

Alameda

A Geographical History
by
Imelda Merlin



Friends of the Alameda Free Library
Alameda Museum
Alameda, California

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Cover picture: Fernside Oaks, Cohen Estate, ca. 1900.

FOREWORD

My initial purpose in writing this book was to satisfy a partial requirement for a Master's Degree in Geography from the University of California in Berkeley. But, fortunate is the student who enjoys the subject of his research.

This slim volume is essentially the original manuscript, except for minor changes in the interest of greater accuracy, which was approved in 1964 by Drs. James Parsons, Gunther Barth and the late Carl Sauer. That it is being published now, perhaps as a response to a new awareness of and interest in our past, is due to the efforts of the "Friends of the Alameda Free Library" who have made a project of getting my thesis into print.

I wish to thank the members of this organization and all others, whose continued interest and perseverance have made this publication possible.

Imelda Merlin

April, 1977

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer wishes to acknowledge her indebtedness to the many individuals and institutions who gave substantial assistance in assembling much of the material treated in this thesis.

Particular thanks are due to Dr. Clarence J. Glacken for suggesting the topic. The writer also greatly appreciates the interest and support rendered by the staff of the Alameda Free Library, especially Mrs. Hendrine Kleinjan, reference librarian, and Mrs. Myrtle Richards, curator of the Alameda Historical Society. The Engineers' and other departments at the Alameda City Hall supplied valuable maps and information on the historical development of the city. The writer owes much to Messrs. Leland Brooks, Herman Kihn, and Rudolph Steinmetz of the Alameda Historical Society for their first-hand accounts covering much of Alameda's history, and to Mrs. Carol Heche for the use of her grandfather's diary.

Drs. Carl O. Sauer, James J. Parsons and Gunther Barth, members of the thesis committee, deserve special thanks for their painstaking evaluation and helpful criticism during the course of the writing. Also deserving of acknowledgement are the many friends and colleagues who assisted with photography and maps and offered suggestions useful to the development of the theme.

I.M., 1964

Foreword to the fifth (ebook) edition:

Ms. Merlin had transferred copyright to the Alameda Free Library, which had transferred it to the Alameda Museum. Publishing a new physical edition was evaluated, but the cost exceeded expected the return. Hence it was decided to make the book available on-line on the museum website. This book may not be published, either in whole or in part, for profit nor for free. However, it may be quoted for research, provided the source is identified.

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The text is exactly as was originally written by Imelda Merlin, with the following exceptions:

- change in font, which resulted in some lines ending on a different page number
- added Alameda Museum to the cover page
- cover picture credits on copyright page
- p7 – lasts (instead of last)
- p 31 – known (instead of know)
- p 32 – grocery store (instead of grocery story)
- p 35 – of a (instead of ofa)
- p 37 – Estuary (instead of Esturary)
- p 45 – Fig 12; inserted a color scan version of the Joseph Lee painting (commemorating the first San Francisco and Alameda Railroad train) instead of the black and white picture in the original book.
- p 46 – Crowds (instead of Crowdes)
- p 54 – could not (instead of could no); municipal (instead of municpal)
- p 56 – six Americans (instead of six American)
- p 66 – removed ‘not a school’ (was doubled)
- p 69 – replaced photo picture with scan of the original picture
- p 72 – Bay Farm Island (instead of Bay Fram Island)
- p 77 – enterprising (instead of interprising)
- p 83 – shipping (instead of shpping)
- p 88 – 1872 (instead of 1972, The Encinal stopped appearing by the early 1900s)

Myrna van Lunteren, Vice-President of the Board of the Alameda Museum,
January-November, 2019.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Well Log, Alameda High School	4
2. Bay Area Map	6
3. “An almost tropical luxuriance of growth”	7
4. Bay Area Meteorological Statistics for 1955	10-11
5. “The Encinal,” 1850	12
6. “The foliage does not obscure their muscular look.”	13
7. Oak trees “running away.”	14
8. Map showing live oaks and marsh.....	15
9. Encinal, 1852	25
10. Encinal, 1869	30
11. House built in France and shipped around the Horn.	32
12. Artist’s conception of Cohen’s wharf	39
13. Park Street was the main business district	39
14. Rail Transportation, 1887	41
15. Ferry boat the <u>Newark</u>	42
16. One of the last ferries	47
17. Destinations of Alameda Commuters	48
18. Spacious lawns, original live oaks	58
19. “Beautiful houses,” enhanced by planting	58
20. Sample lot sizes, and locations of tracts	60
21. Sample lot sizes, 1880-1903	61
22. Changes in names of Alameda Streets	64
23. The home of Peter White	69
24. Encinal Yacht Club	69
25. The famous Neptune Beach in 1925	70
27. Clark and Sons Pottery Works	76
28. Gardens north of Lincoln Avenue	79
29. Alaska Packers Fleet at anchor.....	84
30. A typical “Square-rigger”	85
31. The <u>Pacific Queen</u>	86
32. Encinal Terminals	87
33. New Webster Street Tube completed	91
34. Alameda, 1963	95
35. Existing Major Streets and Land Uses	97
36. 1960 Average Daily Traffic Volumes	98

