francisco District following U. S. occupation—led five men to the Mission Dolores Settlement under the pretense that they needed

Natividad De Haro, daughter of Francisco De Haro. Born in 1829, Natividad grew up at the Mission Dolores settlement. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.



Survey of Francisco De Haro's Rancho at Lake Merced. His family spent their time between the rancho and the Mission Dolores settlement in the 1830s and 40s. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

cattle for food. Bartlett and his group were actually investigating the possibility of a Mexican resurgence brewing there.[109]

Bartlett and his men were greeted at the mission by José de la Cruz Sanchez, who, with true Californio hospitality, fed them and invited them to stay the night. In fact, they even enjoyed a late night of dancing with those at the settlement. Bartlett's story was that the following day, José de la Cruz led them down to Buri Buri to give them some cattle.[110]

At Buri Buri, thinking they were about to herd some cattle in a field, Bartlett and his men were instead accosted by Francisco Sanchez and others and taken prisoner.[111] Aside from the incarceration of his brother, Francisco Sanchez was making a stand for the local Californios—not in defense of Mexico, but in hopes of quelling the ongoing horse and cattle rustling, as well as the disrespectful treatment of Californio families by Weber and his Rangers.[112]

Following Bartlett's capture, on January 2, 1847, a force of 101 men under U.S. Marine Captain Ward Marston was sent from Yerba Buena down the peninsula to engage with Francisco Sanchez and 100 Californios at Santa Clara. Known as the Battle of Santa Clara, the skirmish lasted for about an hour, and no one was killed.[113] Following the battle, Francisco Sanchez voiced the Californios' concerns, an armistice was reached, and Bartlett and his men were released. As the *California Star* reported, "The war in this part of California may be considered at an end."[114]

The Growth of the Mission Dolores Settlement

Following the Mexican-American War, which officially ended on February 3, 1848, both Yerba Buena† and the Mission Dolores settlements continued to grow. While Yerba Buena grew rapidly into a full-fledged town, with a mostly Anglo population, Mission Dolores remained a ramshackle Californio outpost and farming community. In some cases, new immigrants to the region had houses and property in both locations. William Leidesdorff, for example, facilitated the location of a horserace track at the mission in 1848.[115] Also, Robert Ridley, an early Yerba Buena settler who married Presentación Briones and was partial to the Californio lifestyle,[116] moved from Yerba Buena to the Mission Dolores settlement.

In April of 1848, a correspondent wrote to the *Californian* a bit of a travelogue clearly aimed at circulation in the eastern states and doubling as an advertisement for migration to California. They wrote:

> San Francisco [Yerba Buena] is the largest commercial town in Upper California, containing about one thousand inhabitants and is rapidly increasing in population and importance. The great commercial facilities which this place is possessed of renders it to the Pacific, what New York is to the Atlantic. After leaving this place we traveled over low hills of sand, and destitute of that nutritious pasture which this country abounds with in many parts; in about three miles we arrived at Mission Dolores. This is a desirable situation and inhabited principally by native [Californios]. Here the land is fertile and possessing water privileges for irrigating. The most of the valley is converted into gardens, and a large amount of vegetables are raised for the San Francisco market, which has rendered it a profitable imployment [*sic*] to those engaged."[117]

Advertisements like this were not necessary for long, however, for when news spread of gold found in the tail race of Sutter's Mill on the American River, the California Gold Rush of 1849 fully wheeled into motion, and the city of San Francisco grew in a way that no other city in the world had grown before. The Mission Dolores settlement was soon overrun with squatters and fell victim to pseudo-legal land grabs. Rather rapidly, the last bastion of Californio culture on the peninsula was erased forever. The Mission region quickly became San Francisco's first designated area for rest and relaxation, with two racetracks, hotels, bars, and family weekend retreats.

Initially, when Yerba Buena/San Francisco was surveyed after it became a part of the United States,[118] the limits of the town did not include the

† Technically, Bartlett had changed Yerba Buena's name to San Francisco in January of 1847, but I am continuing the use of Yerba Buena for fluency.

The church and adjoining buildings of Mission Dolores remained for years, though only the church remains today. Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Mission Dolores settlement. However, following the Gold Rush, the city's limits quickly extended southward, and as this happened, many of the streets in the vicinity of the old Mission Dolores settlement were named in honor of the peninsula's Californios, many of whom, along with their children, still called the Mission District home.[119] Today, these streets and their signs remain crucial puzzle pieces to a mostly lost portion of San Francisco's history—a story of not one, but two settlements.

* * * * *

About the Author

A native of Louisiana, who also grew up in Kentucky, Hudson Bell graduated from the University of Mississippi and moved to California in 1998. He lives on Nob Hill, where he serves on the board of directors and Huntington Park Committee of the Nob Hill Association. Also acting as the association's historian, Bell hopes is researching and writing the book *Fern Hill: The Lost History of San Francisco's Nob Hill*. His article "Charles D. Cushman: Nob Hill Pioneer" appeared in *The Argonaut*, Vol. 26 No. 2.

Notes

1. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. III (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1885), 242.
2. When the Alta California missions were founded, starting with Mission San Diego de Alcala in 1769, they were owned by the Catholic Church, and run by the Franciscan order. The process of secularization took the missions away from the church and gave them to the Mexican government, who under certain circumstances would transform an old mission into an official pueblo.
3. In 1831, Governor Echeandía attempted secularization at San Cárlos and San Gabriel. See Bancroft, Vol. III, 305–6.
4. *Daily Alta*, March 5, 1850, 2; Bancroft, Vol. III, 342.

5. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1924), 236. Further: "It was confiscation pure and simply, since the property of the Indians and the property of the Church was taken from the owners and disposed of by the legislators despite the prohibition of the Mexican Government. It was a wholesale and a sacrilegious robbery given a soft name to dupe the ignorant and thoughtless" (p. 240). Despite the fact that the President of Mexico sent out a decree in 1835 calling for the suspension of Alta California Governor Figueroa's secularization orders (John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of San Francisco* {Kentfield, CA: Ross Valley Book Co., 1978}, Addenda, 43), commissioners of the Alta California missions persisted in their duties, therefore bringing about constant confusion between church and state (Engelhardt, *San Francisco or Mission Dolores*, 236–40), especially in those cases when a mission was in debt, like Mission Dolores.
6. Technically, it was the nearby creek and lagoon that were christened on that day, "Arroyo de los Dolores" and "Laguna de los Dolores," therefore the spot of the future mission. So as Mission San Francisco Asís (Saint Francis of Assisi) was built and developed, it took on the nickname Mission Dolores.
7. *Californian*, Oct. 24, 1846, 1. In this same column, we learn that at that time, Clay Street was referred to as Portsmouth Street, and Montgomery Street was Water Street.
8. The only remnants of the Mission Dolores settlement today are of course the church (the oldest surviving structure in SF, dating back to 1791) and the small graveyard next to it, where some of the men mentioned in this article—including Francisco De Haro and Francisco Guerrero—are buried.
9. After it was later ruled/determined by the U. S. courts that the Mission Dolores settlement was never an actual Mexican pueblo in the official sense, its importance was downplayed and buried in nineteenth-century tomes, including Dwinelle's *Colonial History of San Francisco* and Bancroft's *History of California*.
10. See Alan Rosenus's *General Vallejo and the Advent of the Americans*.
11. John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of San Francisco* (Ross Valley Book Co., 1978/San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1867), Addenda, 35–36.
12. Ibid., 40–41.
13. William H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1967), 3. Davis's statement here refers to those who are not Native Americans.
14. Bancroft, Vol. III, 704.
15. Bancroft, Vol. II, 462, 467.
16. Bancroft, Vol. III, 776.
17. De Haro was married to Emiliana, one of Don José Sanchez's daughters. José Antonio Sanchez's sons were Isidro, Manuel, José de la Cruz, and Francisco. See Bancroft, Vol. V, 710.
18. Bancroft, Vol. II, 591, 664.
19. Soon after De Haro and Francisco Sanchez were elected to the *Ayuntamiento* of San Francisco, José Antonio Sanchez petitioned the government for the official grant of Buri Buri, and in September 1835 he received it. Eventually, the northern boundary of Buri Buri became the southern border of the City and County of San Francisco. *Daily Alta*, Jan. 3, 1855, 3; Bancroft, Vol. III, 704. As for the East Bay portion of the partido, in January 1835, De Haro appointed Gregorio Briones auxiliary *alcalde* "of the contra costa."
20. Alan Rosenus, *General Vallejo and the Advent of the Americans* (Berkeley: Heyday/Urion, 1999), 19.
21. Bancroft, Vol. III, 246.
22. Ibid., 249.
23. *Daily Alta*, Nov. 15, 1857: Questioned about 1835, Eusebio Galindo states: "De Haro lived then at the Mission Dolores . . . [it] having been secularized."
24. Bancroft, Vol. III, 346.
25. Bancroft, Vol. II, 794. Of José María Estudillo, Bancroft writes, "Don José María was the founder of the Estudillo family in California, one of the best of the old families, as judged by the average prominence and character of its members. A faithful officer, though of only medium abilities, he had some disagreeable qualities—notably that of vanity—which made him at one time or another heartily disliked by most of his brother officers, who were disposed to ridicule him and make him the butt of practical jokes."
26. Engelhardt, 236.
27. Dwinelle, Addenda, 37. In a communication from Figueroa in January 1835, Estudillo is mentioned as the Commandant of San Francisco.
28. Dwinelle, Narrative, 57–58; Addenda, 37–38.
29. Bancroft, Vol. III, 704. Also see Dwinelle, Addenda, 37–38.
30. *Daily Alta*, Mar. 5, 1850, 2.
31. Figueroa was appointed by Mexico City, and Mexico City was more favorable to the British than it was to Americans. Furthermore, at this time, Mexico owed Britain fifty million pesos. Alta California was open to English colonists, and some people thought that whole sections of Alta California might eventually be ceded to Britain to repay this debt. See Rosenus, 35

& 45. Richardson most likely was an appealing figure to Figueroa, as he was not only British, but a Mexican citizen.

32. *The Pioneer: Or, California Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I (San Francisco: W. H. Brooks & Company, 1854), 196; Also: "The anchorage used by vessels entering the bay when I first came to the country was at the eastern side of the old fort, opposite the Presidio, and at the entrance of the bay. It continued there until December 1824, or the spring of 1825. From that time they came to anchor at the place called Yerba Buena."
33. Ibid., 193.
34. Ibid., 195.
35. Bancroft, Vol. III, 295.
36. *The Pioneer: Or, California Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I, 194.
37. De Haro came to own Rancho Laguna de la Merced—on the west side of the peninsula—in 1837.
38. *The Pioneer: Or, California Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I, 193–94.
39. Engelhardt, 236.
40. John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 109–11.
41. This was perhaps due to a row that Commissioner Estudillo, and his associate Pedro del Castillo, had with Father José Gutierrez surrounding spiritual affairs with the Native Americans remaining at the mission.
42. Bancroft, Vol. V, 755.
43. Engelhardt, 241; Ignacio valued Mission Dolores as being worth around $47,450, roughly $1.1 million today.
44. Bancroft, Vol. III, 714.
45. Engelhardt, 289.
46. Ibid., 236.
47. Ibid.
48. Bancroft, Vol. III, 704–06.
49. Ibid., 705.
50. *The Pioneer: Or, California Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I, 195.
51. Bancroft, Vol. IV, 710.
52. Bancroft, Vol. III, 706.
53. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 291.
54. Ibid.
55. Dwinelle, Addenda, 81.
56. Using Bancroft, I created a Sanchez family tree, and came up with 35 grandchildren.
57. Dwinelle, Addenda, 81.
58. Douglas Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California* (Berkeley: Univ. of Calif. Press, 1990), 116.
59. According to *Seventy-five Years in California*, José Antonio Sanchez had 8,000 head of cattle at Buri Buri in 1838, as well as many horses and mares. While Davis's numbers generally tend to be inflated, there is no doubt that Sanchez owned the majority of the cattle on the peninsula at this time.
60. Douglas Monroy, "The Creation and Re-creation of Californio Society," *California History*, LXXVI:2, LXXVI3, 1977, 183.
61. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 4.
62. Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 139; 145–46.
63. For more on the slaughter of mission cattle see Bancroft, Vol. III, 348–49; Engelhardt, 283: In 1832, records list 5,000 cattle at Mission Dolores. Records don't resume until 1839, and just 758 are reported for that year.
64. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California*, 5.
65. *The Pioneer: Or, California Monthly Magazine*, Vol. I, 193–94.
66. Dwinelle, Addenda, 314 & 327.
67. Davis, 209. Concerning the procession for Stockton, Davis writes, "Guerrero, the Sanchez Brothers, Vasquez, and all the rancheros in the immediate vicinity" donated horses for the procession. It is likely that the men specifically named are recalled due to their also having been in the procession.
68. Davis, 116.
69. Dwinelle, Addenda, 79.
70. Bancroft, Vol. III, 771.
71. Ibid.
72. "Ibid., 705.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid., 706.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Dwinelle, Addenda, 74; Bancroft, Vol. IV, 665.
81. Bancroft, Vol. IV, 665.
82. Sir George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842* (London: Henry Colburn, 1847), 283–84.

83. Ibid., 330-36.

84. Dwinelle, Addenda, 83–84.

85. Dwinelle, Narrative, 73.

86. Dwinelle, Addenda, 78–82.

87. Succinct note from Bancroft, Vol. IV, p. 666 in the footnotes with regard to this petition: "April 8th, petition of 15 residents at the mission to the governor for the extinction of the title of ex-mission and office of majordomo and the formal recognition of the place as a pueblo, as it had been recognized indirectly in various official documents. A decision was reserved until the governor should have made a proposed *visita*, and the condition of the ex-mission as to debts, etc., should be known. . . . What the petitioners desired was the complete extinction of the old mission organization, which still prevented the private ownership of certain property, and the complete recognition of the settlement as part of the pueblo of S. F. They had no idea of establishing a new pueblo. The land lawyers were disposed to regard this petition as proving on the one side that there was no pueblo, since the organization of one was desired, and on the other that Dolores was always distinct from the pueblo of S. F., both of which views I deem erroneous."

88. Dwinelle, Addenda, 102–03.

89. Ibid.

90. Bancroft, Vol. IV, 765.

91. Ibid., 674.

92. The mid-1840s brought more revolution and civil war. Micheltorena was ousted and replaced by Pío Pico as governor of Alta California. Before Micheltorena was ousted, however, with word from Mexico of a treaty for Texas's annexation to the United States, Micheltorena ordered for local militias known as *defensores de la patria* (Defenders of the Fatherland) to organize in the districts. On the San Francisco peninsula, the defenders were led by Francisco Sanchez, and composed of around forty-six males between fifteen and sixty years of age. While technically formed under Micheltorena's watch, with the steady influx of foreigners (some of whom had little regard for what was technically owned by the Californios), Sanchez's defenders were mostly concerned with the protection of their families, possessions, and lands.

93. Bancroft, Vol. IV, 666.

94. Ibid.

95. Ibid.

96. Ibid.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid., 667.

99. Monroy, *Thrown Among Strangers*, 158.

100. Ibid.

101. Bancroft, Vol. V, 648.

102. Dorothy F. Regnery, *The Battle of Santa Clara* (San Jose: Smith & McKay Printing Company, 1978), 19.

103. Ibid.

104. Regnery, 13.

105. Davis, 209: best contenders for those "several others" alongside Vallejo at the Stockton procession in 1846.

106. Regnery, 22 & 28.

107. Regnery, 29 & 31: Later in life, Dolores Martínez recalled how Weber's men threatened her at gunpoint—stealing horses, saddles, lassos, guns, blankets—and forced her and the other women present to prepare food for them.

108. Regnery, 59.

109. Ibid., 61.

110. Ibid.

111. Regnery, 63.

112. Ibid., 62–65.

113. Ibid., 91–92.

114. *California Star*, Jan. 9, 1847, 2.

115. *Californian*, March 15, 1848, p. 2; Aug. 14, 1848, 4.

116. Rosenus, 156.

117. *Californian*, April 19, 1848, 3.

118. Though California was not officially a state of the union until 1850.

119. North of Market Street—basically the grid expanding from the first Yerba Buena surveys, etc.—street names were generally local Anglo government officials, U. S. officials of note/presidents, military leaders, and/or other Anglo pioneers or men of note during the era. However, when the Mission District below Market Street eventually became an official part of the city, original Mission Dolores Settlement/Californio names were used, such as Guerrero, Valencia, Noe, Castro, De Haro, Sanchez, Ridley (original name of Duboce Ave.), etc.

Appendix A

Mission Dolores Settlement inhabitants, 1842, per census conducted by Francisco Sanchez. Note that the full census records of all the inhabitants on the San Francisco peninsula at the time. It is my determination that the first part of the full census records, those at the Mission Dolores settlement, and then starting with Juan Fuller, it shifts to those at Yerba Buena, then to those still out and around the Presidio, down on the Sanchez ranch, etc. Listed below is the first part of the census: the Mission Dolores inhabitants. Asterisks note Native Americans, generally all listed as domestic servants, except for a few laborers. It should be noted that Bancroft (Vol. IV, p. 664) determined that this census also excluded around fifty additional Native Americans (ex-neophytes) still attached to the mission. Lastly, when possible, I have amended the names to the way they are found in Bancroft's Pioneer Index. Source: John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1867), reprinted by Ross Valley Book Co., 1978), 78–80.

Name	Birthplace	Occupation	Age
Tiburcio Vasquez	San Jose	Laborer	49
Alvira Hernandez	Monterey	Laborer	37
Juan Jose Vasquez	San Jose	Laborer	17
Barbara Vasquez	San Jose	Laborer	15
Josefa Vasquez	San Jose	Laborer	13
Siriaca Vasquez	San Jose	Laborer	11
Jose Maria Vasquez	San Jose	Laborer	10
Purificacion Vasquez	San Francisco	Laborer	9
Luciano Vasquez	San Francisco	Laborer	8
Francisco Vasquez	San Francisco	Laborer	6
Francisca Vasquez	San Francisco	Laborer	4
Pablo Vasquez	San Francisco	Laborer	2
Jose Cornelio Bernal	San Francisco	Laborer	46
Carmen Cibrian	San Juan	Laborer	38
Jose de Jesus Bernal	San Francisco	Laborer	13
Francisco Llagas*	Pulgas Ranch	Domestic	57
Concordio*	San Pablo	Domestic	54
Maria Feda*	San Pablo	Domestic	46
Gertrudis*	San Pablo	Domestic	13
Jose Antonio*	San Francisco	Domestic	16
Teresa*	Sonoma	Domestic	20
Francisco Guerrero	Tepic, Mexico	Laborer	31
Josefa de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	17
Spot. Ay. De Guerrero	San Francisco	Laborer	--
Antonio Abad*	Costa	Domestic	37
Lorenza*	Sonoma	Domestic	23
Alejo*	San Francisco	Domestic	35
Vicente Miramontes	San Jose	Laborer	32
Maria de Jesus Hernandez	San Francisco	Laborer	27
Jose Maria Miramontes	San Francisco	Laborer	4
Benita Miramontes	San Francisco	Laborer	2
Mariana Miramontes	San Francisco	Laborer	—
Pablo*	San Francisco	Domestic	18
Francisco*	San Miguel	Domestic	20
Candelario Valencia	Santa Clara	Laborer	38
Paula Sanchez	San Jose	Laborer	32
Eustaquio Valencia	San Jose	Laborer	14
Jose Ramon Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	13
Maria Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	10
Lucia Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	9
Tomas Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	5
Josefa Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	1
Jose de Jesus Valencia	Santa Clara	Laborer	35

Name	Birthplace	Occupation	Age
Julia Sanchez	Santa Clara	Laborer	30
Catarina Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	7
Riso Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	5
Francisco Valencia	San Francisco	Laborer	—
Francisco de Haro	Mexico	Laborer	50
Francisco de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	15
Ramon de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	15
Rosalia de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	14
Natividad de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	13
Prudencio de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	11
Cat. de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	9
Carlota de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	9
Dolores de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	6
Jesus Felipe de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	2
Alonzo de Haro	San Francisco	Laborer	—
Anastasi[o/a] Ramirez	San Juan	Laborer	11
Junipero*	San Francisco	Laborer	43
Isidro Sanchez	San Francisco	Laborer	24
Teodora Alviso	Santa Clara	Laborer	23
Dolores Sanchez	San Francisco	Laborer	5
Isabel Sanchez	San Francisco	Laborer	2
Narcisa Sanchez	San Francisco	Laborer	—
Jose de los Santos*	Tulare	Laborer	10
Leandro Galindo	San Francisco	Laborer	55
Dominga Alaman	Santa Clara	Laborer	34
Seferino Galindo	Santa Clara	Laborer	12
Maria Galindo	Santa Clara	Laborer	9
Antonio Galindo	Santa Clara	Laborer	7
Francisco Galindo	San Francisco	Laborer	4
Gregoria Galindo	San Francisco	Laborer	3
Genaro Galindo	San Francisco	Laborer	2
Mariano Galindo	San Francisco	Laborer	—
Jose de Jesus Noe	Puebla, Mexico	Laborer	37
Guadalupe Gardano	Puebla, Mexico	Laborer	30
Miguel Noe	Mexico	Laborer	9
Dolores Noe	Santa Clara	Laborer	6
Esperidion Noe	San Francisco	Laborer	4
Concepcion Noe	Santa Clara	Laborer	2
Candelaria*	Sonoma	Domestic	17
Francisco*	Santa Cruz	Domestic	28
Concepcion*	Santa Cruz	Domestic	21
Lorenzo*	Santa Cruz	Domestic	26

Appendix B

Mission Dolores Settlement inhabitants in 1846, before the outbreak of the Mexican-American War, according to William Heath Davis. Note that I have amended a few names from the source to coincide with Bancroft's Pioneer Index and Appendix A. Source: William H. Davis, *Seventy-five Years in California* (San Francisco: John Howell-Books, 1967), 289–90.

Padre Jose Maria Real, of the Mission San Francisco de Asis

Francisco Guerrero, sub-prefect of the district of San Francisco

Josefa de Haro (wife of Francisco Guerrero), two sons and two [Native American] servants

Francisco de Haro, ex-alcalde, Emiliana Sanchez (wife of Francisco de Haro), Francisco de Haro, Jr., Ramon de Haro, Natividad de Haro, Prudencio de Haro, Alonzo de Haro, plus two [Native American] servants of the household

Tiburcio Vasquez, mayor-domo, Mission Dolores, Alvira Hernandez (wife of Tiburcio Vasquez), eight children and two [Native American] servants, Candelario Valencia, Paula Sanchez (wife of Candelario Valencia), and two [Native American] servants, Eustaquio Valencia, Jose Ramon Valencia, Lucia Valencia, Tomas Valencia, Francisco Valencia, Jose de Jesus Valencia, Julia Sanchez (wife of Jose de Jesus Valencia), Riso Valencia, Amadeo Valencia, Catarina Valencia (second wife of Jose de Jesus Noe)

Leandro Galindo, Dominga Alaman (wife of Leandro Galindo), Nasario Galindo, Josefa Galindo, Seferino Galindo, Benerito Galindo, Genaro Galindo, Maria Galindo, Antonio Galindo, Manuela Galindo

Chino [Isidro?] Sanchez, Jesus [Teodora?] Alviso (wife of Chino Sanchez), and five small daughters, Isabel Sanchez, Jose Gomez, Eusavia Galindo (wife of Jose Gomez), Guadalupe Gomez

Bernardino Garcia (married to Mrs. Hilaria Read), Hilaria Sanchez Read (of Read's rancho in Marin County), John Read [Jr.] (of Read's rancho, Marin County), Hilarita Read (of Read's rancho, Marin County)

Carmen Cibrian Bernal

Bruno Valencia, Bernarda Duarte (wife of Bruno Valencia), and four children, Meliton Valencia, Felipe Soto

Jose Maria Santa Maria (secretary to sub-prefect Guerrero)

Agustin Davila, Jesus Feliz (Felix?) (wife of Agustin Davila), and two children, Agustin Davila, Jr., Juliana Avila, Dolores Avila

Magin Feliz (Felix?)

Toribio Tanferan, Maria Valencia (wife of Toribio Tanferan), and seven children

Jose Cornelio Bernal (husband of Carmel Cibrian), Jose de Jesus Bernal

Angel Alviso, Josefa Sotelo (wife of Angel Alviso)

Ysidora Jalapa, Rafaela Jalapa, Mariano Jalapa

A Tenderloin District History

The Pioneers of St. Ann's Valley: 1847–1860

by Peter M. Field

The San Francisco community known today as the Tenderloin District began as a little group of houses scattered among the sand dunes of a small valley southwest of San Francisco in the early years of the California Gold Rush. It developed into a prosperous residential and small business area, until demographic shifts changed it into a prosperous hotel, entertainment, and vice district. From there it gradually decayed into a struggling central city neighborhood, which it remains today.