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, all 3x5 photographs are taken from the following sources:

3, 6, 7, 13, 18, 19, 24, and 27 are from Irvine; 12, 15, 16, 28, 29, 30, and 31 are from Shaw and Fisher; 8, 11, 23, 25, and the cover photograph are from the files of the Alameda Historical Society.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	Page
I. THE PHYSICAL SETTING	1
1. Flora and Fauna	3
II. ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENT	16
1. Alameda Mounds	19
III. FROM SPANISH DONOS TO ANGLO-SAXONS	22
1. The Peralta Family	22
2. Chipman and Auginbaugh	23
3. Squatters, "Sharks," and Lawsuits	27
IV. THE ENCINAL'S THREE VILLAGES.....	31
1. The Town of Alameda.....	31
2. "Encinal and Lands Adjacent"	35
3. "Peralta Landing," or "Woodstock"	35
V. COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION	38
1. Alameda's First Newspaper	38
2. The Two Railroads	40
3. The Horse Cars	44
4. Ferryboats on San Francisco Bay	45
VI. ALAMEDA'S SECOND INCORPORATION	49
VII. TRACTS AND STREETS.....	56
1. Real Estate	56
2. Street Improvements.....	59
3. Nomenclature	65
VIII. THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION	67
1. Ethnic Composition of "Old Alameda"	67
2. Central Alameda	67
3. The Germans.....	67
4. West of Webster Street	68
5. The Chinese	71
6. The Japanese.....	72
7. The Negroes	75
IX. ALAMEDA INDUSTRY	76
1. Alameda Agriculture	76
2. Oysters.....	79
3. Pottery, Vegetable Oils and Petroleum	81
4. Miscellaneous.....	82
5. Shipping and Shipbuilding	83
X. MAN AS MODIFIER OF THE PHYSICAL SCENE	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	99



INTRODUCTION

The incorporated City of Alameda, California, with an estimate 1963 population of 64,000, is coterminous with the township of Alameda. Included in it are the main island, Bay Farm Island, and Government Island. Alameda Island lies on the east side of San Francisco Bay, roughly parallel to Oakland. Before 1902 it was a peninsula, connected to the mainland by a mile-wide neck of marshy ground. In that year, the completion of the Tidal Canal, a federal harbor improvement project started in 1874, severed Alameda from the east shore of San Francisco Bay. Today three bridges and two tubes furnish access routes between Oakland and Alameda.

Prior to the earliest filling operations, which were begun before 1870, the peninsula of Alameda contained some 2,200 acres of high ground and half as much of marsh. As a result of various filling projects modern Alameda now comprises approximately two and one-half times as great an area as in 1850.

The island of Alameda is east-west oriented, originally measured some 4½ by 1½ miles, and was an appendage to the East Bay Coastal Plain. It lies opposite to the city of San Francisco, about seven miles distant across the bay. As part of Luis Peralta's Rancho San Antonio, the peninsula of Alameda was first known as "Bolsa de San Antonio." Reportedly because it gave the impression of a dangling purse when viewed from the Contra Costa Hills to the east. More often, however, by reason of its many live oaks, it was referred to as "Encinal de San Antonio," or simply "The Encinal." Especially was this true before 1872, when the entire peninsula was incorporated under a single administration. At that time the name "Alameda" was adopted. Formerly it had applied only to that small portion of the Encinal east of Versailles Avenue which had been incorporated in 1854.

The literal meaning of "Alameda" in Spanish is "a grove or lane of poplar trees." It is uncertain whether this choice of name was a matter of poetic license or whether it demonstrated ignorance of the meaning of the Spanish word. In any event, it is doubtful that there ever was an indigenous cottonwood or poplar tree on the peninsula (Encinal, Nov. 27, 1869).