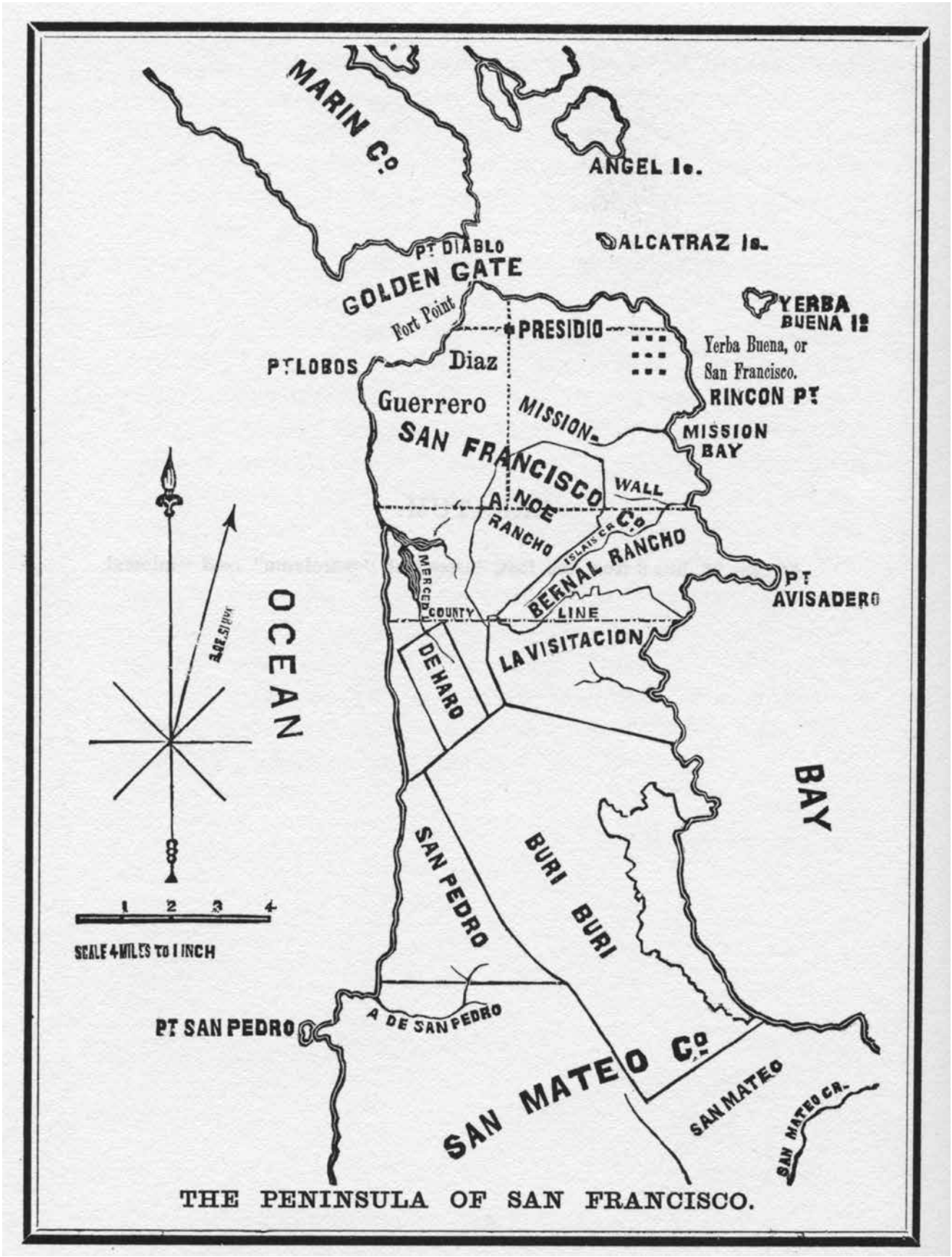
Like much of San Francisco, the Tenderloin's early terrain was sand blown from the ocean beaches by the prevailing southeast and southwest winds. As the sand filled the valleys surrounding the area's rocky hills,[1] patches of scrub oak,[2] grasses, and other plants grew.[3]

The first human settlers in the Bay Area were probably descendants of peoples who migrated across the Bering Sea land bridge from Siberia around the time of the end of the last ice age and populated North and South America.[4] The descendants of these early pioneers were likely displaced by succeeding waves of migrants. By the time European seafarers first landed in the Bay Area in the sixteenth century, the aboriginal inhabitants they encountered were doubtless descendants of the most recent arrivals to have displaced others before them.[5]

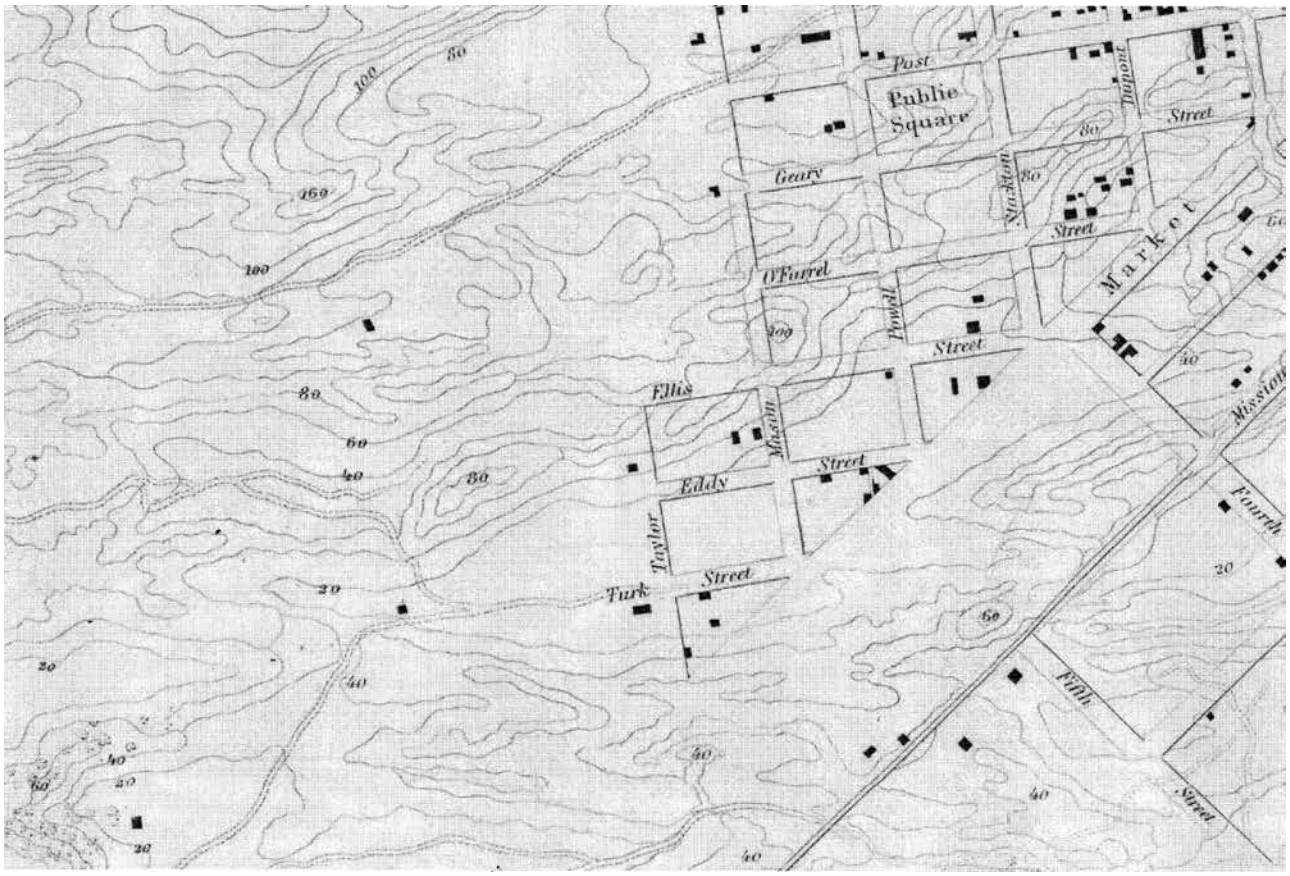
The discovery of shell artifacts in 1986 during excavation for the San Francisco Centre on Market and Fifth Streets revealed a seasonal settlement where the aboriginal inhabitants hunted and gathered circa 100 B.C. and again around 120 A.D.,[6] just across the street from today's Tenderloin District. Here they harvested acorns, seeds,[7] and berries,[8] hunted small game, caught fish, dug up mollusks, and took advantage of the area's nearby fresh-water spring.

The next human settlers in the Bay Area were Spanish and Mexican colonists who migrated to the San Francisco peninsula in 1776, and their descendants apparently took little interest in this area, for it was in the only part of San Francisco that was never parceled out as land grants during the seventy years they controlled it.[9] The next known settlement of the neighborhood wasn't until the beginning of the American era, when thirty-six-year-old Hanoverian immigrant Henry Gerke and his family[10] built a two-and-a-half-story gabled house around 1847 on two 50-vara lots on the west side of Mason Street between Eddy and Ellis,[11] three-fourths of a mile southwest of Portsmouth Square and the village of Yerba Buena.

Around this time there was a small pond at the intersection of Powell, Eddy, Market, and Fifth Streets (where the Flood Building and the San Francisco Centre are now) that was fed by a nearby spring.[12] The valley was prone to periodic flooding due to runoff from the hills north and west of the area.[13] At one time it was "overspread with a thick grove of scraggy dwarf oaks, from which, as likewise from other portions of the town limits, was drawn a supply of fuel, sold at $40 per cord."[14]



This map was drawn by the lead attorney in the case that eventually settled the basis for the land claims of the Californios who claimed this part of the Bay Area for the Spanish crown, and the subsequent land claims that were either derived from it or contested it. From The Colonial History of San Francisco.

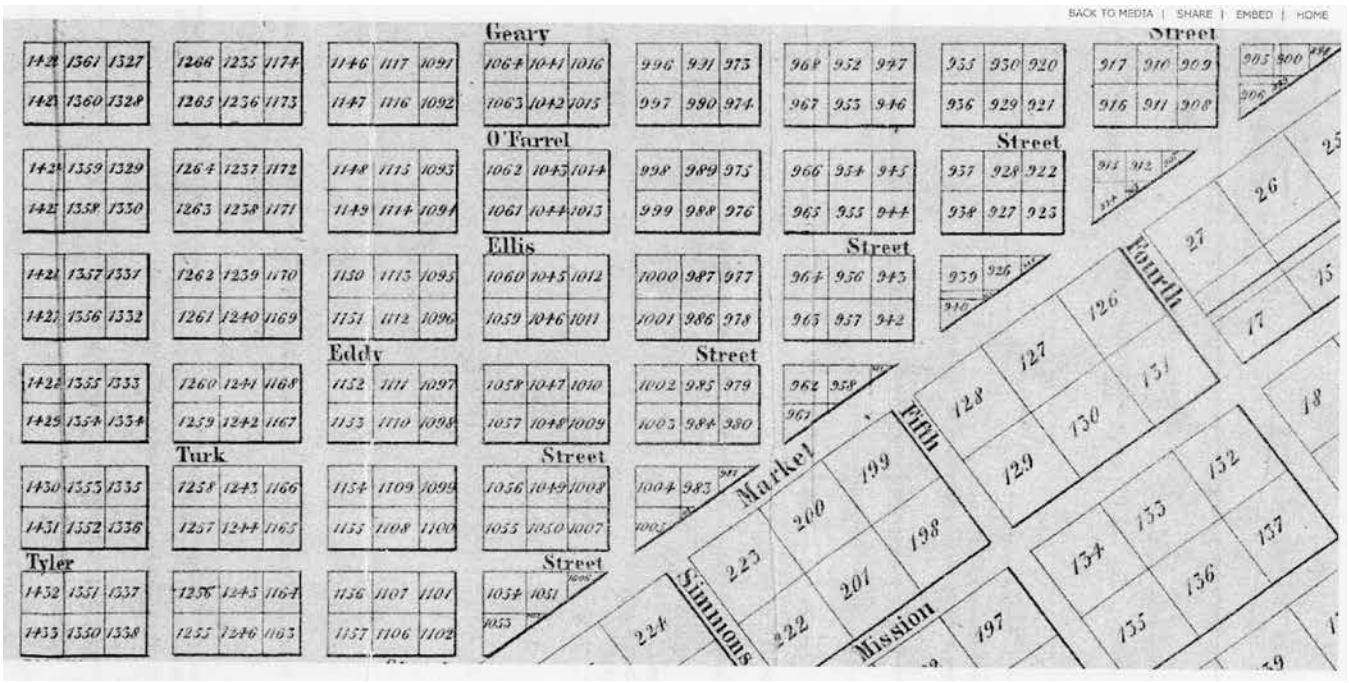


In 1852 the Tenderloin District was a hamlet of approximately twenty structures separated from the town of San Francisco by a line of sand hills stretching from South of Market along O'Farrell and Geary Streets and out to Polk Street. From David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

No one else lived between the Gerkes' house and San Francisco or in the area southwest of them toward Mission Dolores.[15] The isolation of their new home was intensified by its location on the floor of a shallow valley where probably the only thing the Gerkes could see from their porch were the surrounding sand hills. The map of the U.S. Coast Survey of 1852 shows the valley starting a little northeast of where the intersection of Fourth and Stevenson Streets is now, widening west-southwest along both sides of Market, and then dropping a block southwest from the intersection of Powell and Ellis to the intersection of Mason and Eddy. It turned west again for two more blocks between Eddy and Turk Streets to Jones and narrowed for one more block until it pinched out just past Leavenworth.[16]

Access to the valley was blocked by a row of sand hills that ran west across Market and Third Streets and along where O'Farrell, Geary, and Post Streets are now, adding to the sense of isolation. Before the completion of the Market Street Railroad in 1860, there were only two routes to the valley. One was from the Mission trail that ran south along Kearny Street from Sacramento, across Market Street, and then southwest along what is now Mission Street. At the eastern edge of the valley (about where Fourth Street is today) the route turned right and continued west along the valley floor to about where Powell and Market Streets are now. This was made a little easier in 1851 when the Mission Toll Road replaced the trail. In the 1850s there was also "an irregular trail that ran up Bush Street to Stockton, then in a southerly direction upgrade and downgrade through soft, yielding sand down into St. Ann's Valley to near the corner of Eddy and Powell Streets."[17] Thus, Gerke and his family were real pioneers in an out-of-the-way spot outside San Francisco.

One of the ways Gerke made ends meet was



An enlarged portion of William M. Eddy's map shows the future blocks of the Tenderloin District divided into six 50-vara lots to each block, or fraction thereof for triangular or partial blocks. From David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

to cultivate a small vegetable farm next to his new house and have one of his workers pack the produce on a mule over the sand hills and sell it in town. During the Gold Rush, when fresh produce of any kind was scarce, this often brought in $100 to $150 a day.[18] Another one of Gerke's occasional occupations was working as a grading contractor.[19] He also bought and sold real estate after he purchased (or was granted) a number of 50- and 100-vara lots, as he was one of the beneficiaries of the largesse of the American *alcaldes* in 1848 and 1849. Two of these lots were in what is now Union Square Park. Others were in the South of Market area around Tehama Street, and on the western slope of Telegraph Hill.[20]

Additional valley grantees around this time were John Sullivan and Nicholas Merriner, who were each granted two 50-vara lots. Sullivan's lots were on the north side of Ellis Street between Stockton and Powell, while Merriner's were behind Sullivan's on O'Farrell Street. Another grantee was James Findla, who was awarded two adjacent 50-vara lots on the gore* corner of Market and Ellis Streets.[21]

The valley was first officially surveyed in 1849 when William M. Eddy was hired by the *Ayuntamiento* (that is, the town council—San Francisco's municipal government remained organized according to Spanish-Mexican law until 1850)[22] to extend Jasper O'Farrell's 1847 survey south and west of Post and Taylor Streets to Larkin and Ninth Streets.[23] He divided the resultant blocks into numbered 50-vara lots in preparation for a December 28 auction to raise funds for the then empty city treasury.[24] Newspaper advertisements for private auctions of lots in this area were published as early as February of 1850, just three months after the survey.[25]

In January of 1850 the *Ayuntamiento* appropriated the block bounded by Stockton, Geary, Powell, and Post Streets for use as a public square, where Gerke had been granted two 50-vara lots the year before.[26] He petitioned for two replacement lots, which were granted the following March by deeding him two same-size lots across the street on the south side of Geary Street between Stockton and Powell.[27] Years later their value increased exponentially when

* A gore corner is a city block that has a sharp, pointed corner, like the triangular blocks on the north side of Market Street in San Francisco.

This photograph is the adjacent image of Weed's panorama and shows most of St. Ann's Valley. The cluster of buildings in the center of the photograph includes a clearly visible St. Ignatius Church. Charles Leander Weed/California History Room, California State Library.

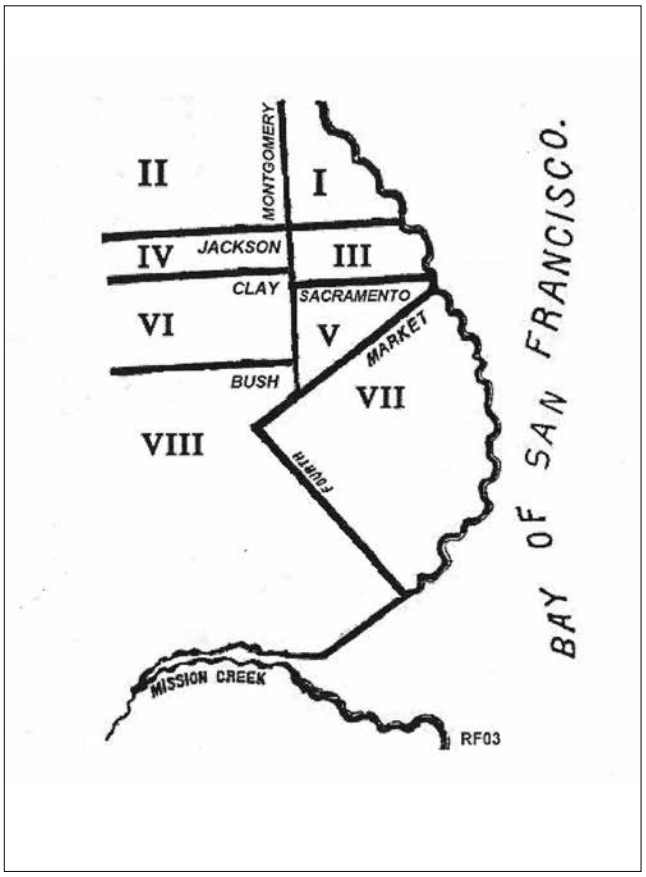
the public square became Union Square, the center of a residential district in the 1860s and 1870s. By this time Gerke's name was included in a list of the wealthiest taxpayers in San Francisco.[28] In August of 1850 he was elected a member of the board of directors of the newly organized Society of California Pioneers.[29]

Travelers going from San Francisco to the new Yerba Buena Cemetery (located on the triangular lot bordered by Market, Larkin, and McAllister Streets), to Hayes Valley, and to Mission Dolores, sometimes took a short cut through the valley.[30] A "French Frank" and two companions set up a campsite close to this trail near the corner of Tyler (now Golden Gate Avenue) and Larkin Streets in the winter of 1850, where they sold whiskey to the travelers.[31]

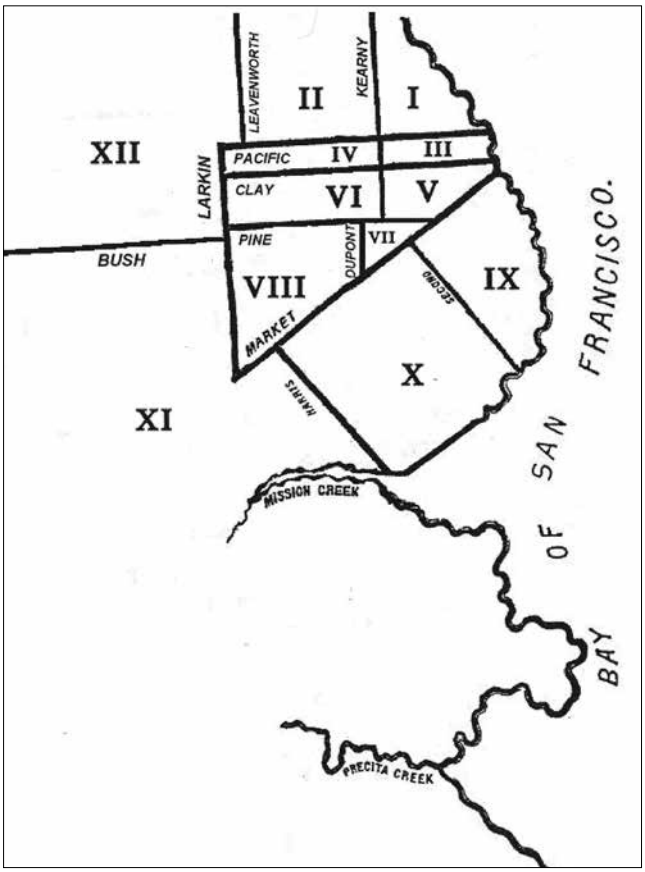
The area showed early signs of growth. Industries that would have been public nuisances in more densely populated neighborhoods were attracted to the valley's remote location, such as a slaughterhouse that operated at the corner of Geary and Stockton that year.[32] Advertisements offering valley lots began appearing more frequently in newspapers around this time.[33]

The area began to develop politically as early as 1850, when the state legislature enacted San Francisco's first city charter. Among other things, it divided the quickly growing town into eight political wards, requiring each one to have roughly the same number of eligible voters. The Eighth Ward consisted of the entire southwestern portion of the city and county, including some of its most outlying neighborhoods—Hayes Valley, the village at Mission Dolores, and the valley around Henry Gerke's house.[34] Except for its northern edge, it was more spread out, less populated, and less developed than any of the other wards.

In the early and middle 1850s, the valley was



St. Ann's Valley, the village around Market and Powell Streets, was a Republican island in a Democratic Eighth Ward sea. The Eighth was the largest ward, going west to the ocean and south to the bay and down the peninsula. Because it was so spread out, its ballot-counting practice (controlled by the Democrats in the 1850s) was to tally the votes in the district's most remote locale–the Mexican village around Mission Dolores. This allowed the adjustments needed to ensure Democratic victories. From the Internet Archive.



By 1860, population growth had shrunk the size of the Eighth Ward to the residential district bordered by Dupont (now Grant), Market, Larkin, and Pine Streets, a solidly Republican neighborhood. It stayed Republican through most of the Great Depression. From the Internet Archive.

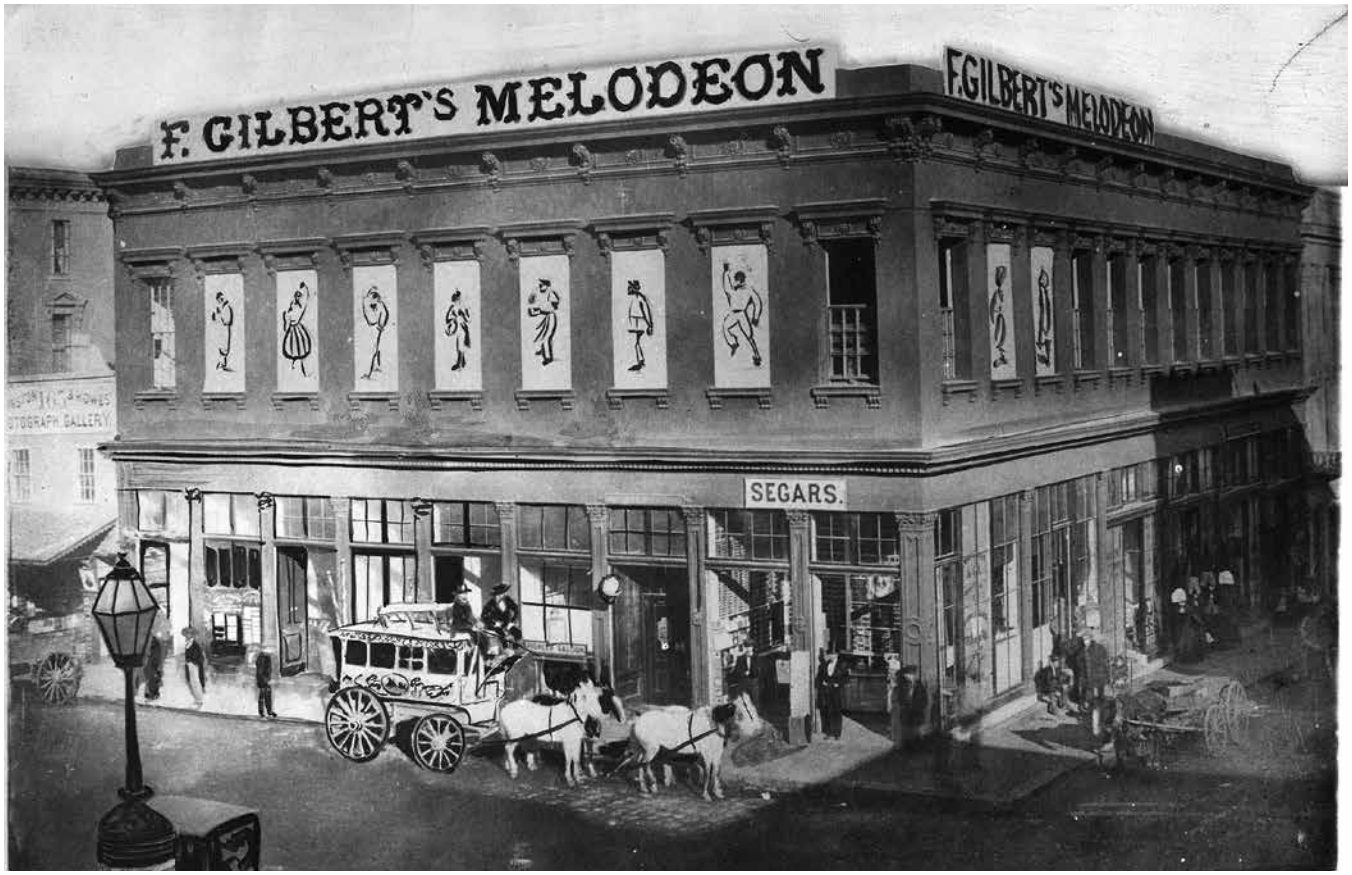
a Whig and Republican island in an Eighth Ward Democratic sea. For several years, its only polling place was located at its southernmost extreme, near Mission Dolores.[35] Aside from forcing valley Whigs and Republicans to travel to cast their ballots, according to one report it allowed Eighth Ward Democrats enough privacy to slow down the vote tally—counting perhaps a dozen ballots a day. This ensured that the Eighth was always the last ward to finish its count, a precautionary measure in case its ballot arithmetic needed adjustment to ensure victory for Democratic candidates.[36] In this way Eighth Ward Democrats reportedly often had their pick of some of the best patronage jobs in the state when grateful candidates took office and paid off political debts.[37] But as its population density increased over the course of the decade, the Eighth Ward's boundaries shrank until it consisted mostly of the areas we now think of as Union Square, the Tendernob, and the Tenderloin, which in those days were mostly residential districts. The Eighth Ward, a fraction of its former size, was now staunchly Republican and remained so, especially after 1860, up until the Great Depression and the reform campaigns of the 1930s and 1940s drove voters to the Democratic Party.[38]

In 1851, two more businesses that couldn't operate in residential districts came to the valley. Myers & Isenberg operated a slaughterhouse on an unoccupied block on the south side of Eddy Street between Jones and Leavenworth, where cattle

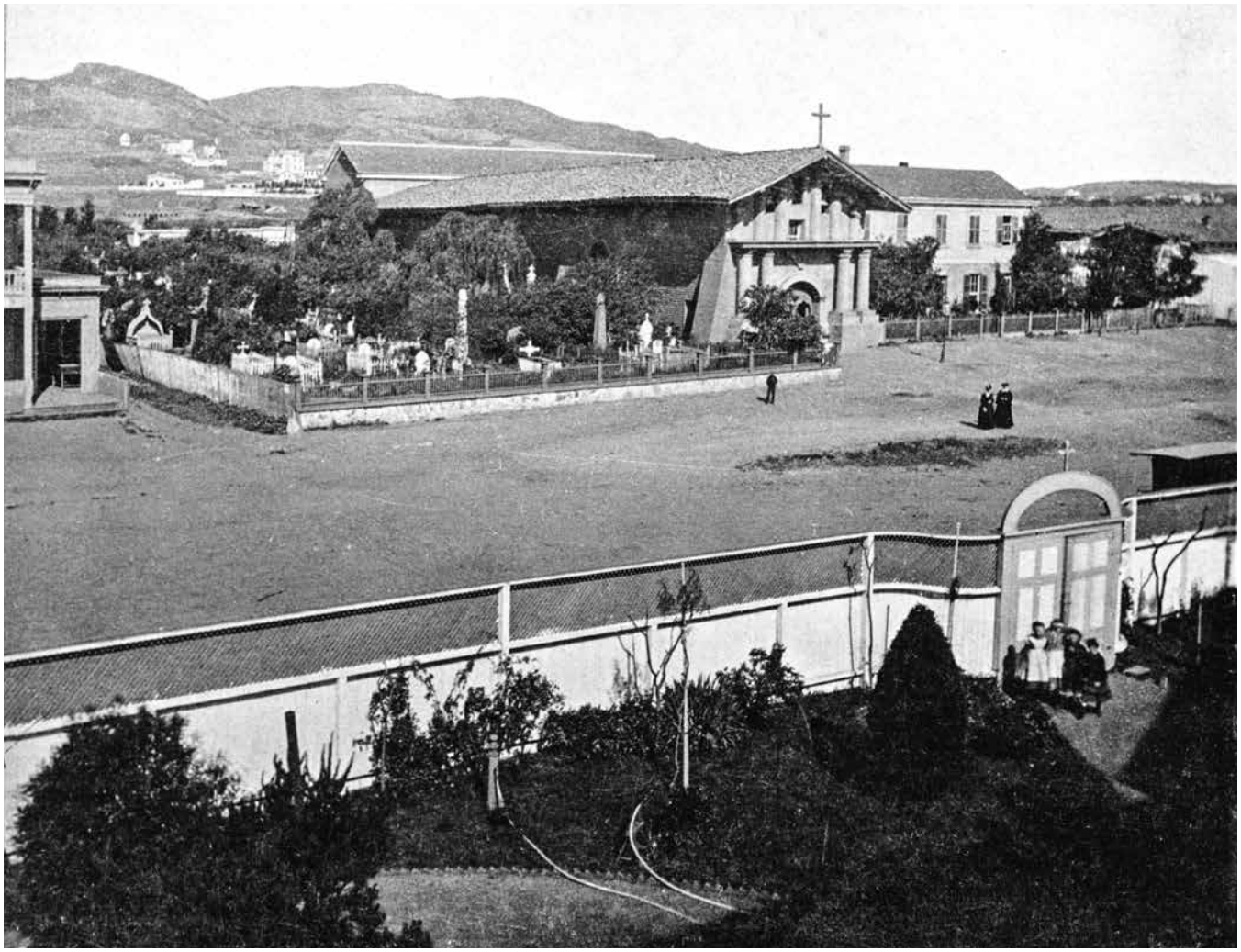
from the south were driven onto their property for fattening.[39] That spring or summer a diminutive sailor from Liverpool named Wilson H. Ross moved his chicken and hog ranch from Happy Valley in the South of Market area to a small hollow at Polk and Turk Streets, starting settlement of the area west of Gerke's house.[40] Another of the valley's early businesses was a plant nursery located around Powell and Eddy Streets. In March 1855, a French florist who was a partner in the nursery was arrested with five other Frenchmen he had recruited to tear up the plants and flowers in his hot houses after he failed to reach an equitable settlement with his partner over some issue. However, the charges were dismissed on the grounds that he couldn't be prosecuted for destroying his own property.[41]

In June 1851, San Francisco's first public transit line was launched shortly after the Mission Toll Road was completed in April of that year along the route of the old Mission trail.[42] It was called the Yellow Line because of the color of its omnibuses, which were drawn by two- and four-horse teams, carrying up to eighteen passengers. The conveyances left Portsmouth Square every half hour, driving down Kearny Street, across Market, and along the Mission Toll Road out to Mission Dolores for an expensive fifty cents a ride, except on Sundays when the fare jumped to a dollar[43] as people on outings crowded onto the buses to visit the Mission and its old graveyard or to walk across the street to watch bull and bear fights staged by the Californios.

The Yellow Line's route passed just two blocks from the southeastern edge of the valley, providing the first public transportation from the center of town going anywhere near the area. But it was a rough and pricey ride,[44] and to reach the valley one had to get off near the still-hypothetical location of Fourth or Fifth Street and hike across the sand dunes to where the intersections of Market and Stockton or Market and Powell Streets were supposed to be. Subsequent



San Francisco's first public transportation company was the privately owned Yellow Line, begun in 1851. Its route was Kearny Street, across Market Street, and south on the Mission Toll Road to Mission Dolores. This 1860 photograph shows one of its omnibuses at its starting point in front of Gilbert's Melodeon on Kearny Street at the northeast corner of Clay. Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

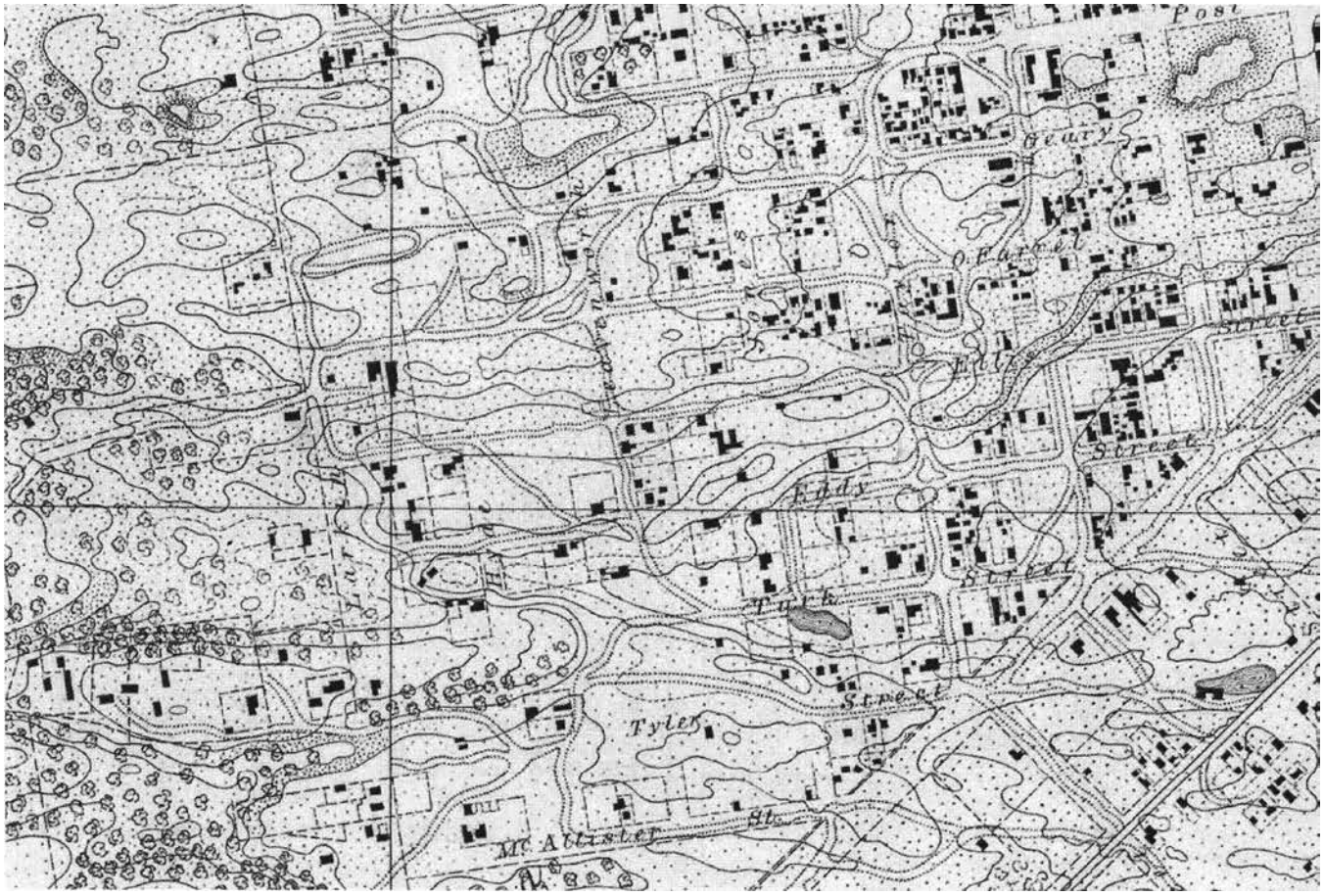


Mission Dolores, the terminus of the Yellow Line route.
Photograph by Carleton Watkins, courtesy of OpenSFHistory/wnp37.00776-R.jpg.

competition from other omnibus companies drove the prices down to a less unreasonable ten cents,[45] but while the line stimulated development along the Mission Plank Road itself, it failed to stimulate much development in the valley because there was still no road going directly to the valley and the streets were still just dirt paths that meandered up, down, and around the sand ridges.

Though the map of the February 1852 U. S. Coast Survey shows Powell and Mason Streets extending from Market to Sutter, the more detailed map of the 1857 U. S. Coast Survey and an 1858 photograph show these streets as dirt trails.[46] More accurately, the map of the 1852 survey also shows a dirt path commencing at the corner of Sutter and Stockton Streets at what was then the southwest corner of San Francisco. The path continues southwest to where it merges into an old Indian trail about where Geary Street would cross Jones. The trail continues west, more or less along the future line of Geary Street out to the ocean, skirting the northern edge of the valley. Another path begins in the valley itself at Turk Street just before Taylor and goes half a block west until it forks. One branch goes northwest to Hayes Valley while the other branch continues along Turk Street to Leavenworth, where it turns southwest and merges with the Mission Toll Road.

Despite the primitive conditions in the area, the number of advertisements of valley real estate started to accelerate as early as October of 1851,[47] after the troubles leading to the formation of the



Though the 1853 map of the 1852 topographic survey purported to show several streets in St. Ann's Valley, the 1858 map of the 1857 survey was more accurate: a bunch of dirt paths, some conforming more to the street grid than others. From David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Committee of Vigilance in June of that year called attention to the comparative peace and safety of the outlying districts. This resulted in a number of people moving into the valley, but advertisements mostly offered undeveloped 50-vara lots for speculative purposes, rather than individual building lots. For most people, the valley was too far away and too difficult to get to.

The map of the 1852 U. S. Coast Survey showed this, with just eighteen structures within the geographic boundaries of the valley and three others west of the valley but within the boundaries of the future Tenderloin District.[48] However, growth-minded San Franciscans who wrote newspaper articles, submitted newspaper advertisements, and sold real estate promoted or thought of the valley as a much larger area than encompassed by its actual physical dimensions. To these men, the valley was bounded roughly by Kearny or Dupont (now Grant Avenue), Market, McAllister, Hyde, and Geary Streets.[49]

At some point the area was named St. Ann's Valley.[50] The name first appeared in print in a lost and found advertisement in October of 1852,[51] though its origin is obscure. One wonders if real estate speculators and valley residents like Henry Gerke christened it with this attractive-sounding appellation to attract new buyers and settlers.

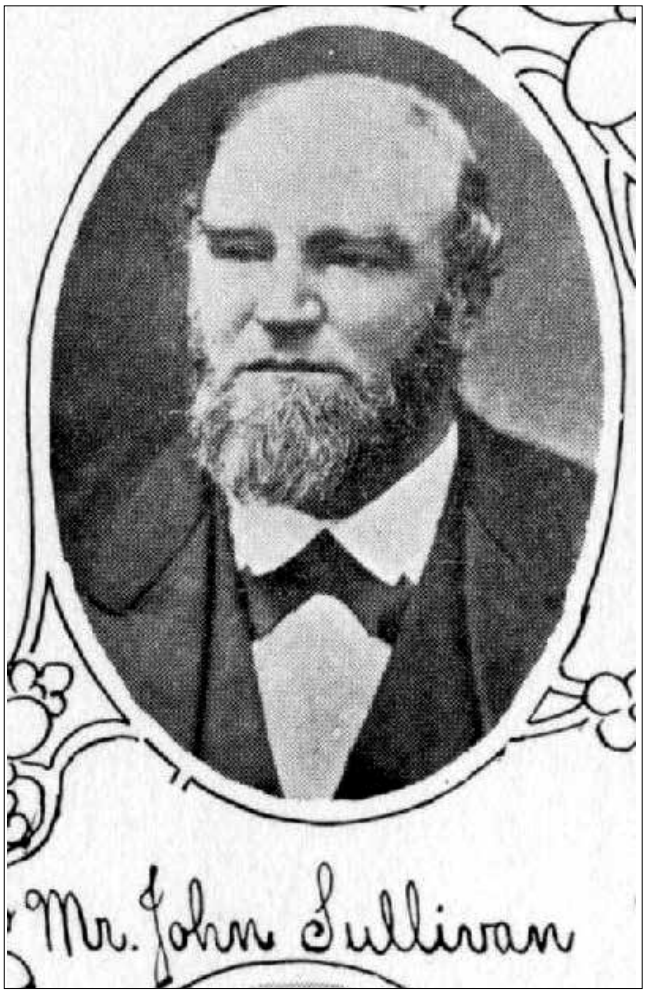
During the time of the civil disturbances leading to the formation of the Committee of Vigilance in San Francisco in 1851, Henry Gerke joined as member number 303.[52] Sometime in 1851 or 1852 he purchased the remaining third of California pioneer Peter Lassen's Rancho Bosquejo (located a little over a hundred miles north of Sacramento in Tehama County in the Central Valley, where Deer Creek flows into the Sacramento River). This was where Lassen planted an acre of Mission grape cuttings

brought from the pueblo of Los Angeles the year before.[53] Gerke made his first batch of wine from the grape pressings a year after his purchase of the remains of the ranch.[54]

He was also having legal problems. For example, in 1852, he won a lawsuit against land speculators George and William Treat to recover the property and profits from which San Francisco's first turf venue, the Pioneer Race Course, was operated near what is now 24th and Treat Streets in the Mission District.[55] In 1855, a legal challenge to his purchase of Rancho Bosquejo went all the way to the California Supreme Court.[56] His name also appeared in the newspaper on a lengthy list of individuals who were delinquent in paying assessments for San Francisco street improvements.[57]

John Sullivan was another one of St. Ann's Valley's early pioneers. Like his neighbor Gerke, he joined the Committee of Vigilance in 1851—as member No. 269.[58] Sullivan was a self-made man whose story started when he emigrated with his family from Ireland to Canada when he was six years old and worked there as a stevedore in his teens. They emigrated again in 1842, this time to the United States. Two years later the family was preparing to travel to California from the Missouri marshlands near St. Joseph, when his parents contracted malaria or cholera and died. Sullivan, who was just 18, joined the Stephens-Murphy party, a group about to make the trip to California, bringing his younger sister and two much younger brothers with him across the Great Plains in 1844.

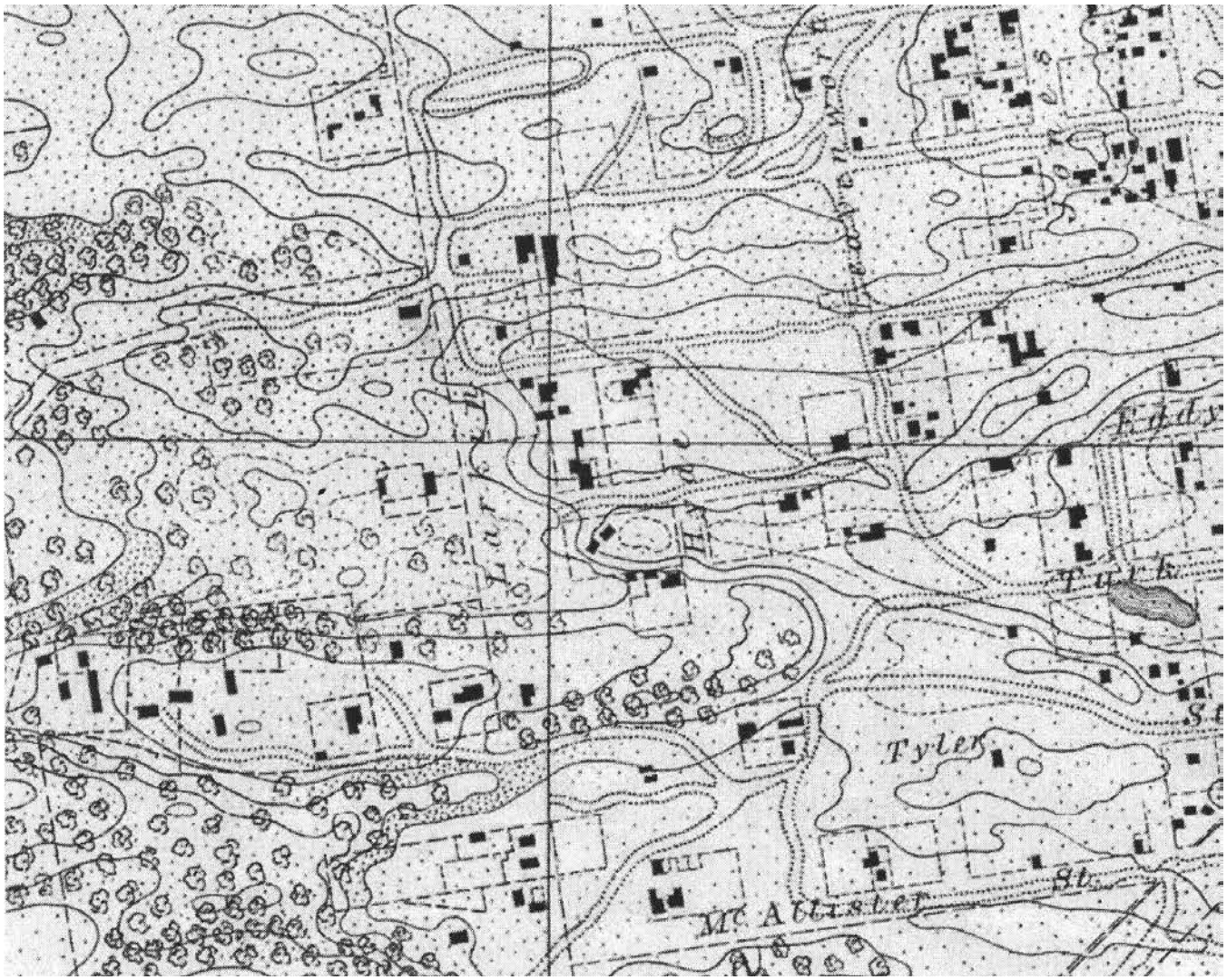
This was the third group of emigrants to reach Mexican California by traveling across the continent.[59] They got as far as the summit of the Sierra Nevada just west of where the Truckee River turned south to Lake Tahoe (later named Donner Summit) when the winter snows came. This forced them to leave the women and children in hastily built log cabins while the men struggled on to Sutter's Fort in the Sacramento Valley, where they were recruited or compelled by John Sutter, who was then a Mexican citizen, to join a force to defend California against the American invaders during the war with Mexico. This delayed their return to the summit to rescue their families until February of 1845. The Stephens-Murphy party was the first wagon train to complete the crossing all the way to



John Sullivan was one of the early settlers of St. Ann's Valley. He lived in a house on the north side of Ellis Street between Stockton and Powell. Courtesy of Presentation Archives, San Francisco.

California. Sullivan and his siblings finally arrived at the hamlet of Yerba Buena about a year before Henry Gerke. They settled there while Sullivan got work as a teamster, and set himself up as a woodcutter and dealer.[60]

Sullivan began to prosper. In 1847 he petitioned the American *alcaldes* for land grants. One of the land grants was the two adjacent 50-vara lots mentioned earlier on the north side of Ellis Street between Stockton and Powell, awarded to him in 1848.[61] During the Gold Rush he made around $30,000 from gold extracted by digging and sluicing the dirt and gravel from what came to be called Sullivan's Creek (which drained into the Tuolumne River south of Jamestown). His next venture was to open a store in the nearby town of Tuolumne to service the miners, from which he made even more



By 1857, when this map was surveyed, the area around Davis's Hollow was beginning to be settled, as purchasers of land from the Beideman Estate built houses on Lorin Davis's former holding. From David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

money. In San Francisco, he began leasing and selling lots from his land grants while using his gold-digging profits to buy and sell more real estate. He became quite wealthy.[62]

Sullivan built a home on his Ellis Street lot, probably just before or after he married his first wife, Catherine Farrelly, in 1850.[63] His eldest child Frank, who also grew to play an important part in San Francisco's history, was born on January 21, 1852 and spent most of his early years in St. Ann's Valley.[64] Sullivan's wife, an orphan like himself, died from illness in 1854, leaving behind Sullivan, Frank, and a second child named Robert.[65] The family stayed in the valley until Sullivan's next marriage in 1860, after which they moved to the south side of Mission Street between Sixth and Seventh[66] into banker Francois Pioche's home after Pioche moved to Webster and Haight Streets.[67]

Another pioneering household in St. Ann's Valley was the Lane family. Nathaniel C. Lane was a carpenter from Massachusetts. By 1837, he and his wife Sydney, who was from Pennsylvania, had started a family in Louisiana, where they lived until at least 1846.[68] By 1850 Nathaniel was living in San Francisco on Washington Street between Stockton and Powell. By 1852 the family was living in a house on the southwest corner of Powell and Ellis Streets in the valley.[69]

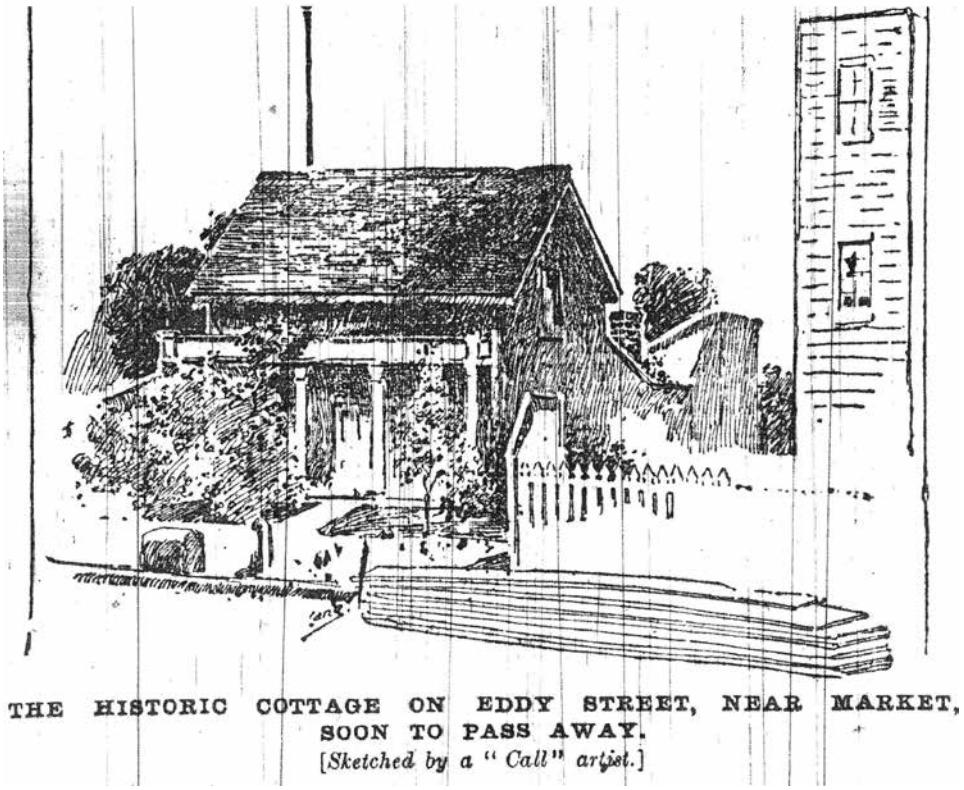
In September of 1852, Lorin Davis and his wife crossed the Plains from Michigan to San Francisco

and stayed with the Lane family for a week. Davis partnered with Lane's brother-in-law John Rice to buy Wilson H. Ross's chicken and hog ranch at Turk and Polk Streets and moved his family there. The ranch was in a narrow hollow running three blocks along Turk Street between Hyde and Van Ness[70] and became known as Davis's Hollow or Chicken Hollow.[71] In 1853, Rice sold out to Davis and moved away. Davis replaced his own one-room shack with a three-room gabled house. He drilled a ten-foot-deep well on the property.[72] A man named John Robbins then bought a lot from Davis and built a house on it just west of Davis' new home.[73]

As was the case with Henry Gerke and the Pioneer Race Course and his Rancho Bosquejo, many San Franciscans had to fight off challenges over ownership of their properties. In January of 1854, a swindler named John K. Moore approached Davis and claimed to own his property. Davis sent him on his way, but in talking it over with his neighbor John Robbins, Davis admitted that his title was starting to look less than perfect because of another claimant, Jacob C. Beideman, who later turned out to be the legitimate owner of the property. Robbins suggested to Davis that he sell. Thus, when Moore reappeared a week later with an offer to buy Davis's land, Davis accepted and they drew up an agreement. But the deal was never completed because Moore never paid him.[74]

One of the problems with trying to settle ownership challenges in outlying areas like St. Ann's Valley was that there was no law enforcement to turn to, leaving the property owner to depend entirely on his own resources. For instance, in 1852 a lawyer named Samuel G. Beatty Jr. built some cottages on Ellis Street between Powell and Mason on the corner of Anna Lane.[75] At the same time, George W. Stillwell was building a house across the street. Stillwell learned that a notoriously violent gang of squatters was planning to stage a night-time assault on his property to preempt his land claim. Since the police didn't patrol the valley, he recruited a group of armed volunteers to block any attempt by the squatters to drive him off. The intrepid little band waited inside neighbor Beatty's corner building, and when the squatters appeared, they were confronted by a dozen gunmen who persuaded the would-be raiders to join them for drinks at a nearby groggery instead of getting into a gun battle.[76]

The groggery was probably St. Ann's Rest, a cottage roadhouse located on Eddy Street a block south of Stillwell's and Beatty's buildings, which was operated by a gambler for several years. The building was brought around the Horn in 1850 from England or Boston, probably as a stack of prefabricated floor,



THE HISTORIC COTTAGE ON EDDY STREET, NEAR MARKET, SOON TO PASS AWAY.
[Sketched by a "Call" artist.]

There were several conflicting stories about the origin of St. Ann's Rest, a sort of a roadhouse on the south side of Eddy Street between Market and Mason. It stood there until 1896, when the Williams family, which lived there and had operated a marble yard there since at least 1856, sold the property. The roadhouse was torn down for development. From the San Francisco Call, *July 17, 1895.*

wall, and roof sections, and assembled in downtown San Francisco where a man from Texas ran it as an inn. It was moved to the south side of Eddy Street between Market and Mason in time to be included in the map of the February 1852 U. S. Coast Survey. It offered drinks, gambling, and beds to travelers taking the less frequently used and more difficult shortcut through the valley on their way to and from the Yerba Buena Cemetery, Mission Dolores, and Hayes Valley.[77]

Despite St. Ann's Rest, the character of most of those moving into the valley in the 1850s was seen from the following in the *Daily Alta California*: "Our enterprising fellow citizen, George Loder, orchestral leader, dramatist, composer, speculator, builder, artist, musician, and universal genius"[78] (and fireman,[79]) came to San Francisco from New York last year to direct a musical program by opera singer Signora Biscaccianti and her violinist husband.

Loder and his wife stayed in the city from 1852 through 1855 until she died.[80] After he sustained an injury from falling through a trap door on Commercial Street,[81] Loder ran an unusually detailed advertisement for the sale of his two-story house and lot on Taylor Street near Turk:

> First floor: parlor, dining room, connecting with parlor by folding doors, bed room, study, closets, pantries and a kitchen; upstairs: large front bed-room and unfinished attic . . . there is a vegetable and flower garden, and a well of pure water; the premises are all enclosed with a neat picket fence. This house was built less than a year since . . . under the supervision of the present occupant and proprietor, George Loder, Esq. It is pleasantly located in the valley west of Market street, in a good neighborhood.[82]

One bit of good news for St. Ann's Valley's land grantees in 1853 was when the California Supreme Court reversed its 1850 ruling in *Woodworth v. Fulton* in which the court said that land grants from the Mexican and American *alcaldes* weren't legal titles. According to the court's new opinion, public auction sales of real estate from land grants were valid. Further, it ruled in *Cohas v. Raisin* that a Mexican pueblo did exist in San Francisco and that Mexican and American *alcaldes* had the right to make land grants because they were *de facto* officers of the town. These grants were therefore legitimate. The ruling also said the "court had violated well-settled rules on these issues in the 1850 *Woodworth v. Fulton* case."[83]

Despite the court's decisions, the following year a group of squatters put up a fence around the public square on the block of Stockton, Geary, Powell, and Post Streets. The town of San Francisco had the fence torn down without encountering any resistance from the trespassers,[84] one of who turned out to be a San Francisco street commissioner named John Addis.[85]

The Van Ness Ordinance was passed by the San Francisco Town Council in June 1855, which gave the titles of certain parcels of land to those in bona fide possession. It also confirmed the titles to other parcels of land for those who had received them through legitimate grants or sales from the Mexican and American *alcaldes*, mayors, *Ayuntamientos*, or town councils.[86] This was probably one of the reasons Lorin Davis's property title in Davis's Hollow at Turk and Polk Streets came to have no legal standing, because it confirmed the title of another claimant, Jacob C. Beideman, causing Davis to move his family to Siskiyou County the following August.[87]

But the ordinance mainly resulted in more incidents and courtroom battles. One episode in 1855 involved "a poor woman named Macnamara, occupying a lot of land at the corner of Jones and Geary Streets, [who] was recently arrested" when a man named O'Farrell claimed she tried to shoot him. The woman said O'Farrell had often threatened to kill her if she didn't vacate the lot so he could take possession of it. She said the most recent occurrence was when he shot at her with a pistol on August 17 and then went off to get a warrant for her arrest.[88]

One 1857 courtroom battle involved a San Francisco Superior Court Judge who grew tired of presiding over the lengthy trial of a massive land claim which included twelve blocks bounded by Larkin, McAllister, Van Ness, and Geary, and extending farther west to the city charter line. One day he declared, "I can see the end of the term, gentlemen, but I cannot see the end of this trial. I shall therefore hold night sessions until it is finished."[89] Even though the Van Ness ordinance was confirmed by the California Legislature in 1858, land squabbles continued for several decades.[90]

Not that this had any noticeable effect on development. In 1853, the *Sacramento Daily Union* quoted the *Daily Placer Times and Transcript* reporting that in St. Ann's Valley, "improvements are progressing rapidly in the neighborhood of Eddy, Ellis and Jones Streets. We noticed a large number of elegant cottages in progress [*sic*] of completion."[91] A surge in offerings of individual building lots in St. Ann's Valley occurred in the first two months of 1854, after which only a few newspaper real estate advertisements were found until October, when many advertisements for 50-vara valley lots began to appear again.[92]

That year, another indication of early development was when Reverend James Woods attempted to establish the neighborhood's first house of worship on the southwest corner of Geary and Mason Streets. He supervised the construction of a small Presbyterian church and used it to preach to his fledgling flock for a few months, but the church faltered when he became ill and had to leave. Later that year, on November 12, the Young Men's Christian Association started a Union Sunday school[93] in the now vacant building.[94] It averaged a daily attendance of 35 pupils in its first year and was later supported by the First Congregational Church. The structure came to be called The Little Brown Church.[95]

Despite these signs of civilization, the valley was still a sparsely developed country outpost. In 1853, "where the magnificent 'Baldwin' now stands, was a cress-bordered brook in which a small child was drowned. The locality was 'St. Ann's valley,' and was unapproachable except by a roundabout way . . . from California street."[96] There was a hog ranch at the corner of Turk and Jones Streets, just three blocks east of Davis's land and just a block or two west of the houses grouped around Powell, Eddy, and Market Streets, that advertised the sale of several large shipments of Oregon hogs from October through December.[97] Another hint of the rural condition of the valley was in advertisements reporting wandering livestock that were found and boarded, with offers to return them to the owners in true Yankee style "by proving property and paying expenses."[98]

Meanwhile, that honest though stiff-necked Prussian Henry Gerke now found himself almost continually involved in legal conflicts. The latest began in 1854 when a friend and fellow Prussian named Augustus Deck presented himself at Gerke's door with a trunk containing about 200 pounds of gold dust and nuggets packed in boxes and leather bags. The gold was worth about $32,000.[99] After several days, Deck bolted from Gerke's house in what was described as a moment of insanity. It took six men to catch and restrain him and take him to a hospital, where he soon died intestate.

The court appointed Gerke as executor of his friend's estate, which also included several valuable downtown lots. But two opportunists, whose applications to administer the estate had been rejected by the court, soon accused Gerke of defrauding Deck of the gold and confining him in a hospital under false pretenses.[100] One of these men, a German named Jacob Hoberlein, persuaded Deck's Prussian heirs to sell him their share of the estate for $33,000, which was substantially less than what it was worth.

In December 1854, Gerke's lawyers proved that Hoberlein had tried to bribe a witness into falsely testifying to malfeasance in Gerke's handling of the estate. However, they failed to persuade the judge to transfer the case to the district court for trial so Gerke could clear his name of Hoberlein's charges, leaving Gerke entangled in legal challenges for the next five years, including one from a woman who claimed to be Deck's common-law wife.[101] But he did win a victory in 1855 when his lawyers got the California Supreme Court to order a trial, thereby affording Gerke a long-awaited opportunity to prove his innocence of the mismanagement charges.[102]

Yet another aspect of St. Ann's Valley's rural qualities was that its addresses didn't begin to appear in the San Francisco city directories until 1854, seven years after Gerke built his home on Mason Street.[103] And only nineteen addresses were listed that year, two less than were shown on the February 1852 U.S. Coast Survey map.[104] The addresses were descriptive instead of numeric because houses, even those located downtown, still lacked numbers.[105] In addition, the addresses of people like Lorin Davis and his neighbors, who lived far out on Turk Street between Polk and Van Ness, were left out. As discussed earlier, Davis and his neighbors were mostly middle-class families who fled downtown San Francisco to get away from the gambling, drinking, and crime of Gold Rush San Francisco.[106]

But one of them was trying to escape a different kind of nuisance. A widow with children named Mrs. Addis,[107] who was in strained circumstances, was relocated by friends to a new cottage in the valley after she and the youngsters started having visions (dreams?) of a Spanish girl while they were still living in a house in Russian Hill where Mrs. Addis's friends had originally placed them. The visions worsened when a box was found buried under the house containing the body of a young woman who was thought to have been poisoned two years before. She had been living at the house with an American sea captain when he received word that his wife was coming from back East.[108]

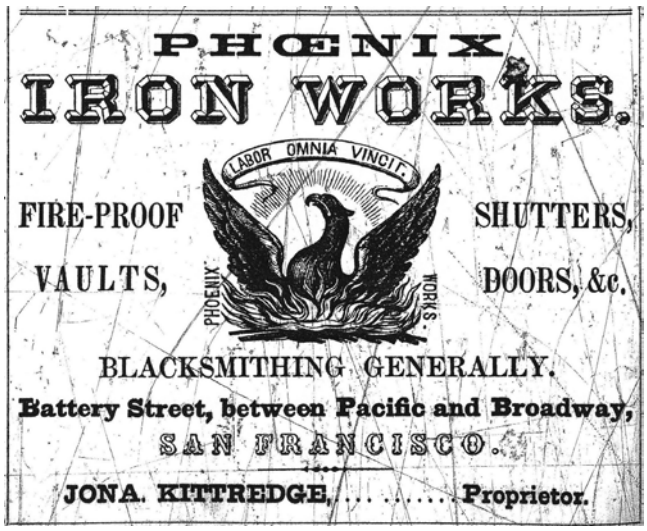
Before the Transcontinental Railroad was built, journeys from California to the rest of the developed world required long distance travel that took months, were often difficult, and could be dangerous. One valley pioneer, the wife of coal dealer David Dwyer, had a bad time on the steamship *Brother Jonathan* in 1854 while returning from a trip to the East Coast. On its way from San Juan Del Sur to San Francisco, the ship had had to lay over in Acapulco for several days to repair broken machinery, and encountered heavy gales during the rest of the trip.[109] Three years later, another valley pioneer, Mrs. Jonathan Kittredge, survived the sinking of the steamer *Central America* on the last leg of its voyage to New York.[110]

Another danger that valley residents shared with other Californians was earthquakes. A temblor that struck on August 29, 1855, knocked a pier-glass off a wall in a house in the valley and rattled paintings so violently that they left marks on the plaster, chunks of which fell on the floor.[111] Another quake struck San Francisco almost six months later on the morning of February 15, 1856, and was reported as the "severest" earthquake since Americans started settling in California more than two decades before. Two shocks—one at 2:15 and another at 5:23—were reported to be particularly sharp in St. Ann's Valley, shaking houses on their foundations. Yet the worst damage reported was tilted pictures and mirrors on walls, cracked plaster, and bottles falling off the shelves in a grocery store—in other words, about the same effects as the previous year's temblor. The dogs in the valley—there seem to have been many—stopped barking from 5 o'clock until the second temblor struck, after which they resumed their howling.[112]

The valley continued to influence local politics when residents William A. Green and John C. Beideman,[113] both Democrats, were elected respectively as alderman and assistant alderman in May of 1855.[114] Green and another St. Ann's Valley pioneer, a commission merchant named John S. Davies who lived on the north side of Eddy Street between Mason and Taylor, were among the nine signers of an open letter published in the *Daily Alta California* (each signatory representing one of each of San Francisco's eight wards) condemning the xenophobia of the Know Nothing Party, and resolving to start a new political party.[115]

Another family moved to the valley in 1855, when Phoenix Iron Works owner Jonathan Kittredge[116] (who was the manager until he bought out the company owner that spring[117]) built a two-and-a-half-story gabled Carpenter Gothic home on

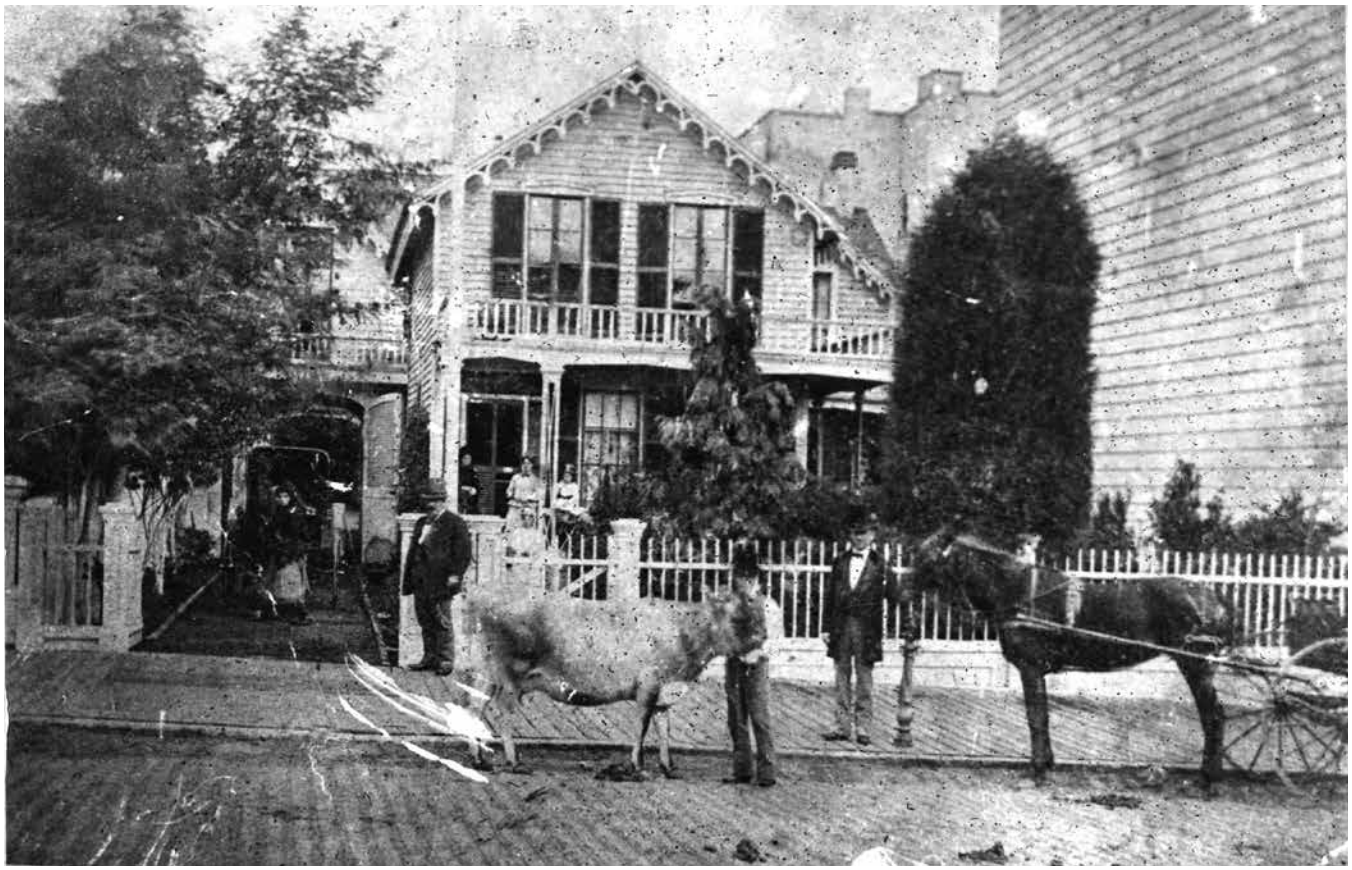
A newspaper photo of Jonathan Kittredge. From the San Francisco Call, *September 2, 1900.*



Jonathan Kittredge started out as an employee at the Phoenix Iron Works and then bought the company. Now prosperous, he became engaged to be married and erected a house on the north side of Ellis Street between Powell and Mason, where the Hotel Fusion is now. From Colville's San Francisco Directory, 1856.

the north side of Ellis Street between Powell and Mason[118] for his Christmas Eve marriage to Anna J. Parker.[119] His new homestead included an artesian well, a small backyard orchard, and a cow.[120]

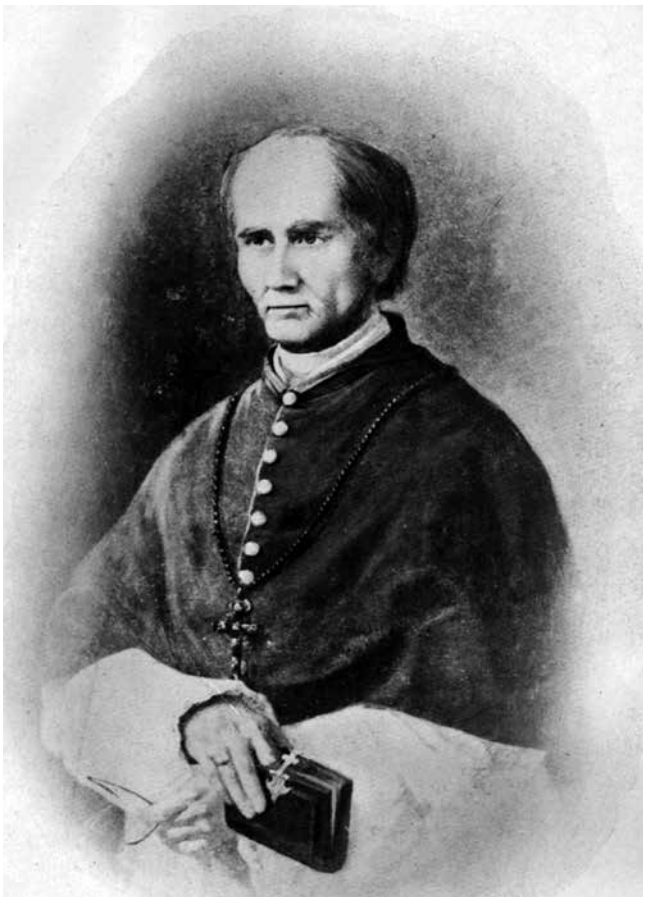
That year, a Jesuit priest recently arrived from Italy, Father Anthony Maraschi, S. J., asked San Francisco Bishop Alemany for permission to build a church. Alemany, who was not a Jesuit, acceded to the request in rather vague terms, apparently attempting to fend it off. But Maraschi persisted and "…asked 'Where?' The archbishop waved a hand toward the sand hills at the corner of Market and Stockton Streets and said, 'Over there.'"[121] While some of this report may be anecdotal, another source asserted this may have been an effort by the bishop "to protect his own struggling churches from competition with the Jesuits," a famously expansionist order. Alemany also "insisted that the Jesuits not take up a collection to fund their new school and church, forcing the Jesuits to fund the venture through loans."[122]



Jonathan Kittredge's house included an artesian well, a small backyard orchard, and a cow. The photograph is dated 1855, but the presence of the large building to the right and the planked street and wooden sidewalk suggest a date of 1875 or later. Courtesy of California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, California.

Father Maraschi did manage to find a lot that year at the east end of the valley, on the south side of Market between Fourth and Fifth Streets. The lot had been leased to a man named Bill Grimes as a stockyard.[123] On May 1, Thomas O. Larkin, former U. S. consul to California when it was still part of Mexico— and owner of the lot, sold it to the Jesuits for $11,500. The price was paid in cash with a loan from a San Francisco importer of French goods, V. Marsion.[124] Father Maraschi built a small wood frame church on the site, even though it was only about three blocks from St. Patrick's Church on Mission Street between Second and Third. It was named St. Ignatius Church after the Latinized first name of Iñigo Loyola, the beatified scion of a renegade Basque family who was the founder of the order.[125] The small one-room frame building was dedicated on July 15, and was St. Ann's Valley's third house of worship.[126] A one-room schoolhouse was completed behind the church on October 15.

In 1855 Father Antonio Maraschi, S. J., founded St. Ignatius Church and St. Ignatius Academy on Market Street between Fourth and Fifth Streets, where Bloomingdale's is now. Courtesy of Presentation Archives, San Francisco.



Archbishop Joseph Alemany had asked Father Maraschi and the Jesuits to start a school, not another church that would compete with other Catholic churches already in San Francisco. Alemany was overruled by the Vatican, but he delayed approving Maraschi's project as long as possible. Courtesy of Presentation Archives, San Francisco.

It was named the Academy of St. Ignatius[127] and was the valley's first school.

Two later publications described the church and school. Cora Older, in her book *Magic City,* wrote the following:

> John Haley, a young Irishman, was the teacher and Richard McCabe was the first pupil. Haley lived in the school room with Fathers Maraschi and Bixio. . . . Pierre, an old soldier of Napoleon's army, occupied the attic. Father Maraschi's bed was a mattress which he rolled up in the daytime and slept on at night. He cultivated wildflowers. One day Brother Isabella brought him what he thought a rare specimen and planted it beside the church—poison oak.[128]

The new church and school were built in the sand dunes in what was then an outlying suburb of San Francisco, the only nearby development being a few houses along the Mission Toll Road and in St. Ann's Valley. One of the priests spent days laboriously shoveling a path from the school to the road to provide easier access, only to have a windstorm cover it up again. Courtesy of St. Ignatius Parish, San Francisco.

The following appeared in the *San Francisco News Letter* in 1925:

> Perhaps an idea of the surroundings may be gathered in the story about the good Father employing a man for nearly two weeks to dig a depression in the sand hill back of his school, so the boys coming from Mission Street might more easily reach the classroom. The trade winds of summer did not approve of the work, and in an afternoon filled up the depression with sand. The boys climbed up and slid down it as before.[129]

By 1856, the San Francisco Board of Education had established a public primary and intermediate school on Market Street between Second and Third, with 118 pupils in the primary grades and 156 pupils in the intermediate grades.[130] This gave valley residents a choice of two nearby schools to which to send their children.

The 1856 city directory showed a spike in the area's settleent: eighty-nine more listings of addresses inside the boundaries of the future Tenderloin than there were in 1854,[131] a 450 percent increase.[132] One likely reason for this growth spurt was the crime and political corruption in Gold Rush San Francisco.

The Committee of Vigilance of 1851 had done much to clear out the worst offenders of that lawless time, though the effect was mostly temporary. But the fight for political control of San Francisco—between the Democrats, who tended to be working-class immigrant ward-heelers and the Whigs and Republicans, who tended to be middle- and upper-class WASP businessmen—was playing itself out a second time. In particular, the Democrats' use of gangs of criminals to control elections had

the unfortunate effect of encouraging theft, arson, assault, and murder, as well as the more mundane tasks of voter intimidation and ballot-box stuffing.[133] As things got worse, many people of means started moving to neighborhoods outside of San Francisco proper, including to St. Ann's Valley.

Accordingly, development accelerated in the valley for the second time. The *Daily Alta California* reported that the most notable improvements were from $20,000 spent by a General William and a Mr. McMinn in the central part of St. Ann's Valley and $10,000 spent on St. Mark's Place, an alley running two blocks east from Stockton to Kearny Street between Geary and Post, an area that was considered by many to be a part of the valley.[134] After the Committee of Vigilance of 1856 restored order in the city, the expansion of the valley's population once again slowed.[135]

In the meantime, advertisements offering valley real estate continued,[136] including one offer by no less a personality than actress Lola Montez to sell two lots at the corner of Stockton Street and St. Mark's Place.[137] At the same time, the Academy of St. Ignatius expanded by constructing a two-room building to accommodate its increasing enrollment.[138] Rev. Maraschi enlarged St. Ignatius' offerings the following year by commencing evening classes.[139] In 1859 it was incorporated as St. Ignatius College and was granted authority by the state legislature to award university degrees.[140]

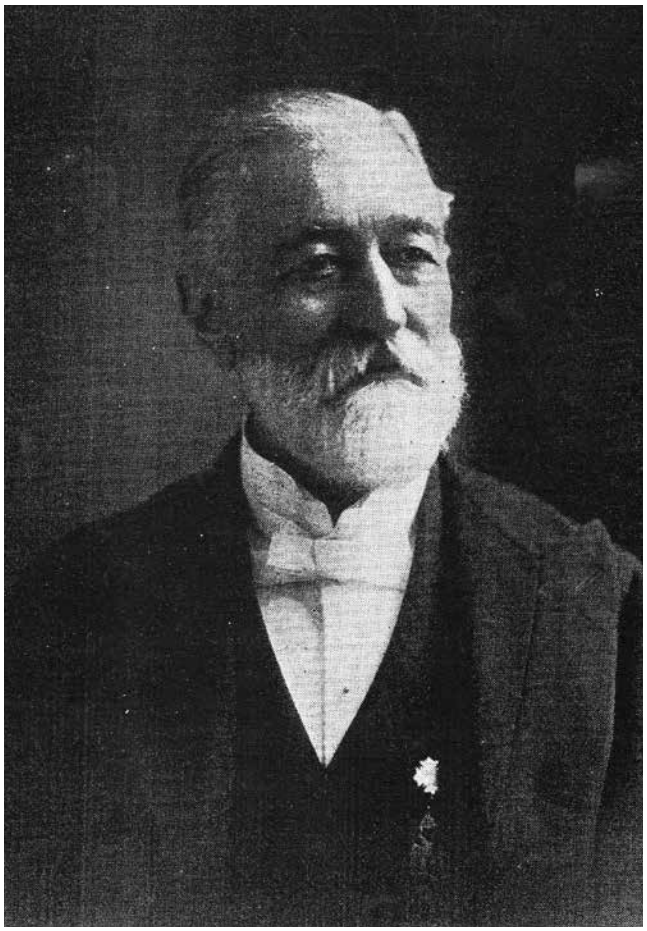
The first year St. Ann's Valley was mentioned as a place name in the city directories was in 1856, where it was used with the addresses of four listings.[141] However, most of these citations weren't very helpful to travelers trying to find their way around. There were no streets or street signs, the area instead being crisscrossed by dirt tracks. And addresses, which were descriptive rather than numerical, weren't easy to find. One newspaper editorial complaining about the lack of building numbers in San Francisco used the valley as an example: "At present, it is necessary to draw a small map of the residence of the person it is proposed to visit without a guide, accompanied by some such direction as—'St. Ann's Valley, third house northwest from the grocery, alongside of sand bank, small yard in front, stairs leading to second story, bull-dog chained in the back yard.'"[142]

Businesses with valley addresses were also first listed in the 1856 city directories: these were the French gardeners at Eddy and Powell Streets; a candle manufactory established by Abel Guy, a French wholesaler of Gallic products at the corner of Ellis and Jones Streets,[143] a grocery store owned by Henry Husing on the northeast corner of Market and Mason Streets, a hog ranch on Ellis Street between Leavenworth and Hyde, Donnolly's yeast factory on the northwest corner of Geary and Dupont Streets, and A. J. Van Winkle's dairy ranch on the corner of Turk and Jones Streets.[144]

One enterprise located in St. Ann's Valley was not mentioned in the city directories. Welsh immigrant and valley resident Henry Owens's shipbuilding company ordinarily built boats and ships at the edge of the South of Market marshes near the foot of Fourth Street. He also built a yacht named The Dart in front of his house on the north side of Eddy Street between Hyde and Larkin,[145] where he had lived since at least 1854.[146]

Among those the 1856 city directories showed as having recently moved to the valley[147] were Reuben and John Morton, brothers who started a drayage firm called R. & J. Morton in San Francisco in 1852.[148] John had joined his older brother Reuben, a forty-niner, after leaving his teaming business in Boston, probably after hearing from Reuben how much higher drayage rates—and profits—were in San Francisco.Their upbringing on a Maine farm with five brothers and sisters[149] became apparent. Though the San Francisco drayage industry was brutally competitive (like its lineal descendant the trucking industry),[150] the Mortons built it into one of the biggest drayage businesses in the city. By 1858 they had constructed a large three-story house on the south side of O'Farrell Street between Mason and Taylor, one of the valley's most prominent structures until further development overtook the area in the 1860s. Around twenty of their employees, mostly teamsters, roomed in the house for several years.[151]

One family listed in St. Ann's Valley for the first time in 1858 was unusual for the period. Daniel and Harriet Norcross built a house on the south side of O'Farrell Street between Taylor and Jones.[152] The Norcrosses came from a suburb of Philadelphia[153] where Daniel was a manufacturer and dealer of regalia—the uniforms, flags, banners, badges, and other ceremonial paraphernalia of the ubiquitous military,

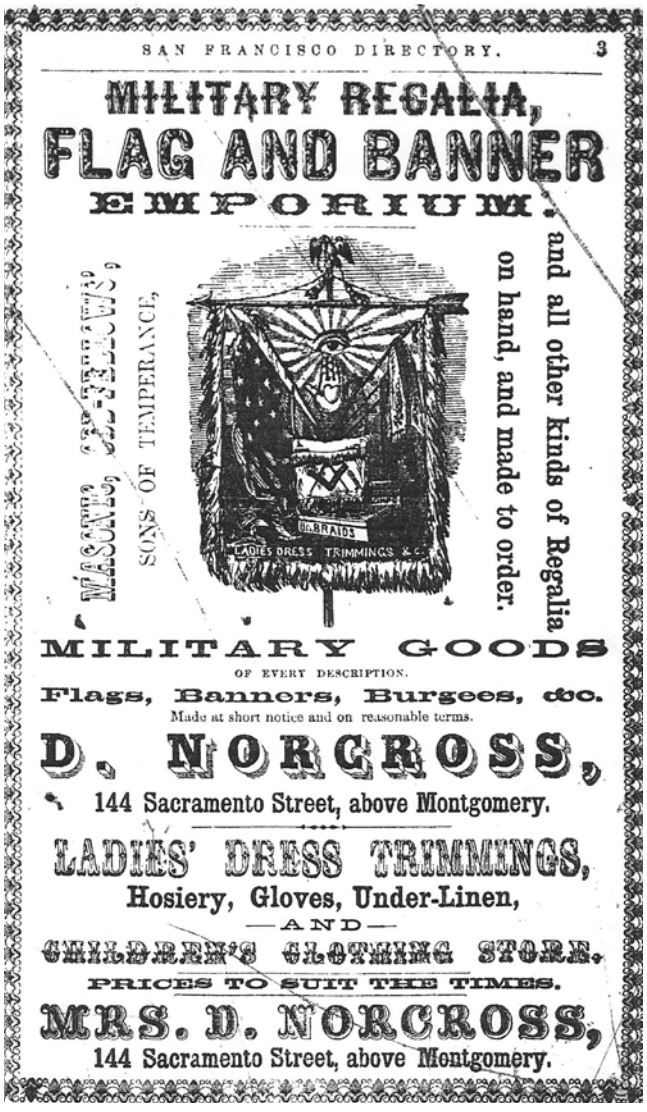


Daniel Norcross made his fortune by mining the miners by manufacturing and selling them lodge, military, firefighting, and political regalia. From Fifty Years of Odd Fellowship in California.

firefighting, political, and fraternal organizations and occasions of nineteenth-century America. His ship arrived in San Francisco in the middle of 1849. Instead of looking for gold in the creeks and rivers of the Sierra foothills, Norcross started his regalia business in the city.

His wife Harriet brought the rest of the family to San Francisco in 1852.[154] By 1856 she was selling, out of her husband's store, trimmings for women's dresses, as well as women's and children's clothing.[155] Not many middle- or upper-class American women worked outside the home in that era, but Harriet Norcross advertised her business under her own name for close to twenty years and eventually took over both enterprises after Daniel changed careers by launching a weekly advertising publication and selling insurance.[156]

But not all the valley's residents were honest, respectable business owners. William A. Green, the alderman mentioned earlier, represented the Eighth Ward on the town council as early as 1851, even though he wasn't listed as living on his 50-vara lot on the gore corner of Market and Ellis Streets until 1856. Despite his financial success[157] and his prominence as a Democratic politician, he had a less than savory early history. A former English mariner, in San Francisco he became a ward politician and president of the board of aldermen as early as 1850. Yet he paid a $15 fine in 1852 after pleading guilty of assault and battery on Miss Adaline Svader,[158]



Not many middle- or upper-class American women worked outside the home in that era, but Harriet Norcross advertised her business under her own name for close to twenty years and eventually took over her husband's enterprises after he changed careers. From Colville's San Francisco Directory.

prompting the *Sacramento Daily Union* to remark "he so far forgot the respect due to the opposite sex" as to put his hands on a lady. He was arrested again for assault the following year and fined $45.[159] By 1855 he had settled down in the valley and gotten married,[160] and in 1856 he joined the Committee of Vigilance. It must have unnerved him when he and his brothers, Alfred and John, were arrested by the committee that year.[161]

The arrest stemmed from the actions of Alfred, who was one of four men hired by the board of aldermen to find and recover the missing *San Francisco Pueblo Papers*.[162] These were the official Mexican era records of the pueblo of Yerba Buena that documented the legal basis for land titles before the town was sold to the United States by the Mexican government after the war with Mexico. The records also established San Francisco's municipal ownership of the unincorporated Pueblo lands within the county limits. The papers were valuable not only in their own right, but also because several fraudulent land schemes were being contested at the time, including the massive claim of Joseph Yves Limantour, and the records were needed to help establish legal title to these lands.[163]

Alfred Green had managed to learn that a man named Tiburcio Vasques, who said he was the administrator of the Pueblo of Yerba Buena during the last years of the Mexican era, had hidden them in the hopes that Mexico would eventually recover California. Green presented the supposedly illiterate but perhaps really monolingual Vasques with a paper he claimed was a court order to hand over the papers to himself (Green), which Vasques did.[164]

Green evidently hid the papers again with the intention of selling them, which decided the Committee of Vigilance to arrest Alfred and his brothers. They kept Alfred in custody for six weeks[165] while they negotiated with his brother, William, for the papers. Though it's not clear just how soon William was released from the committee's custody, he did go to a local bank to take delivery of $4,000 of the $12,500 that was the agreed upon price for the documents. A sheriff's deputy stopped him as he left the bank and seized the bag of coins (back then, almost all business was done with gold coins instead of paper currency) in execution of a writ against Alfred for $3,300 by the bank of Palmer, Cook & Co.[166]

The affair ended with Alfred being exiled from San Francisco[167] by the Vigilance Committee and William suing Palmer, Cook & Co. and the sheriff, as much for treating him roughly as for taking his brother's money.[168] His suit to recover the $4,000 went to trial in early 1857[169] and a jury ruled in his favor.[170] He was also elected by the Eleventh District Club to represent them at the state Democratic Convention that year.[171] Alfred surfaced again in 1859 when a committee was tasked to examine documents Green possessed (Henry Gerke was appointed as the committee's Eighth Ward representative), which he claimed were relevant to the defense of property owners against the Bolton and Barron and the Santillan land claim swindles.[172]

Another sharp operator was listed in the valley for the first time in 1856 on the north side of Geary Street between Mason and Taylor, where the Hotel Diva is now located. Peter Metcalfe (variously described as a saloon owner, real estate broker, carpenter, confectioner, and capitalist) had a run-in with the 1851 Committee of Vigilance. Mlle. Angelina Duclos' house was in the path of one of the conflagrations that plagued downtown San Francisco in those years, and "she bargained with Peter Metcalf to remove her goods to a place of safety in his cart. Metcalf, according to Duclos, took four loads of furniture and wearing apparel, but delivered only three loads of furniture and not all the wearing apparel. Nonetheless, he insisted upon his payment of $50."

Duclos' protector, one Felix Argenti (George Stewart in his book *Committee of Vigilance* hinted that Duclos was either a madam or a courtesan), was a member of the committee and he was angry at learning of

> … an example of looting—just what the Committee was trying to prevent! Quickly rallying a dozen comrades, including several members of the Executive Committee, Argenti proceeded to Metcalf's house. Refused entrance, he entered forcibly, threatening violence. Mlle. Duclos, being of the party, assisted in the search and claimed several articles as her own.[173]

The Williamses, a more law-abiding family, were two brothers named Francis and William, English stonecutters who immigrated to New York with their mother and Francis' young daughter and then came to California. In San Francisco, they bought the St. Ann's Rest building for $3,000 sometime between 1856 and 1858.[174] The house was just five long blocks from the Yerba Buena Cemetery, and was accessible to the Geary and Bush Street routes to the Lone Mountain Cemetery. Instead of grooming their large lot into a garden for their house, they used it as a marble yard to serve the demand for cemetery monuments and for mantlepieces for houses being built in the valley.

By 1857, the *Daily Alta California* was reporting the complaints of St. Ann's Valley residents about "the inconvenience to which they are subjected by the want of a proper opening into their neighborhood." The paper editorialized that, for their property values to increase, the owners of Market Street properties would have to take the initiative to get the city to extend Market Street past Third, where further grading and paving was blocked by a giant sand hill. Still, the paper opposed a current street railroad scheme as "manifestly unjust," as it encouraged development of a more equitable plan: run a street railroad along the projected line of Market Street and out to the Mission to allow direct access to the neighborhoods along its route—including St. Ann's Valley—to open them for more intensive development.[175] But in spite of this lack of direct access, the valley still grew, albeit slowly.

The mainly Whig and Republican middle-class residents of St. Ann's Valley in the 1850s (Green seems to have been an exception, and Beideman's land was outside of the valley) tended to support political reform. For example, valley pioneer and Republican Nathaniel C. Lane won election as Eighth Ward supervisor in 1856[176] and was nominated for the next term by the populist and reform-minded People's Party nominating committee, while fellow valley pioneer E. B. Goddard was nominated by the same party for the board of education. Another Republican was valley pioneer David Dwyer,[177] who in 1856 ran for election inspector, also on the People's Party ticket.[178] But Democrat, Whig, or Republican, men in St. Ann's Valley remained influential in both local and state politics.

However, slow but continuing growth brought more problems. Crime was reported in the valley for the first time in 1857. The increasing number of valley residents and the extension of the San Francisco street grid closer to the valley's dirt paths provided an opportunity for petty criminals. More prospective victims and easier accessibility started a small crime wave in August when the home of Waldo Haskell, located on Market Street just past Stockton, was burglarized. Mrs. Haskell returned with her little boy from an errand in town when she encountered one of the thieves brandishing an axe in a bedroom. She did not try to stop him as he left, but he and his two companions were apprehended the next day.[179] They turned out to have been part of a group of prisoners from the city jail paraded in the plaza by the Chief of Police just two days before the break-in.[180] They were quickly convicted and sentenced to state prison terms.[181]

Later that month, two more thieves were arrested for mugging a man named Kline in the hills around St. Ann's Valley.[182] That month also saw the arrest of William Bein, alias Carl Clopz, a German-American who was the chief coin-cutter at the Branch Mint on Commercial Street. When the police searched his room at a German hotel on St. Mark's Place (now Maiden Lane),[183] and found gold coin blanks and gold working and smelting tools, he was taken into custody for stealing thousands of dollars' worth of gold cuttings. The enterprising thief had been melting down the purloined gold cuttings and selling the resulting bars back to the mint through Wells Fargo.[184] In November, Henry Wendell was arrested in his home on an eponymously named alley running north off St. Mark's Place to Post Street, when police found numerous items of stolen property in his room.[185]

Other kinds of problems began appearing. In May of 1857, residents somehow managed to get a policeman out to the valley to arrest a homeless Frenchman named Bernard Sarro for insanity.[186] A well-dressed woman, returning home from a trip to the market to buy vegetables, fell to the ground at the corner of Geary and Dupont Streets, where she was found to be inebriated. An officer brought her to the police station.[187] Forty-six-year-old valley resident Catharine Hartley fell out of a third-story window of a house on Geary Street near Powell while

intoxicated. She fractured three ribs and sustained "severe internal injuries."[188] And a newspaper advertisement appeared in December: "Strayed Or Stolen. – From the corner of Geary and Dupont Streets, a cream-colored California Horse, with white face, long tail, and branded on the left hip. A suitable reward will be given to any person taking him to the Post Office Stable, Sansome street, near Washington."[189]

Meanwhile, Valley pioneer Henry Gerke marched with the Society of California Pioneers contingent in the Admission Day parade of 1857, his red sash distinguishing him as one of the small number of pre-1849 arrivals in California among the more numerous white sashes of the Forty-niners.[190] He and fellow valley pioneer John Morton were two of five hundred men offering the husband-and-wife acting team of James and Sarah Stark a benefit performance before the Starks' return to the East. The American Theatre was rented,[191] and Stark and her husband, who were described as "the pioneer dramatic artists in California," gave a frequently applauded performance from King Lear and presented a comedy, *Faint Heart Never Won Fair Lady.*[192]

Gerke was also one of the jurors during the 1857 manslaughter trial of Jose T. Lafuente who successfully petitioned the governor for his release and pardon due to poor health.[193] Also that year, a court awarded Gerke $9,200 in damages from the California Steam Navigation Company.[194] This came from an incident in which sparks blew onto Gerke's ranch from the unscreened stacks of one of the company's passing steamboats on the Sacramento River, resulting in a fire that destroyed a large amount of his grain.[195]

The valley acquired its third school, the St. Mary's Hall Young Ladies' Institute, when the institute moved from Sonoma to San Francisco in January 1857 to the southwest corner of Powell and Geary Streets.[196] Reverend Ver Mehr, an Episcopalian minister, and his wife Fanny ran the school as a private boarding and day school for girls.[197] The Ver Mehrs moved the school to San Francisco after four of their own children died within a week of one another at the Sonoma location.[198] St. Ann's Valley now had two prestigious private schools and a nearby public school.[199]

In 1859, St. Mary's Hall moved up the hill from Powell and Geary Streets to Bush and Taylor after a pupil died during the winter. It was the fifth death of a child in the school since its founding.[200] More misfortune followed when the building at the new location burned down the next year.[201] Though Van Mehr vowed to rebuild,[202] the school stopped appearing in the San Francisco city directories.

Small ranchers and businesses had been moving into the valley for several years. By 1858[203] there were at least five ranches: on Ellis Street near Jones, on the south side of Turk Street between Polk and Van Ness; a hog ranch at the southeast corner of Leavenworth and Ellis Streets; and another one at Leavenworth and McAllister Streets. In addition, a dairy ranch operated at the corner of Geary and Larkin Streets.[204] Other businesses were two French-owned starch manufacturers on the corner of Ellis and Jones Streets, apparently replacing Abel Guy's candle making plant at that location. Two more starch businesses were located a block down the hill on the corner of Eddy and Jones Streets, making the valley a starch manufacturing center, however briefly. Other new arrivals were a branch of Richard Christian's silk and wool dying establishment on the north side of Market Street near Powell, a nearby butcher's shop, and the Williams family's stone-cutting yard on the south side of Eddy Street between Powell and Mason.[205]

Henry Husing's grocery at the northeast corner of Market and Mason Streets and the French plant nursery on Eddy Street and Anna Lane were still there. And it wasn't just St. Ann's Valley businesses that were prospering. Valley pioneer John Nightingale, wharfinger of the Market Street Wharf for the past several years,[206] announced that he and a partner were now also in charge of the Washington, Market, and Mission Street Wharves, thus quadrupling his income streams from the shipping industry.[207]

More people moved into the valley in 1858. There were now between 160 and 200 city directory listings with valley addresses, depending on how narrowly its boundaries were drawn, representing perhaps several hundred residents. Some of the people who stayed longer than a year or two were coal dealer Thomas Anderson on the northeast corner of Powell and Ellis Streets, and Dr. Horatio

This 1858 photograph, part of a panorama taken by Charles Leander Weed, shows the eastern edge of what many considered to be part of St. Ann's Valley. Visible in the middle right is the earliest known image of what was later named Union Square. The giant sand hill that blocked Market Street at Kearny and Third streets rises in back of the square. Third Street is visible in the upper left side of the photo. Photograph by Charles Leander, courtesy of Weed/California History Room, California State Library.

S. Gates on the southwest corner of Stockton and Geary Streets. Wholesalers August and Francis Heeder worked for fellow valley pioneer Gustave Zeil at Zeil & Co. while the couple lived on the south side of Eddy Street between Taylor and Jones. They lived in one of Cyril V. Grey's houses—apparently adjoining the Zeil's who were in another one of Grey's structures. Zeil & Co. specialized in imports from Hamburg and was still doing business in San Francisco as late as 1961, owned by the grandson of founding partner Gustave.[208]

The year 1858 showed San Franciscans still had widely varying conceptions of the extent of St. Ann's Valley. That year, Charles Leander Weed took a series of panoramic photographs of San Francisco from about Sacramento and Taylor Streets and included St. Ann's Valley in one of its frames.[209] Yet the photographs made the valley look as if it stretched west from around St. Mark's Place where it ran into Stockton Street out to Jones Street and beyond, going between Mission and O'Farrell Streets, covering a wider area than its topographic outline

Tiger Engine Company, a volunteer fire brigade, was built on Second Street in June 1857. But even though it was just three blocks from St. Ann's Valley, soft and shifting sand dunes made it difficult for the firemen to haul the hand pumping rig anywhere near its houses. By 1859, a series of fires made valley residents organize their own volunteer fire company. Courtesy of OpenSFHistory/wnp71.1416.jpg.

on the map of the 1857 U. S. Coast Survey. At the same time, the "Parks, Squares, Points, Etc." section of the 1858 city directory defined the valley's limits as a much smaller seven-block area bounded by Stockton, Market, Mason, and O'Farrell Streets.[210]

One difficulty with living in the valley was that it still lacked fire protection. The closest firehouse was the Tiger Engine Company on Second Street between Jessie and Mission. Though this was only three long blocks from St. Ann's Valley, it may as well have been downtown, for the closest a fire engine could get to the valley before it was slowed by dirt paths going up and down sand dunes was just south of the valley on the Mission Toll Road or at the northeast corner of the valley at Stockton and Geary Streets. In those days, teams of firemen pulled fire apparatus instead of horses, with the weight of the vehicles making the soft sand of valley paths barely passable.[211]

This became a more serious problem in the Fall of 1858, when fires were first reported in St. Ann's Valley. A blaze erupted in an unoccupied house on Turk Street in September.[212] In November, an unoccupied one-and-one-half story home on Eddy Street west of Jones belonging to a Mr. Herbert[213] was destroyed, set on fire by some unknown person with a bucket of burning tar. The City Hall alarm bell didn't sound and no fire engines responded, even though the fire lasted for an hour.[214] This event was followed just three days later by a fire in an occupied frame house belonging to Mrs. Green on Geary Street between Powell and Mason.[215] There was yet another fire in December in a former candle manufactory on O'Farrell Street near Jones, owned

by Mr. Milatovich. Neighbors extinguished the fire. The source of this spate of conflagrations may have been some boys who were seen running away from Mrs. Green's building after it started burning.[216] Later that month two young daughters of Patrick McDonald, residing on the corner of O'Farrell and Mason Streets, were badly burned while playing with matches. Five-year-old Margaret died from her injuries.[217]

In 1858, petty crime was reported in the valley for the second year in a row. Late one night in January, a man pulled out his pistol when he saw someone else on the road while he was walking to the valley. When he tried to cock the weapon—just to be safe, he said—he accidently pulled the trigger and shot one of his own hands.[218] Then, early one February morning, P. H. Owens drove off a couple of burglars who were trying to break into his house on Eddy Street between Mason and Taylor by shooting at one of them through "the side light of the door."[219] A mentally ill man was arrested in April for destroying railings, urns, candlesticks, windows, and vases in St. Ignatius Church on Market Street between Fourth and Fifth because he blamed Christ for bringing him to California and leaving him broke.[220] And Bernard Kennedy was knocked down and robbed on the corner of Stockton and Geary Streets.[221] A more serious crime was occurred when Ludovic Galley, who lived at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets, was stabbed by his pregnant former mistress.[222]

Another kind of incident occurred when William Olhers, a German immigrant, was found on the ground under an unoccupied house at the corner of Stockton and O'Farrell Streets, where he had lain for four days without food or water. He said he had suffered for years from rheumatism and crawled under the house to die. Valley resident Joseph L. Howell, who discovered him at three in the morning, got a wagon and drove him across town to the County Hospital,[223] which at that time was in North Beach on the southwest corner of Francisco and Stockton Streets.[224]

In local politics, Nathaniel C. Lane, still living on the southwest corner of Powell and Ellis Streets, was serving his second term on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.[225] Dr. Horatio S. Gates, who lived in a house on top of a sand hill on the southwest corner of Geary and Stockton Streets, represented the Third Ward. In February, he successfully opposed a motion to start paying supervisors salaries. However, he was in favor of compensation for future supervisors.[226]

A citizens group organized to promote construction of a transcontinental railroad formed a committee that included both supervisors to arrange a welcome for a visit by *New York Tribune* publisher Horace J. Greely, an avid supporter of westward migration.[227] In 1859, valley pioneer Henry Gerke was appointed one of the San Francisco delegates to the Pacific Railroad Convention, organized to send a proposal to Congress to build a transcontinental railroad to the West. After several days of debate, the convention voted for the proposal to specify San Francisco as the railroad's terminus.[228] Gerke, of course, had an interest in the railroad being routed through the Sacramento Valley in hopes of a cheaper and more extensive transportation link for California products, including the agricultural produce of his ranch.

Other political involvement by valley residents included that July, when David Dwyer, a coal dealer and Eighth Ward supervisor who sat on the judiciary, hospital, and fire and water committees,[229] and George T. Bohen, a mason and future superintendent of streets, represented the ward on the reformist People's Party nominating committee.[230] At the same time, Jonathan Kittredge and Reuben, John, and Edward H. Morton were among the many men signing a petition asking the earlier People's Reform nominating committee of 1857 to convene again to appoint two delegates from each ward to organize a People's Reform Nominating Convention.[231] Henry Gerke and Dwyer both served on the September Grand Jury,[232] with Gerke one of the signers of its report, which said that the present post-Vigilance Committee city administration functioned honestly and well, especially when compared with the previous administration.[233] Oddly, the only San Francisco neighborhood not participating that year in an illumination for the highly political Admission Day celebration was St. Ann's Valley.[234] Valley pioneer John S. Davies, who lived on the north side of Eddy Street between Mason and Taylor, began his two-year term as supervisor for the Eighth Ward in 1860.

By 1859 there were about 175 city directory listings in the area bordered by Geary, Stockton, and Market Streets (more if the numerous listings as far

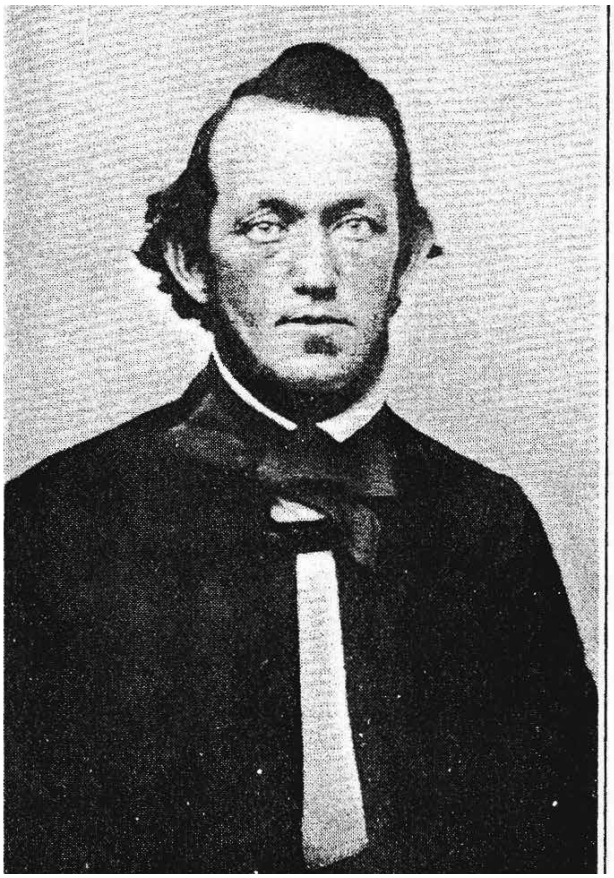
east as Dupont and Kearny Streets were counted as part of the valley, which many people did) and the future location of Van Ness Avenue.[235] As this slow but steady growth continued, so did the lawsuits over possession of real estate, such as the ejectment suit of Theodore Payne et al. vs. James P. Treadwell for the two 50-vara lots on the gore corner of Market, Stockton, and Ellis Streets. The lots were deeded to James Findla in 1849 as a land grant from *Alcalde* John W. Geary. Findla testified that he fenced the land in 1851, and William A. Green, who lived on the southwest corner of Market and Ellis Streets, said he passed it daily and saw that it was fenced between 1851 and 1853. Treadwell claimed he found the property unfenced and therefore vacant, took possession of it in 1853, built a house there, and had held possession ever since. His witnesses, including valley resident and attorney C. V. Grey of the southeast corner of Taylor and Eddy Streets, corroborated that the lots weren't fenced and were vacant before 1853.[236]

The valley still had little fire protection. In 1852, the city supervisors divided the city into four fire districts so that whenever the fire bell in Portsmouth Square was rung, the number of taps would indicate which district the fire was in.[237] But the outlying hamlets were located outside of the fire districts. Except for the Mission Toll Road to Mission Dolores, by 1859 there were still no paved roads to these areas that the volunteer fire companies could use to pull their hand-powered pumpers and hose carts. Yet, as more structures were built in the area, the need for fire protection grew more urgent.

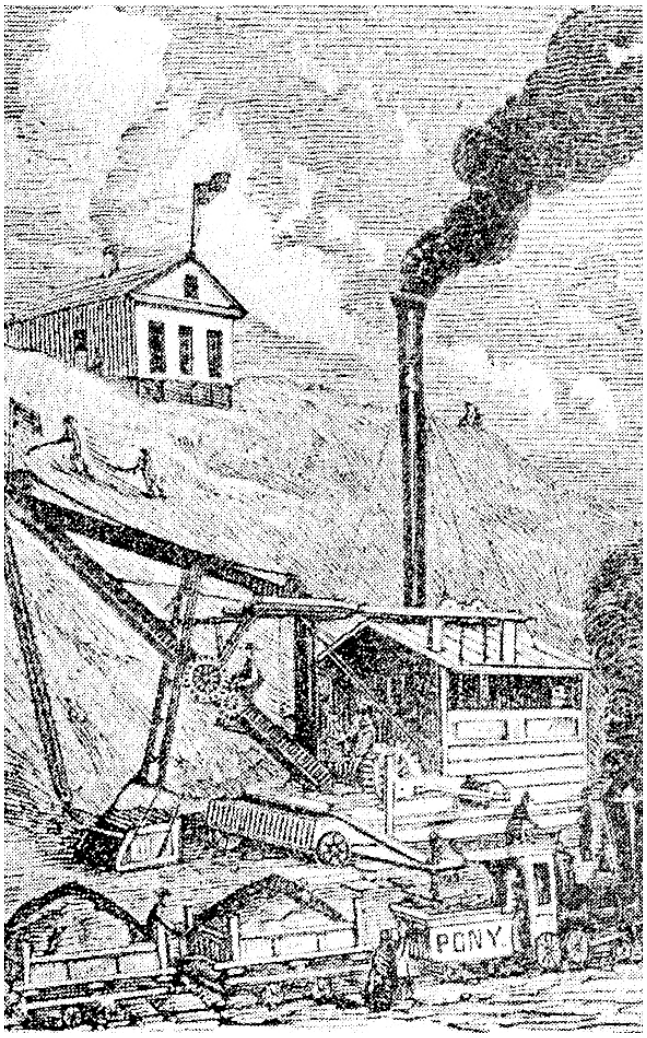
On March 27, 1859, this need was demonstrated once again when Cyril V. Grey's home and two neighboring houses belonging to him burned on the southeast corner of Taylor and Eddy Streets. A fire had started in the barn of one of his tenants and spread to the other buildings. The fire bell in Portsmouth Square didn't ring until fifteen minutes after the fire started, because the hills between St. Ann's Valley and City Hall made it hard to see the smoke until the blaze was well along.[238] As usual, the firemen were slowed still further by having to drag their apparatus up and down the paths of the valley's sand dunes. Once they arrived at the fire, the only available water was from wells and a pond.[239] All the occupants could do was rescue as many of their furnishings as possible until the blaze drove them back.[240]

Finally, valley residents had had enough and formed a volunteer fire brigade,[241] calling it the Independent Fire Company.[242] It had forty members, with valley pioneers David Dwyer as president, Nathaniel C. Lane as treasurer, and Oliver B. Oakley as foreman.[243] Their "small New York side-stroke engine," called a *Red Crab*, was housed on Eddy Street near Powell.[244] This was one of those machines in which men stood on each side of the apparatus and operated the water pump by rocking the handles up and down. In addition, a subscription was inaugurated to raise funds for the construction of a public cistern in the valley,[245] which by December was built at the corner of Turk and Taylor Streets.[246]

But the Independent Fire Company didn't last long. Two months after the Grey fire, a new public



Forty-niner David Hewes went into business as a grading contractor. In the late 1850s he leveled several 50-vara lots in St. Ann's Valley and built the road for the Market Street Railroad from Third and Market to Valencia and then to 16th Street. The photograph is dated "about 1860."
From Lieutenant Joshua Hewes: A New England Pioneer and Some of His Descendants.

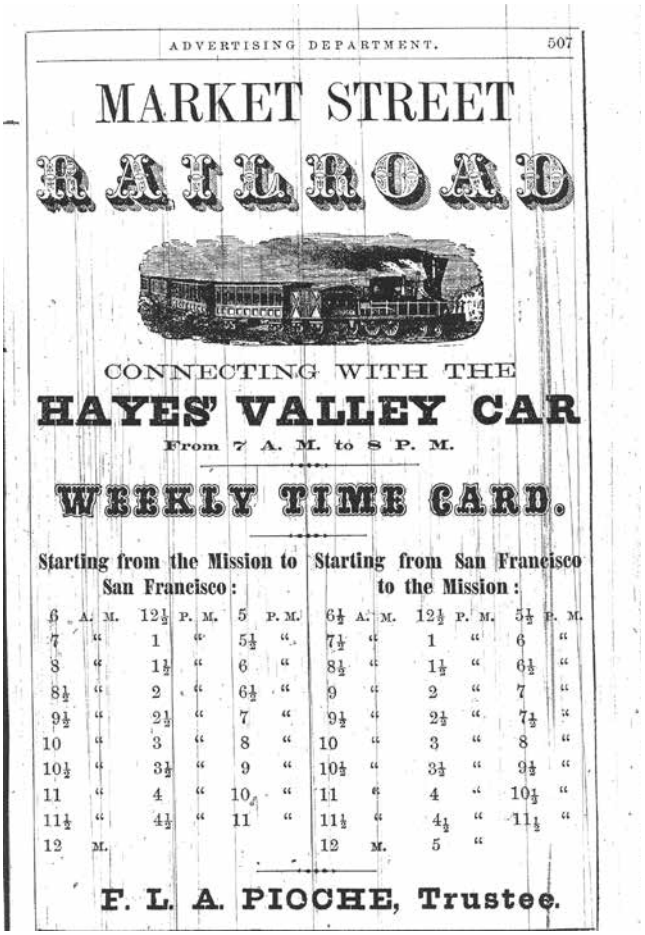


The steam shovel and gang of Chinese workmen used by Hewes in his grading work. From Lieutenant Joshua Hewes: A New England Pioneer and Some of His Descendants.

transportation company calling itself the Market Street Railroad hired grading contractor David Hewes and his steam shovel to build a roadbed for San Francisco's first street railroad. The route was planned to go through the sand dunes and over the valleys along the future paths of Market and Valencia Streets out to 16th Street,[247] with a branch line to Hayes Park.[248] The project began in May of 1859 with the leveling of the giant sand dune blocking Market and Third Streets. The grade intersected with the paths along the St. Ann's Valley street grid at the junctions of Dupont and O'Farrell, Stockton and Ellis, Powell and Eddy, Mason and Turk, Taylor and Tyler (later renamed Golden Gate), and Jones and McAllister Streets. The roadbed was completed in April 1860, followed by installation of a single track, and on July 4, 1860, the first passenger train ran along the new route. It came to be popularly known as the Mission Railroad.[249]

The new street railroad didn't have big steam locomotives like the larger Pennsylvania and New York Central systems. Instead, little engines called steam dummies were built to look like horse-drawn streetcars in the hope that passing teams wouldn't be startled by the sight or sounds of the engines. The passenger cars were much larger, though, and even had a deck on the roof with benches so passengers could ride in the open air and enjoy the view.

Once the roadbed for the street railroad was completed, Hewes was awarded contracts to cut and grade streets and building lots running off either side of the route of the new railroad, connecting the



ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT. 507

MARKET STREET

RAILROAD

CONNECTING WITH THE

HAYES' VALLEY CAR

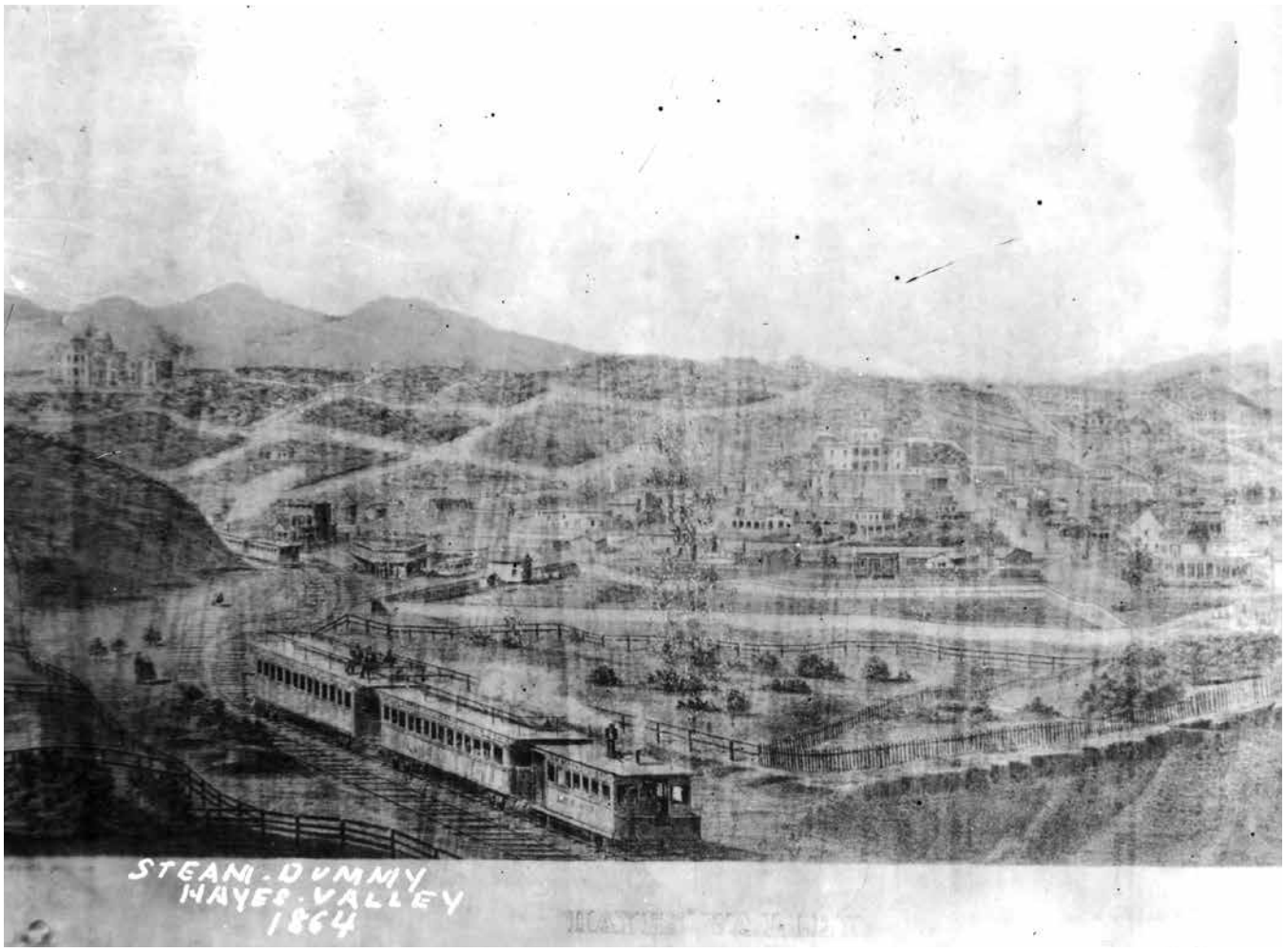
From 7 A. M. to 8 P. M.

WEEKLY TIME CARD.

Starting from the Mission to San Francisco:						Starting from San Francisco to the Mission:					
6	A. M.	12½	P. M.	5	P. M.	6½	A. M.	12½	P. M.	5½	P. M.
7	"	1	"	5½	"	7½	"	1	"	6	"
8	"	1½	"	6	"	8½	"	1½	"	6½	"
8½	"	2	"	6½	"	9	"	2	"	7	"
9½	"	2½	"	7	"	9½	"	2½	"	7½	"
10	"	3	"	8	"	10	"	3	"	8	"
10½	"	3½	"	9	"	10½	"	3½	"	9½	"
11	"	4	"	10	"	11	"	4	"	10½	"
11½	"	4½	"	11	"	11½	"	4½	"	11½	"
12	M.					12	M.	5	"		

F. L. A. PIOCHE, Trustee.

The train ran every half hour and at first was heavily patronized. But its rough ride and the development of slower but smoother (and cheaper) competing horse car lines drew off its ridership, which wasn't restored until the railroad switched to horse power itself in the late 1860s. From The San Francisco Directory for the Year commencing September, 1861.



The Market Street Railroad was powered by steam dummies like the one shown in this image of its branch line into Hayes Valley. These were small steam engines designed to look like streetcars in the often forlorn hope that the disguise would fool the horses it shared the streets with into not spooking. Courtesy of Western Neighborhoods, Project/Artist Unknown/Martin Behrman Negative Collection/ Golden Gate NRA, Park Archives.

valley's new streets with the San Francisco street grid. Even though the Market Street Railroad grade itself wasn't widened to become Market Street until 1864, the new side streets and the still extant trails alongside the railroad tracks on Market Street gave the rest of the city's older and better-established fire companies faster and more direct access to the valley, leading to the Independent Fire Company's eventual demise, for it was no longer listed after 1861.

The year 1859 was also when St. Ann's Valley pioneer John Sullivan launched the Hibernia Bank as its first president. John Mel, a French wine importer who lived across the street from Sullivan, was its first treasurer.[250] Hibernia was one of the most prudently managed banks ever to do business in San Francisco, the sort of institution where cautious people of modest means deposited their savings.[251] It was so carefully run that it survived every economic downturn during its 125 years of existence.

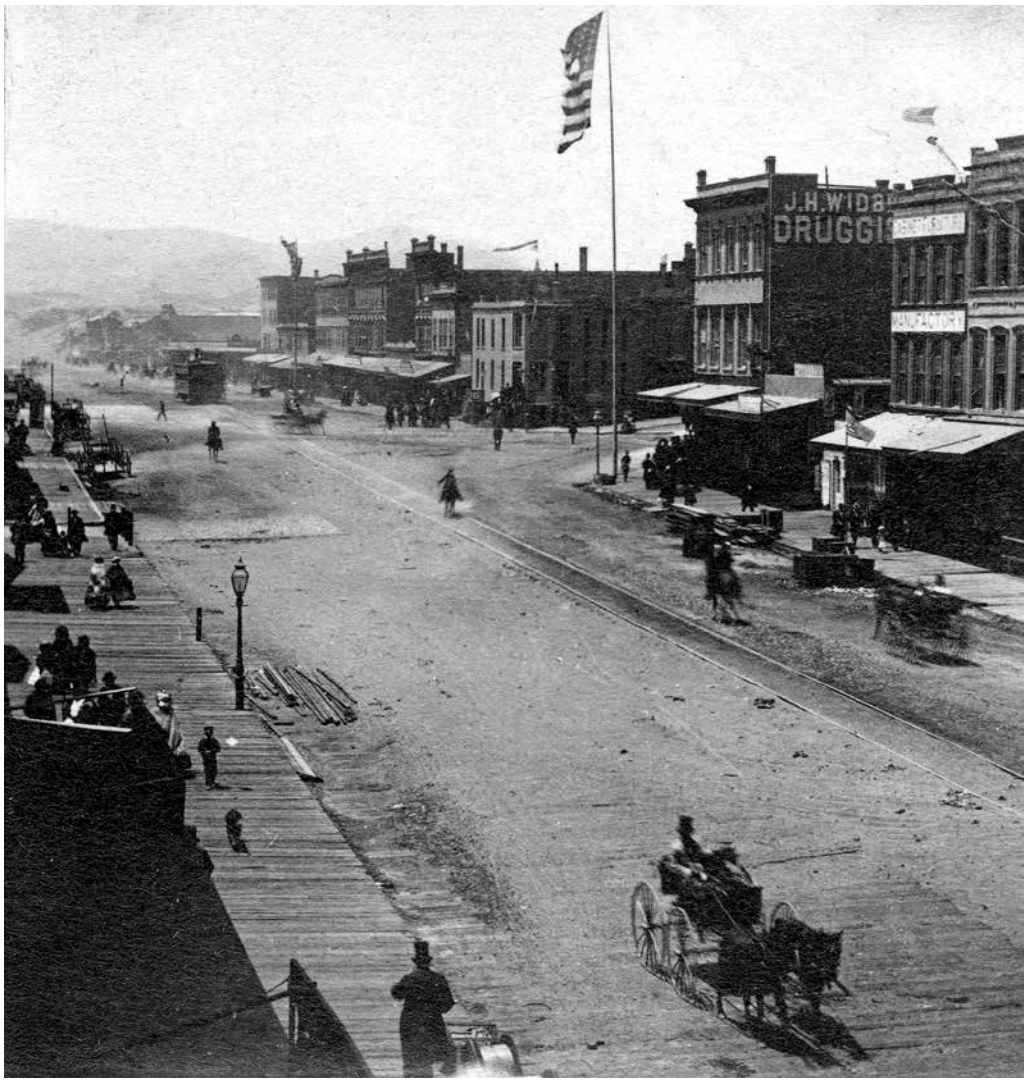
In the meantime, the valley's first instances of petty crime in 1857 and 1858 continued into 1859. In May, a servant girl returning from an errand found a thief in the act of stealing some platters, utensils, and other silver-plated ware that had been left in plain view in a house on the corner of Stockton and Geary Streets. Her screams drove him off.[252] In June, the home of a valley resident named Mr. Shay was robbed of clothing, jewelry, gold specimens, and a revolver while the family was away for the afternoon.[253] And a man named Mulholland was

Hibernia Bank, which was headquartered in the Tenderloin for many years, opened in 1859 in the old Lucas, Turner & Co. building on the northeast corner of Montgomery and Jackson Streets. It was one of the most conservatively managed banks in California, the sort of institution in which widows felt safe depositing their small savings. Courtesy of the author.

arrested in November for three burglaries in the area. His friends said he was insane, though the *Alta* wrote that his systematic thefts showed there was method in his madness.[254] These incidents were symptoms of a larger problem: San Francisco was expanding so quickly that its municipal services, such as its police department, couldn't keep up and left the growing, outlying neighborhoods like St. Ann's Valley and Hayes Valley without police patrols. This problem wasn't solved until the middle of the next decade.

The year 1860 marked the end of the pioneer days of St. Ann's Valley. One of the results of the grading and leveling activities of David Hewes' now ubiquitous steam shovel was the obliteration of St. Ann's Valley as a geographic feature, with valley pioneers' memories, San Francisco city directories, U. S. Coast Survey maps, and Charles Leander Weeds' photographs being the only remaining evidence of its existence.[255] Even the directories stopped listing it after 1868.

Hibernia Bank's new headquarters were built on the northwest corner of Jones and McAllister Streets in 1892, where it continued to do business until the 1980s. Courtesy OpenSFHistory, wnp71.1137.tiff.



The Market Street Railroad was powered by steam dummies like the one shown in this image of its branch line into Hayes Valley. Courtesy of Western Neighborhoods, Project/Artist Unknown/ Martin Behrman Negative Collection/ Golden Gate NRA, Park Archives.

The growth of St. Ann's Valley was an early example of a basic principal of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century real estate: development followed the opening of streets and streetcar lines. The most immediate result of the building of the Market Street Railroad was that valley residents now had direct access to public transportation to get to and from the rest of San Francisco. They also now had graded streets that connected to the San Francisco street grid, allowing them to walk or ride their own conveyances directly into town. These improvements opened the valley for more intensive development, and the city's always growing population started to move into the valley in greater numbers than before.

Settlers moving into the valley were also a growing customer base for neighborhood merchants and businesses that were moving into the area. As demand for residential properties increased in the 1860s, real estate values went up, forcing the relocation of earlier businesses, such as livestock ranches and manufactories, which depended on cheap land away from residential districts.

A final result of this growth was sad but inevitable. As San Francisco grew beyond the little settlement of St. Ann's Valley, and as the valley's original topography was graded over, the area began to lose its identity. It became less and less distinguishable from the city that was surrounding and absorbing it, even though as late as 1870 old-time San Franciscans would describe trips to that part of the city as "going up to the valley."[256] And so ended the pioneer years of St. Ann's Valley.

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About the Author

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Notes

1. Tom Cole, *A Short History of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Lexikos, 1981), 9; Sally B. Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps and Views* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 48-49.
2. Rev. Albert Williams, *A Pioneer Pastorate and Times* (San Francisco: Wallace & Hassett, Printers, 1879), 33.
3. Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way* (Berkeley: HeyDay Books, 1978), 41–50; "Market and Powell, 1851" photograph, San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, from FoundSF Neighborhood, Tenderloin, Powell and Market, 1851.
4. The term *Beringia* was coined by the Swedish botanist Eric Hultén in 1937. During the ice ages, Beringia, like most of Siberia and all of North and Northeast China, was not glaciated because snowfall was very light. It was a grassland steppe, including the land bridge that stretched for hundreds of kilometres into the continents on either side. It is believed that a small human population of at most a few thousand arrived in Beringia from eastern Siberia during the Last Glacial Maximum before expanding into the settlement of the Americas sometime after 16,500 years BP. This would have occurred as the American glaciers blocking the way southward melted, but before the bridge was covered by the sea about 11,000 years BP." (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beringia).
5. Settled by successive waves of arrivals during the last 10,000 years, California was one of the most culturally and linguistically diverse areas in pre-Columbian North America. Various estimates of the native population range from 100,000 to 300,000. The indigenous peoples of California included more than 70 distinct groups of Native Americans, ranging from large, settled populations living on the coast to groups in the interior. California groups also were diverse in their political organization with bands, tribes, villages, and on the resource-rich coasts, large chiefdoms, such as the Chumash, Pomo and Salinan. Trade, intermarriage and military alliances fostered many social and economic relationships among the diverse groups." (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/California).
6. Allen G. Pastron and Michael R. Walsh, "Archaeological Excavations at CA-SFR-113, the Market Street Shell Midden, San Francisco, California," *Archives of California Prehistory,* 25, 1988. The Market Street shell midden is located in the eastern end of what was known as St. Ann's Valley in the 1850s and 1860s, later known as the Tenderloin District. Pastron and Walsh showed it had been used as a dump around 100 B.C. and again around 120 A.D. They pointed out that there are also two other shell middens located near Second and Stevenson Streets and at Harrison Street west of Third, and that all three of them are within 3,000 feet of one another. They concluded that the area was "one of considerable activity and habitation, undoubtedly because it represented high ground in close proximity to the salt marshes and tidal flats that lay immediately to the east and south of these sites."
7. Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way* (Berkeley: HeyDay Books, 1978), 41–50.
8. Rob Waters, "Looking Back on a Decade of Change," *Tenderloin Times*, November 1987.
9. James Beach Alexander and James Lee Heig, *San Francisco: Building the Dream City* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 2002), 36; United States Census, 1860, on ancestry.com.
10. *Ibid.*; United States Census.
11. Theodore Augustus Barry and Benjamin Adam Patten, *Men and Memories of San Francisco, in the "Spring of '50"* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., 1873), 254–55.
12. *Ibid.; Men and Memories of San Francisco, in the "Spring of '50"*; Edward A. Morphy, "San Francisco's Thoroughfares: Powell Street," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 14, 1920, E7; Charles J. King, "Reminiscences of Early Days in San Francisco," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine*, March 1888, 280.
13. For example, see "A Submerged District," *Daily Alta California*, February 13, 1862, 2.
14. Rev. Albert Williams, *A Pioneer Pastorate and Times*, 33. At least as late as 1851 a photograph shows the dunes were still covered with scrub in the St. Ann's Valley-South of Market area. But the fuel must not have lasted very long, for an 1858 photograph of St. Ann's Valley shows it largely denuded of vegetation. (FoundSF, Neighborhood: Tenderloin, Powell and Market, 1851).
15. *Men and Memories of San Francisco, in the "Spring of '50,"* 254–55.

16. Sally B. Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps and Views* (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 46-47.

17. "The March of Improvement," *The Morning Call*, March 15, 1892, 3; Theodore Augustus Barry and Benjamin Adam Patten *Men and Memories of San Francisco, in the "Spring of '50,"* 31–32, 252; A Bancroft map (Hubert H. Bancroft, *Bancroft's Works*, Vol. XXXIII [California Volume VI], San Francisco: The History Company, 1886, 169) labels this the Mission Trail, shown as branching southwest from the starting point of the Mission Road toward St. Ann's Valley. As another writer put it, "Not half the thoroughfares were paved or even graded. A trip across the city entailed wading ankle-deep through sand rips and climbing, heaven knows how many, sand hills . . ." ("San Francisco's Thoroughfares," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 11, 1918, A10).

18. "Gerkie's Vegetable Garden," *San Francisco Call*, March 8, 1898, 7. Grossly inflated prices like this were possible during the Gold Rush because "almost no one wanted to farm or fish when there were fortunes to be made digging for gold." The only way one hotel manager could offer vegetables to his guests was because "an old man, named Herman, brought him fresh vegetables such as cabbages, lettuce, carrots, and turnips. "These he brought daily; I had to pay him fifteen to twenty dollars per day." (Charles Lockwood, "Tourists in Gold Rush San Francisco," California History, 59:4, Winter 1980–81, 323).

19. "Special Meeting, April 4," *The Californian*, April 5, 1848, 1; "Town Council," *The California Star*, April 10, 1848, 3; "Town Council," *The California Star*," May 6, 1848, 4.

20. Alfred Wheeler, *San Francisco Land Titles 1852 . . .* on sfgenealogy.com. See also Rand Richards, *Mud, Blood, and Gold* (San Francisco: Heritage House, 2009), 107–143. Gerke Alley is named after Henry Gerke and Tehama Street may be named for the county his ranch was located in.

21. Alfred Wheeler, *San Francisco Land Titles 1852 . . .* Schedule B on sfgenealogy.com; "Interesting Law Suit," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 28, 1859, 1.

22. John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Towne and Bacon, 1867), 92; Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, 1855, reprinted in Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Hills Books, 1999, 305.)

23. Florence Lipsky, *San Francisco: The Grid Meets the Hills* (Marseilles: Editions Parentheses, 1999), 48–56; Sally B. Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps and Views*, (New York, Rizzoli, 2006), 34–35.

24. John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of San Francisco*, 209–10.

25. *Daily Alta California*, February 19, 1850, 2.

26. *Hamm v. City of San Francisco*, *Federal Reporter*, 17, F1, 119.

27. Alfred Wheeler, *San Francisco Land Titles 1852 . . .*, on sfgenealogy.com; *San Francisco Land Titles, 1852*, Schedule E, 55–59.

28. "The Millionaires of San Francisco," *Sacramento Transcript*, December 16, 1850, 2.

29. "Surviving Charter Members of the Pioneer Society," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 21, 1899, 8. Americans calling themselves pioneers was a bit of a misnomer in that the Californios had been here since 1776, long before anyone from the United States was known to come to California. The Californios weren't really pioneers either, since they found the area already settled by bands of indigenous people. Even the indigenous people conquered by the Californios probably weren't pioneers, given that they likely displaced an earlier people who themselves may have displaced an even earlier people.

30. "Yerba Buena Park," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 7, 1870, 3.

31. "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 27, 1866, 3; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 1, 1866, 3; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 2, 1866, 3; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, May 3, 1866, 5.

32. "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 18, 1866, 3.

33. "For Sale," *Daily Alta California*, September 25, 1850, 1; "Assignee's Sale," *Daily Alta California*, October 31, 1850, 3.

34. "An Act to Incorporate the City and County of San Francisco," *Daily Alta California*, April 17, 1851, 3.

35. For example, see "Whig Primary Elections," *Daily Alta California*, April 9, 1851, 1; "The Election Today," *Daily Alta California*, November 2, 1852, 2; "Whig Primary Election," *Daily Alta California*, August 17, 1854, 2.

36. "Eighth Ward Returns," *Daily Alta California*, September 16, 1853, 1; "The redoubtable Eighth Ward . . .," *Daily Alta California*, September 13, 1854, 2; "The Defects of the Registry Law," *Daily Alta California*, November 7, 1868, 2.

37. "News of the Day," *Daily Alta California*, July 1, 1865, 2.

38. At least eight of a total of nineteen valley heads of households joined the first Committee of Vigilance. In addition to those mentioned here, there were Alfred Ellis (whom Ellis Street was named for) as member number 128 or 129, Cornelius V. S. Gibbs as member number 425, undertaker Atkins Massey as member number 335, Andrew J. Moon as member number 667,

pharmaceuticals importer and dealer Charles R. Story as member number 247, and Isaac Wormser (the W in the S & W foods company) as member number 637. *Publication of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, IV:1 (Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1919, 806–17). These were all successful and conservative businessmen, interested in making money, for which they needed conditions like a stable economic environment and a reasonably honest government. Hence their support of the Committee of Vigilance.

39. "Examination of John K. Moore," September 6, 1864, 5–6; "Local Matters," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 18, 1866, 3.

40. "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 14, 1866, 5; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 16, 1886, 5.

41. "Recorder's Court," *Daily Alta California*, March 6, 1855, 3.

42. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, 1855 (reprinted in Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Hills Books, 1999, 296–98).

43. Walter Rice, Ph.D. and Emiliano Echeverria, *When Steam Ran on the Streets of San Francisco* (Forty Fort, PA: Harold E. Cox, 2002), 7.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. Sally B. Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps and Views*, (New York, Rizzoli, 2006), 46–47.

47. "Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, October 16, 1851, 3; "Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, December 3, 1851, 3; "Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, December 10, 1851, 3.

48. The early city directories showed that at least up through 1863 most of those who moved to the valley and stayed longer than a year or two were members of the middle class. These were business owners, managers, and professionals and their families. The less permanent residents—those who were listed with St. Ann's Valley addresses for only one or two years—were almost all workers. The main thing they had in common was moving to the valley to get away from the fires, vice, crime, and crowded conditions of downtown San Francisco in the first years of the Gold Rush. (Roger W. Lotchin *San Francisco, 1846–1856: From Hamlet to City*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1974, 26–27).

49. "The Earthquake Yesterday," San Francisco *Daily Herald*, February 16, 1856, 2; "Lost Or Stolen," *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1852, 3; "Property In St. Anne's Valley," *Daily Alta California*, September 6, 1862, 3; Hubert H. Bancroft, *Bancroft's Works Vol XXXIII* [California Volume VI], (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886), 169.

50. St. Anne was Jesus Christ's maternal grandmother. But how or when St. Ann's Valley got its name is obscure. One conjecture is that Gerke named it. Gerke Alley, running east from Grant Avenue between Filbert and Greenwich, was named after him from when he owned property on the western slope of Telegraph Hill where this alley is located. (Louis K. Lowenstein, *The Streets of San Francisco* Berkeley, CA: Wilderness Press, Third Edition, 1996, 40). Tehama Street may have been named after Tehama County, the location of Gerke's Rancho Bosquejo, from when he owned the South of Market property that this alley ran through. The earliest reference to St. Ann's Valley found by the author is an 1852 newspaper advertisement for a lost dog. ("Lost Or Stolen," *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1852, 3.) The earliest San Francisco city directory reference to St. Ann's Valley found by the author is in 1856.

51. "Lost and Found," *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1852, 3.

52. Porter Garnett, "List of Members of the Committee of Vigilance," in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Berkeley, University of California, 1919); Mary Floyd Williams, Ph.D., *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1919), 808.

53. Asa Merrill Fairfield, *Fairfield's Pioneer History of Lassen County, California to 1870* (San Francisco, H. S. Crocker Co., 1916); "Leland Stanford's Great Vina Ranch," *Wines and Vines*, March 1, 1993, 1; Rockwell D. Hunt, ed., *California and Californians*, Vol. 4, San Francisco: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1932, 501–02.

54. "The Wine that Made Vina," *San Francisco Call*, October 6, 1895, 16. The year after Gerke bought the remainder of Peter Lassen's Rancho Bosquejo ("wooded ranch") ("Rancho Bosquejo," WesternStarWiki), he made the first batch of wine ever produced in that part of California from the Mission grapes Lassen had planted a year earlier ("The Wine that Made Vina," *San Francisco Call*, October 16, 1895, 6). Mission grapes were imported from Spain to Mexico in 1540, to New Mexico in the 1620s, and to Mission San Diego sometime after its founding in 1769 by Father Junipero Serra, where they later spread north. "Sacramental wine had been the original intent, but the Californians liked to drink the stuff, too, especially as angelica, a Port-like fortified wine . . . Mission [grapes] migrated beyond the missions: Homesteaders took the padres' cuttings and planted their own vineyards . . . Effectively, Mission was the only wine grape in California until about 1865 . . . when "Hungarian-born Agoston Haraszthy, founder of Buena Vista Winery . . . move[d] away from the cultivation of Mission in favor of so-called noble grape varieties, things like Cabernet Sauvignon and Riesling . . . John Muir was a proponent, and replaced the Mission grapes at his Martinez home with Muscat and Zinfandel. 'The padres

ought to have known better,' Muir was quoted in the *Chronicle*, 'such good judges as they were in most things related to the stomach.'" Mission grapes produced rosé-colored, bitter wine, "with a pithy orange-peel flavor and an oily, viscous texture . . . 'It's only when you do it as fortified that the tannins get velvety, especially after two years of aging . . .' Unlike Port, which is fermented about halfway and then fortified with neutral brandy, angelica is fermented barely or not at all. You pick the grapes ultra-ripe, crush them into grape juice, then add brandy to heighten the alcohol level and prevent further fermentation. The result, often, is a dessert wine that tastes more like molasses than fruit." ("Mission revival," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 26, 2017, L6; *Reader's Digest Story of the Great American West* (Pleasantville, NY: Reader's Digest Association, Inc., 1977), 365.

55. "District Court," *Daily Alta California*, November 17, 1852, 1.

56. *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 7, 1855; *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 13, 1855.

57. "Street Assessment List," *Daily Alta California*, March 14, 1855, 4.

58. Porter Garnett, "List of Members of the Committee of Vigilance" in *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History*, IV:1 (Berkeley, California: University of California, 1919); Mary Floyd Williams, Ph.D., *History of the San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1851*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1919), 813.

59. George R. Stewart, *The California Trail* (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 53-82. This was the third group of immigrants to cross the Plains, but the first to get their wagons as far as California.

60. Hubert Bancroft, *Bancroft's Works: The History of California, Vol. V, 1846-1848* (San Francisco, The History Co., 1886), 737.

61. Alfred Wheeler, *San Francisco Land Titles 1852 . . .* Schedules D and E, on sfgenealogy.com.

62. Thomas H. Prendergast, Forgotten Pioneers, Irish Leaders . . . (San Francisco: The Trade Pressroom, 1942), 90; "John Sullivan's Estate," *San Francisco Call*, 12/28/1895, 5.

63. Hubert Bancroft, *Bancroft's Works: The History of California, V. 5, 1846-1848*, (San Francisco, The History Co., 1886), 737.

64. Rockwell D. Hunt, ed. *California and Californians*, Vol. 4 (San Francisco, The Lewis Publishing Co., 1932), 199.

65. Thomas F. Prendergast *Forgotten Pioneers: Irish Leaders of Early California* (San Francisco: The Trade Pressroom, 1942), 91.

66. Henry G. Langley *The San Francisco Directory for the Year commencing October, 1863* (San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1863), 344.

67. "Riptides," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 5, 1946, 14.

68. U. S. Census, 1860, on ancestry.com.

69. "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 13, 1866, 5; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 14, 1866, 5; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 16, 1866, 5.

70. Sally B. Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps and Views*, (New York: Rizzoli, 2006), 46-47.

71. "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 13, 1866, 5; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 16, 1866, 3.

72. "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 13, 1866, 5; *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 16, 1866, 3.

73. *Ibid.*

74. About a decade later, Moore used these transactions to support his fraudulent claim on a large piece of land in the Western Addition to extort quitclaim fees and, in some cases, actual sale prices from nervous settlers trying to resell their homesteads.

75. Anna Lane was first listed in the San Francisco city directory in 1856. It was likely named by St. Ann's Valley pioneer Nathaniel C. Lane after his daughter Anna (U. S. Census, 1860, on ancestry.com) when he owned the block of Powell, Eddy, and Ellis streets and Anna Lane. The history of alley naming in San Francisco shows property owners frequently used their family names or their wives' or daughters' given names. (*The Morning Call*, April 18, 1886, 8.) That Lane's last name made possible a pun made it even better. There's a story, perhaps apocryphal, that a pair of brothers named Lane, who owned the block, had a falling out and decided to resolve the division of property in court. Friends intervened, pointing out the likely consequences of such a lawsuit, and persuaded them to negotiate a more amicable solution. They decided that a roll of dice or a draw of a card would determine which brother got first choice over which half of the property he wanted, and that the loser would get the privilege of naming the lane running next to the lot. (*South of Market Journal*, April 1927, 8). If this story has any basis in fact, then it was likely Nathaniel C. Lane who lost and was left with the upper lot since he lived on the southwest corner of Powell and Ellis, which is located on the upper and less valuable half of the block. He was also Anna's father and so probably named the alley after her. Much of this property descended into the Young family through Anna's marriage to a Dr. Young.

76. "Houses of Forty-Nine," *The Examiner*, September 24, 1892, 3.

77. "Two Old Buildings," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 17, 1890,10; "Houses Of Forty-Nine," *The Examiner*, September 24, 1892, 3; "The Home Of 'Old Francis,'" *San Francisco Examiner*, March 24, 1895, 9.

78. "Fete Champetre," *Daily Alta California*, July 2, 1855, 2.

79. "Fire Department," *Daily Alta California*, November 4, 1855, 2.

80. *Ibid.*

81. "A Fall," *Daily Alta California*, November 19, 1855, 3.

82. "Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, November 29, 1853, 3.

83. Arnold Woods, "The Battle for the Outside Lands," *San Francisco West History*, 12:1, January–March 2016, 7.

84. "Squatting on the Square," *Daily Alta California*, July 21, 1854, 1.

85. "When Union Square was Desolate, a Desert with Towering Sand Dune," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 2, 2015, C1.

86 John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of San Francisco*, 216–19.

87 "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 13, 1866, 5; "Trial of the Moore Claim," *San Francisco Bulletin*, April 16, 1866, 3.

88. "Land Difficulty," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 22, 1855, 2.

89. "Superior Court," *Daily Alta California*, March 29, 1857, 2.

90. Arnold Woods, "The Battle for the Outside Lands," 7.

91. "Summary of San Francisco News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 1, 1853, 2.

92. Real estate auction sale advertisements in the *Daily Alta California* in 1854.

93. Union Sunday schools were started by or affiliated with the American Sunday School Union, an organization that sent out missionaries across the United States for this purpose.

94. "Sunday School Anniversary," *Daily Alta California*, July 12, 1855, 1.

95. "The Second Congregational Church," *Daily Alta California*, November 24, 1867, 2. The church was apparently named after a popular nineteenth-century song written by W. S. Pitts in 1855 about a church in Iowa.

96. "Notes in Los Angeles and San Bernardino," *Pacific Rural Press*, March 31, 1877, 194.

97. "Live Stock for Sale," *Daily Alta California*, October 27, 1853, 2; "Live Stock for Sale," *Daily Alta California*, November 19, 1853, 1; "Live Stock for Sale," *Daily Alta California*, December 7, 1853, 3.

98. For example, see "Lost And Found," *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1853, 3; "Lost And Found," *Daily Alta California*, November 30, 1854, 3.

99. *Daily Alta California*, April 21, 1854, 2.

100. "Probate Court," *Daily Alta California*, September 13, 1853, 3.

101. "Legal Notices," *Daily Alta California*, September 22, 1854, 4; "Law Report," *Daily Alta California*, December 14, 1854, 2: "Interesting Suit Against An Administrator," *Daily Alta California*, December 19, 1854, 2; "Sunday Morning, December 24, 1854," *Daily Alta California*, December 24, 1854, 2; "The Deck Case—The Marriage Contract in California," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 7, 1856, 1; "Final Decree in the Great Deck Case," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 10, 1859, 3; "Final Decree in the Great Deck Case," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 12, 1859. 2.

102. "The Deck Case Again," *Daily Alta California*, October 25, 1855, 3.

103. *LeCount & Strong's San Francisco City Directory for the Year 1854* (San Francisco: *San Francisco Herald*, 1854).

104. Sally B. Woodbridge, *San Francisco in Maps and Views*, (New York, Rizzoli, 2006), 46-47.

105. *Lecount and Strong's San Francisco City Directory for 1854*.

106. Roger W. Lotchin, San Francisco, *1846–1856: From Hamlet to City*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 26–27.

107. No apparent relation to the John Addis mentioned earlier.

108. "The Ghost Of Russian Hill," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 25, 1854, 5.

109. "Arrival of the *Brother Jonathan*," *Daily Alta California*, April 1, 1854, 1.

110. "The Great Wreck," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 5, 1857, 4.

111. "Earthquake," *Daily Alta California*, August 28, 1855, 2; "The Late Earthquake," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 1, 1855, 1.

112. "The Earthquake Yesterday—Incidents, Accidents, Etc.," *San Francisco Daily Herald*, February 16, 1856, 2; "The Earthquakes of Friday," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 18, 1856, 1.

113. "Fifty Vara Lots Going A Beggin'," *Daily Alta California*, April 7, 1861, 1.

114. "Complete Election Returns," *Daily Alta California*, May 31, 1855, 2.

115. "To the Voters of the City And County of San Francisco," *Daily Alta California*, May 12, 1855, 2.

116. Kittredge was a forty-niner who came to San Francisco from Panama on the same boat as Collis P. Huntington, the man who later ran the Central Pacific Railroad. Starting in the 1860s, the passengers celebrated the anniversary of their arrival with an annual dinner that included reproductions of the meals on board the *Humboldt*, described thusly: ". . . the company gave themselves up to the most unrestrained reproduction of the scenes and incidents of that famous and wonderfully quick voyage of one hundred and two days. Jerked beef, with all of its verminous metamorphoses, hard tack, and a sulpheretted fluid called water, both of which were so freighted with entomological strength and exhibitions; the big pot of greasy coffee, the Committees of protest, investigation and indignation . . . with the infinite memories of strategy, joke and mischief common to three hundred and sixty-eight souls thus employed for one hundred and two days." ("A Pioneer Party," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 3, 1864, 2).

117. Alonzo Phelps *Contemporary Biography of California's representative men, with contributions from distinguished scholars and scientists*, by Alonzo Phelps: Volume 2 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft, 1882), 286–87.

118. "Site Of Hotel Once Orchard Of Blacksmith," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 29, 1920, F8.

119. "Married," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 26, 1855, 3.

120. "The Streets of San Francisco," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 27, 1928, 4.

121. Cora Older, *San Francisco: Magic City* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1961), 31.

122. FoundSF, Neighborhood, Tenderloin, St. Ignatius College 1850s.

123. "Riptides," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 10, 1948, excerpted in Sunday Datebook, *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 2008, 54.

124. FoundSF, Neighborhood, Tenderloin, St. Ignatius College 1850s. The banker's name is spelled Marzion and Marziou in the 1854 and 1856 city directories.

125. Mark Kurlansky *The Basque History of the World* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 65-79.

126. The Union Sunday School was reported to have an average attendance of 28 pupils each Sunday. ("Sunday School Anniversary," *Daily Alta California*, July 12, 1855), 1.

127. Cora Older *San Francisco: Magic City*, 31; "Father Maraschi Breathes His Last," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 19, 1897, 16; "Jesuits Celebrate Their Fiftieth Anniversary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 15, 1905, 44.

128. Cora Older *San Francisco: Magic City*, 31-32.

129. "San Francisco in 1856," *San Francisco News Letter*, 1925, reproduced in the Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, (http://www.stmuseum.net/hist1/56hist.html).

130. *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing 1856* (San Francisco: Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, 1856), 136; *Colville's San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco, Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856), 193.

131. *Colville's San Francisco Directory for the year Commencing 1856*, (San Francisco, Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856).

132. Of course, this underestimated the actual population because usually only the head of the household was listed, unless one or more adult children still living at home were employed, or unless there were boarders. The 1854 San Francisco City Directory was the first one to attempt a complete listing of single or married heads of households in San Francisco, even though it fell short of that goal. But the directories published from 1856 on were more accurate.

133. Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission To Metropolis* (Berkeley, CA: Howell-North Books, 1966), 58-78.

134. "Real Estate," *Daily Alta California*, August 18, 1856, 2. St. Mark's Place was later renamed Morton Street when drayage company owner John Morton built a hotel in which the rear faced the thoroughfare. It became well known as a brothel alley from 1869 through1896. It is now called Maiden Lane and is part of the Union Square shopping district. ("Board of Supervisors," *Daily Alta California*, May 25, 1869, 1; "St. Mark's Place," *San Francisco Call*, November 19, 1895, 6; "To Vacate Their Dens," *San Francisco Call*, February 24, 1896, 14; "Must Vacate Morton Street," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 24, 1896, 12; Peter M. Field, "Maiden Lane: The Real Story," in FoundSF, Neighborhoods, Maiden Lane). The question of what comprised the boundaries of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first century neighborhood now known as the Tenderloin has dogged the district from the early 1850s to this day. For example, one article published in this year (1856) defined St. Ann's Valley as bordered by Dupont on the east, the Mission Road on the south, the line of hills between Geary and Post on the north, and Yerba Buena Cemetery (that is, McAllister Street) on the west. ("The Earthquake Yesterday – Incidents, Accidents, etc.," *San Francisco Daily Herald*, February 16, 1856, 2). One of Bancroft's volumes has a map

showing the valley's eastern boundary at Kearny Street and northern boundary between Sutter and Bush. (Hubert H. Bancroft *Bancroft's Works* Vol XXXIII, 169. See also "Lost and Found," *Daily Alta California*, July 8, 1852, 3 and "Wanted," *Daily Alta California*, February 1, 1853, 3 for advertisements also extending St. Ann's Valley's eastern boundary to Kearny. However, the most objective evidence for St. Ann's Valley's actual physical boundaries are the maps of the U. S. Coast Survey of 1852 and 1857. These were topographic surveys with elevation lines that clearly defined the valley (as described in the beginning of this article). Nonetheless, while this may serve as a geographically accurate definition of the neighborhood's early boundaries, the tendency of usage to trump geography demands acknowledgment that in the minds of many, St. Ann's Valley spilled over its surrounding hills much like an oversized steak flopped over the edges of its serving platter. Since newspapers selling advertising space to people who were selling property in St. Ann's Valley frequently extolled the area's virtues, it's not surprising that these papers were flexible enough to accommodate their advertisers' ideas about the valley's extent.

135. San Francisco City Directories, 1858–60. Specifically, the numbers of listings were as follows: 17 in 1854, 106 in 1856 (an increase of 89), 158 in 1858 (an increase of 52), 174 in 1859 (an increase of 16), and 169 in 1860 (a decrease of 5).

136. Among ads offering real estate or housing for sale, lease, or rent, there were at least four that labeled the location as St. Ann's Valley.

137. "Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, October 19, 1856, 3; Peter M. Field, "Maiden Lane: The Real Story," *The Argonaut*, 27:1, Summer 2016, 56–91.

138. "Jesuits Celebrate Their Fiftieth Anniversary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 15, 1905, 44.

139. "Night School," *Daily Alta California*, November 26, 1857, 4.

140. "Jesuits Celebrate Their Fiftieth Anniversary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 15, 1905, 44.

141. *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing 1856* (San Francisco: Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, 1856).

142. "Minor Municipal Necessities," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 12, 1856, 2.

143. *Colville's San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856), 32. French pioneers in California were a significant presence in St. Ann's Valley from at least as far back as 1855 ("Recorder's Court," *Daily Alta California*, March 6, 1855, 3) up through 1876 when St. Ann's Garden, a French-owned plant nursery, was displaced by the erection of the St. Ann's Building at Powell and Eddy Streets.

144. San Francisco City Directory, for the Year Commencing 1856,42, 79, 86; *Colville's San Francisco Directory*, (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856), 32, 58, 106, 140, 182, 226.

145. *Colville's San Francisco Directory*, (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856), 166. Like moving the stone blocks to build the Egyptian pyramids, one can only conjecture how Owens moved the yacht six-and-a-half blocks from his house in the sand dunes of St. Ann's Valley, which at that time had no streets or roads, to the nearest paved surface, which was the Mission Toll Road.

146. *Lecount and Strong's San Francisco City Directory for 1854* (San Francisco: *San Francisco Herald*, 1854); *Colville's San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco, Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856).

147. *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing 1856* (San Francisco: Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, 1856)..

148. Lewis Publishing Co. *The Bay of San Francisco: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and Its Suburban Cities: A History* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892), 401–03.

149 U. S. Census, 1850, on ancestry.com.

150 Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco 1846–56: From Hamlet To City*, 20, 70-71, 83, 86, 96-98.

151. San Francisco City Directories, 1859–63.

152. *Colville's San Francisco Directory*, (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856), 162.

153. U. S. Census, 1850, on ancestry.com.

154. Lewis Publishing Co. *San Francisco: The Metropolis of the Pacific Coast and Its Suburban Cities: A History,* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1892), 488–89.

155. *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing 1856*, (San Francisco: Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, 1856), 3; *Colville's San Francisco Directory* (San Francisco: Monson, Valentine & Co., 1856), 162.

156. San Francisco city directories, 1850–72.

157. He owned property and houses, which he leased out. ("To Let—For Sale," *Daily Alta California*, March 19, 1853, 3; "To Let—For Sale," *Daily Alta California*, March 21, 1853, 3).

158. "Recorder's Court," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 19, 1852, 2.

159. "The Courts," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 6, 1853, 2.

160. He had children, got elected alderman, and lived in a succession of several buildings in the same location on Market Street up to the 1890s. (U. S. Census of 1860, on ancestry.com; *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing 1856* (San Francisco: Harris, Bogardus and Labatt, 1856).

161. "Vigilance Committee Case," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 21, 1860, 5.

162. "Vigilance Trial in San Francisco," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 23, 1860, 3.

163. "San Francisco Pueblo Papers," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 18, 1856, 2; Oscar Lewis *San Francisco: Mission To Metropolis* (Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1966), 104–06.

164. "Vigilance Committee Case," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 21, 1860, 5.

165. "The A. A. Green Case," *Daily Alta California*, June 7, 1878, 1.

166. "By Telegraph to the Union," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 29, 1856, 2.

167. According to a Western Neighborhood Projects article, the Greens owned farm land in Stern Grove, and this is where Alfred Green may have rusticated during his exile by the Committee of Vigilance.

168. "Green vs. Palmer, Cook & Co.," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 5, 1856, 2; "Vigilance Committee Case," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 21, 1860, 5. While this was going on, William was excavating his Market Street lot and unearthed a wooden box containing the body of a man, estimated to have been buried there around six months. ("Resume of San Francisco News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 9, 1856, 3).

169. "Resume of San Francisco News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 19, 1857, 3.

170. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, February 21, 1857, 3.

171. "Political," *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 25, 1857, 1.

172. "The Bolton and Barron Claim," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, January 26, 1859, 2.

173. George R. Stewart, *Committee of Vigilance: Revolution in San Francisco, 1851* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964), 136–37. The second e in Metcalfe was dropped from his later listings.

174. "Two Old Buildings," *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 17, 1890, 10; San Francisco City Directories, 1856–58; United States Census, 1860, on ancestry.com.

175. "Market Street," *Daily Alta California*, January 24, 1857, 2.

176. "The People's Ticket Complete," *Daily Alta California*, September 16, 1856, 2.

177. "Address of the People's Nominating Committee," *Daily Alta California*, August 25, 1857, 2; "People's Nominations," *Daily Alta California*, August 25, 1857, 2.

178. "The People's Ticket Complete," *Daily Alta California*, September 16, 1856, 2.

179. "Robbery in St. Ann's Valley," *Daily Alta California*, August 14, 1857, 2; "Identified as One of the Plaza Thieves," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, August 14, 1857, 3.

180. "Resume of San Francisco News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 15, 1857, 2.

181. "Court Proceedings," *Daily Alta California*," October 14, 1857, 1; "Court Proceedings," *Daily Alta California*, October 31, 1857, 1.

182. "Another Case of Garroting," *Daily Alta California*, August 29, 1857, 2.

183. Many people considered St. Mark's Place to be part of St. Ann's Valley.

184. "Robbery in the U.S. Mint," *Daily Alta California*, August 20, 1857, 2.

185. "Increasing His Store," *Daily Alta California*, November 20, 1857, 2.

186. "Arrest for Insanity," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 26, 1857, 3. This version of the story has him as a homeless person arrested in a house in the valley. Another version has him arrested as an insane person wandering the hills around St. Ann's Valley. ("Insane," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 27, 1857, 3).

187. "Unfeminine," *Daily Alta California*, April 1, 1857, 3.

188. "Serious Accident," *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1857, 2.

189. "Special Notices," *Daily Alta California*, December 22, 1857, 2.

190. "Anniversary Admission Celebration," *San Francisco Bulletin*, September 9, 1857, 1.

191. "Correspondence," *Daily Alta California*, November 1, 1857, 2. A "benefit performance" generally meant that a theater would be engaged in which the intended recipient of the largesse would perform, with the profits from ticket sales going entirely to him or her.

192. "Amusements," *Daily Alta California*, November 3, 1857, 2; "Amusements," *Daily Alta California*, November 4, 1857, 2.

193. "Pardon of Lafuente," *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 30, 1857, 3.

194. "Legal Intelligence," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, October 17, 1857, 3.

195. "New Suit Commenced," *Daily Alta California*, March 5, 1857, 4.

196. "St. Mary's Hall," *Daily Alta California*, June 4, 1857, 2.

197. "Educational," *Daily Alta California*, August 6, 1853, 1.

198. "Thy Will Be Done," *Marysville Daily Herald*, December 2, 1856, 2.

199. "Protestant Episcopal Convention," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 7, 1857, 2; Henry G. Langley San Francisco Directory for the year 1858 (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1858), 40.

200. "An Affecting Scene," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 17, 1859, 3; *Daily Alta California*, January 14, 1857, 1.

201. "City Items," *Daily Alta California*, October 11, 1860, 1.

202. "Dr. Ver Mehr's School to be Rebuilt," *Daily Alta California*, October 12, 1859, 1.

203. Henry G. Langley San Francisco Directory for the Year 1858 (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1858).

204. However, these weren't the big cattle spreads that most Americans think of when they see the word *ranch*. The big California ranchos, mostly operated by the missions and, later, by a small number of Spanish and Mexican land grantees before the American era, were disappearing as Yankee settlers preempted the Californios' land claims. (In fact, many of the Californios' claims from the Mexican era were found to have been fraudulently awarded in violation of Mexican law.) Instead, the Yankee ranches in San Francisco were typically never more than a block in size, and usually no larger than a 50-vara lot. A 50-vara lot is the same size as the Clift Hotel on the southeast corner of Geary and Taylor or the old NBC Radio Studios on the northeast corner of Taylor and Ellis or the Ambassador Hotel on the southwest corner of Mason and Eddy or the Cadillac Hotel on the northeast corner of Eddy and Leavenworth. Another way to conceptualize it is to think of it as 1/6 of a Tenderloin block, since each block was originally divided into six squares (as each 50-vara lot was called), each one measuring 137? x 137? feet, with two lots on each side of every north-south street and three lots on each side of every east–west street. In other words, most Tenderloin blocks were rectangular with a length of three 50-vara lots and a width of two 50-vara lots. The earliest development of the future Tenderloin in the late 1840s and early 1850s was by pioneers who bought one or two 50-vara lots on which to build their homes, and who lived in them in this isolated area. They ranched or farmed there or worked in town. Development in the later 1850s through the mid-1870s was largely accomplished by four types of 50-ara lot owners. One group was investors who subdivided each square into lots that they sold to builders, businesses, or aspiring homeowners who then built and rented or sold or occupied the buildings as residences or small businesses or both. Another group leased the lots either as a whole or in subdivisions to builders who then constructed buildings that they then sold or leased for occupancy while the original lot owners continued to collect ground rents. Still another group built and occupied mansions surrounded by gardens, usually on corner 50-vara lots. Yet another group built its own residential developments on its 50-vara lots and rented or leased them to individual tenants. Many of the lots went through several owners before any structures were built on them as speculators bet on rising property values. But many of the earliest settlers chose to build homes and live on their lots—a precaution against squatters—such as Andrew Louderback, Cyril V. Grey, Nathaniel Lane, John Sullivan, James K. Prior, and Lorin Davis. The 50-vara lots developed by Louderback and Prior are still intact today—Louderback's is the site of the Cadillac Hotel and Prior's is the site of the Ambassador Hotel.

205. Market Street became a center of San Francisco's stonecutting industry while the Yerba Buena Cemetery was open for interments on the triangular plot of land bordered by Market, McAllister, and Larkin streets between 1850 and 1861. ("San Francisco's Thoroughfares: Market Street," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 29, 1920, F7; Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac*, Revised Edition, San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1995, 107). For example, one of Williams family's competitors operated a marble yard at 811 Market, across from Stockton Street, just a block northeast of the Williams' yard. ("Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, March 20, 1869, 3).

206. San Francisco city directories, 1856–58. In nineteenth century usage, a wharfinger was someone who owned a wharf or was privately hired or, in the case of publicly owned wharves, appointed to manage the wharf and its activities.

207. "Shippers and Consignees Are hereby Notified . . .," *Daily Alta California*, June 10, 1857, 4.

208. Cora Older *San Francisco: Magic City* (New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1961). 212.

209. Panoramic View of San Francisco—No.10. Taken from the Corner of Sacramento and Taylor Sts. (Showing St. Ann Valley; on verso) (http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/tf9k4012w2) (1905.02008) The attribution to Charles L. Weed and the date of 1858 are from the verso of the photograph. Weed was listed in the June 1859 city directory as residing at Sacramento and Taylor streets (Henry G. Langley, *The San Francisco Directory for the year commencing June, 1859*, San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1859, 279), though he wasn't listed in the 1858 or 1860 directories. Thus, he could have moved to that address any time after the publication of the 1858 directory, most likely after the middle of the year since directories were generally published between April and October. (The 1858 directory omits to mention its month of publication.)

210. Henry G. Langley San Francisco Directory for the year 1858 (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1858), 296.

211. "City Of San Francisco and Its Vicinity," 1857, in Sally B. Woodbridge *San Francisco in Maps and Views* (New York, Rizzoli, 2006), 58–60.

212. "By Telegraph to the Union," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 8, 1858, 2.

213. This may have been Sydney C. Herbert, a surveyor, or Herbert V. Herbert, his clerk, who were listed in the city directories as living on Powell near Ellis from 1861 through 1863. Henry was listed in 1864 around the corner on Eddy Place, a small alley running south off Eddy Street between Powell and Mason.

214. "Fire in St. Ann's Valley," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, November 4, 1858, 3.

215. "Fire in San Francisco," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 10, 1858, 3.

216. "Fire Last Evening," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, December 8, 1858, 3.

217. "Burned to Death," *Sacramento Daily Union*, December 27, 1858, 3.

218. "Accident from Careless Use of a Pistol," *Daily Alta California*, January 1, 1858, 2.

219. "Attempt at Burglary," *Daily Alta California* February 9, 1858, 2.

220. "Sacrilegious," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 28, 1858, 2.

221. "By Telegraph to the Union," *Sacramento Daily Union*, November 16, 1858, 2.

222. Ludovic Galley was a San Francisco wholesaler (called a commission merchant in the nineteenth century) who imported French wines, liquors, and foods. Though he had a wife in France, he lived for several years with Melantine Gerault, a much younger French woman, on the southwest corner of Turk and Taylor Streets. When he received word that his wife was on her way to join him, he packed Gerault off to France. But by the time her ship laid over at a Mexican port, she had discovered she was pregnant with their child and returned immediately to San Francisco to ask for support. But his repeated rebuffs finally drove her to stab him with a knife. ("Assassination Of Monsieur Galley," *Daily Alta California*, May 13, 1858, 2). He eventually recovered and she was released from jail and the charges dismissed when he hid from the police for weeks in order to keep the issue from going to trial. It kept resurfacing though, with the newspapers condemning his ungentlemanly behavior toward the young woman. ("Flying from the Grand Jury," *Daily Alta California*, June 25, 1858, 2; "San Francisco Grand Jury," *Sacramento Daily Union*, August 2, 1858, 1). Mme. Galley arrived in San Francisco in the middle of this drama, and she and her husband left San Francisco to return to France. However, Galley died from complications from the stabbing while the ship was laid over in Acapulco. Mme. Galley took his remains to Havre, France, where she had a vault constructed for two, installed his coffin in it, attended mass the next morning, and then went to a farm where she killed herself under an ash tree with a pistol shot to the head ("Tragic Suicide of Madame Galley, formerly of San Francisco," *Daily Alta California*, November 19, 1859, 1).

223. "Résumé of San Francisco News," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 11, 1858, 3.

224. Rand Richards, *Historic Walks in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Heritage House Publishers, 2002), 279–80.

225. Henry G. Langley San Francisco Directory for the year 1858 (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1858), 361.

226. "City Items," *Daily Alta California*, February 8, 1858, 2.

227. The railroad, which was built by the Union Pacific and Central Pacific companies with massive federal subsidies of cash and land, had a vastly different effect on the prosperity of San Francisco and the West than what was predicted by its promoters when the East used it to flood the West with cheaper goods than could be manufactured by California firms, thus helping trigger a major economic depression in California. (Oscar Lewis, *San Francisco: Mission To Metropolis*, Berkeley: Howell-North Books, 1966, 124).

228. "The Pacific Railroad Convention," *Sacramento Daily Union*, September 23, 1859, 1.

229. Henry G. Langley, *San Francisco City Directory for the Year Commencing July, 1860*, (San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1860), 422.

230. "Nominating Committee," *Daily Alta California*, July 28, 1858, 1.

231. "To the People's Reform Nominating Committee of 1857," *Daily Alta California*, July 28, 1858, 1.

232. "Report of Grand Jury," *Daily Alta California*, October 3, 1858, 1.

233. This was the reform administration of Ephraim Willard Burr, who was elected mayor of San Francisco on the People's Party ticket during the period of the second Committee of Vigilance, serving from November 15, 1856 to October 3, 1859. He also organized and administered the San Francisco Accumulating Fund, the city's first savings bank (Gladys Hansen, *San Francisco Almanac*, San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1995, 115–17).

234. "The Celebration—Continued," *Daily Alta California*, September 30, 1858, 1. An illumination was the lighting up of every available light source—be it candle, oil, or gas—at night to celebrate an event. In this case it was lighting up every building in San Francisco so that an observer on top of Nob Hill viewed a 360-degree panorama of lighted buildings—except for a black hole where St. Ann's Valley was located. At other times there were illuminations of yachts on the bay, illuminations of parade routes, illuminations to welcome distinguished visitors arriving by ferry or ship, or for any other imaginable reason. This was a dramatic effect in the era before ambient light from gas and electric streetlights, advertising signs, indoor electric lighting, and motor vehicle lights blotted out the night sky.

235. Henry G. Langley, *San Francisco City Directory for the Year 1859*, (San Francisco: S. D. Valentine & Sons, 1859) The author's favorite listing is Philip Hazard, whose occupation was listed as "dentist and professor of dancing." Monsieur Hazard came to New York from France in 1834 when he was a young man, listing his occupation as a dancer. ("District of New York—Port of New York," manifest found on ancestry.com, "New York, 1820–50 Passenger and Immigration Lists"). In the early 1850s, he was a wholesaler in San Francisco specializing in the importation of French wines, liquors, and other goods ("New Advertisements," *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1851, 3). He conducted dancing classes in the middle of the decade ("Mr. Hazard's Next Soiree," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 27, 1857, 1) and became a dentist. He apparently prospered, because around 1859 he moved into the very respectable boarding house of the Swearingen family on the south side of Ellis between Stockton and Powell, across from John Sullivan's home. Just how respectable an abode this was is shown by the marriage of the Swearingens' daughter, Sue Virginia, to California Supreme Court justice Stephen J. Field that year, and his subsequent residence there ("Marriages," *Daily Alta California*, June 4, 1859, 2; *San Francisco Examiner*, September 30, 1883, 11).

236. "Interesting Law Suit," *Daily Alta California*, May 28, 1859, 1. There isn't any junction of Market, Stockton, and O'Farrell Streets. However, there is a junction of Market, Stockton, and Ellis, and this matches the two 50-vara lots Findla was granted by John Geary (Alfred Wheeler, *San Francisco Land Titles 1852 . . .* Schedule B, San Francisco: Alta California Steam Printing Establishment, 1852, on sfgenealogy.com.; "Interesting Law Suit," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 28, 1859, 1). The Findla lots were numbers 924 and 926, one located on the south side of Ellis between Market and Powell, and the other adjoining it to the east, that is, the gore or northwest corner of Market and Ellis streets.

237. "Fire Districts," *Daily Alta California*, May 27, 1852, 2.

238. "Protection against Fire in St. Ann's Valley," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 30, 1859, 3.

239. "Destructive Fire in St. Ann's Valley," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 28, 1859, 3.

240. "Fire—Three Houses Burned," *San Francisco Herald*, March 28, 1859, 3.

241. "New Engine Company in San Francisco," *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 20, 1859, 2.

242. Later city directories listed it as the Independence Fire Company.

243. "St. Ann's Valley Engine Company," *Sacramento Daily Union*, May 9, 1859, 2.

244. "The St. Ann's Valley Engine Company," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, May 7, 1859, 3; Henry G. Langley, *San Francisco City Directory For The Year 1859* (San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1859), 377.

245. "Protection against Fire in St. Ann's Valley," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 30, 1859, 3.

246. "Board of Supervisors," *Daily Alta California*, December 29, 1859, 1.

247. Walter Rice, Ph. D. and Emiliano Echeverria, *When Steam Ran on the Streets of San Francisco*, (Forty Fort, PA: Harold E. Cox, 2002), 11–12.

248. "Auction Sales," *Daily Alta California*, April 8, 1861, 3.

249. For example, see "The City Ten Years Hence," *Los Angeles Herald*, December 22, 1860, 1.

250. Henry G. Langley S*an Francisco City Directory for the Year commencing September, 1861* (San Francisco: Valentine & Co., 1861), 241, 453; "Hibernia Savings And Loan Society," *Daily Evening Bulletin*, April 14, 1859, 3.

251. "John Sullivan's Estate," *San Francisco Call*, December 28, 1895, 5.

252. "Attempted Robbery," *Daily Alta California*, May 4, 1859, 2.

253. "Robbery," *Daily Alta California*, June 15, 1859, 2.

254. "More Knave than Fool," *Daily Alta California*, November 12, 1859, 2.

255. "Street Changes in San Francisco," *Daily Alta California*, March 10, 1869, 2.

256. "The Insider," *San Francisco Call*, May 24, 1907, 6.

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