Alameda has become completely built up, almost solidly a residential tract except for a few industries located along the Estuary. From a bayside oak grove occupied first by Indians and then by a Spanish cattle ranch, the peninsula was metamorphosed during the latter part of the nineteenth century into an area of farms and truck gardens, and finally into a "bedroom city."

Geographically, Alameda occupies a unique place among East Bay cities. Because it was virtually cut off from the mainland by the Estuary and the

marsh, water transportation assumed a peculiarly important function in the city's early development. As great a role, it may be said, was played by the individuals who developed the transportation system and platted the lands of the Encinal and placed them on the market amidst problems of disputed ownership that prevailed during the first two decades and more of Alameda's growth. The establishment of manufacturing industries and the incorporation of a town government were intimately tied up with the motives of the early city fathers and the background of the different ethnic groups who came to settle there.

Characterized by a sunnier bayshore location away from the fog belt, sheltered by handsome groves of live oak, and offering reasonable security of titles in land, Alameda gained early recognition as a desirable site for homes. The limited space available for expansion as compared with other cities on the Bay has influenced its evolution. These and other topics relevant to the cultural landscape of Alameda, especially during its first fifty years, occupy the main body of this study of the historical geography of a California city.

I. THE PHYSICAL SETTING

The island of Alameda, once a peninsula, occupies an unusual position in regard to soil and climate and in its relation to the cities on the mainland. It is an extension of the East Bay Coastal Plain but separated from it by a wide channel that is today crossed by three bridges and two tunnels (see aerial photo frontispiece). It was formed by the combined action of river, wave, and wind, having been alternately under water and above sea level during former geologic eras. At its highest point the island is scarcely 29 feet above the mean level of high tide. Its top geologic horizon, the Merritt sand, which is underlain by the finer-textured Alameda formation, is composed of slightly coherent, fine-grained sand to firm, clayey sand containing bands and stringers of sandy clay and clay (Radbruch). One or two feet of loose sand cover the surface while farther down the sand becomes firmer and more consolidated with the amount of clay in the sand increasing. A well-boring made at the highest point in Alameda shows 72 feet of sand (Fig. 1). Along the south side of the island the sand grains of the Merritt formation are rounded and frosted from reworking by the wind. Toward the north side the silt content increases and the sand tends to have a greater water-holding capacity (*Ibid.*). This well-sorted sand shows evidence of wind-blown origin while the well-sorted, loess-like silt along the northern slope of the ridge that runs lengthwise through Alameda suggests glacial conditions (Louderback, p. 88).

Topographically, the peninsula of Alameda was a nearly level plain with an abrupt and well-defined water front on the south or bay side, but merging into a swamp on its north side along San Antonio Creek.

The unconsolidated Merritt sand, formed largely from particles eroded off the granite, serpentine, shales and sandstones of the Oakland Hills, is the parent material of the island's soils, known as Antioch sand and Antioch sandy loam. A long history of weathering has resulted in the downward transport of its finer fractions of silt and clay to form a more or less impermeable claypan or hardpan layer at depths varying between two and twenty feet. The water table stands from five to twelve feet below the surface depending on the elevation of the surface. The soil, which contains very little humus except at the sites of Indian mounds, is neutral to slightly alkaline with a pH reaction of about 7.5 (Byrne). The Antioch loamy sand, of brown to light-brown color to slightly reddish-brown in medium-textured sand, has enough fine material in it to give it a loamy texture and is therefore surprisingly retentive of water for such a light soil. In places this loamy sand grades at twelve to eighteen inches into a lighter brown of

Fig. 1 Well log, Alameda High School

	<u>Feet</u>
Sand	72
Blue clay	72 to 95
Sand, shells and blue clay	95 to 97
Yellow clay	97 to 102
Blue clay	102 to 116
Yellow clay	116 to 117
Cement gravel	117 to 118
Yellow clay	118 to 145
Hard cement gravel	145 to 150
Yellow clay	150 to 180
Bluish clay	180 to 198
Yellow clay	198 to 228
Sandy sediment	228 to 234
Yellow clay	234 to 270
Packed sand	270 to 278
Sand and gravel	278 to 295
Yellow clay	295 to 305
Blue clay	305 to 325

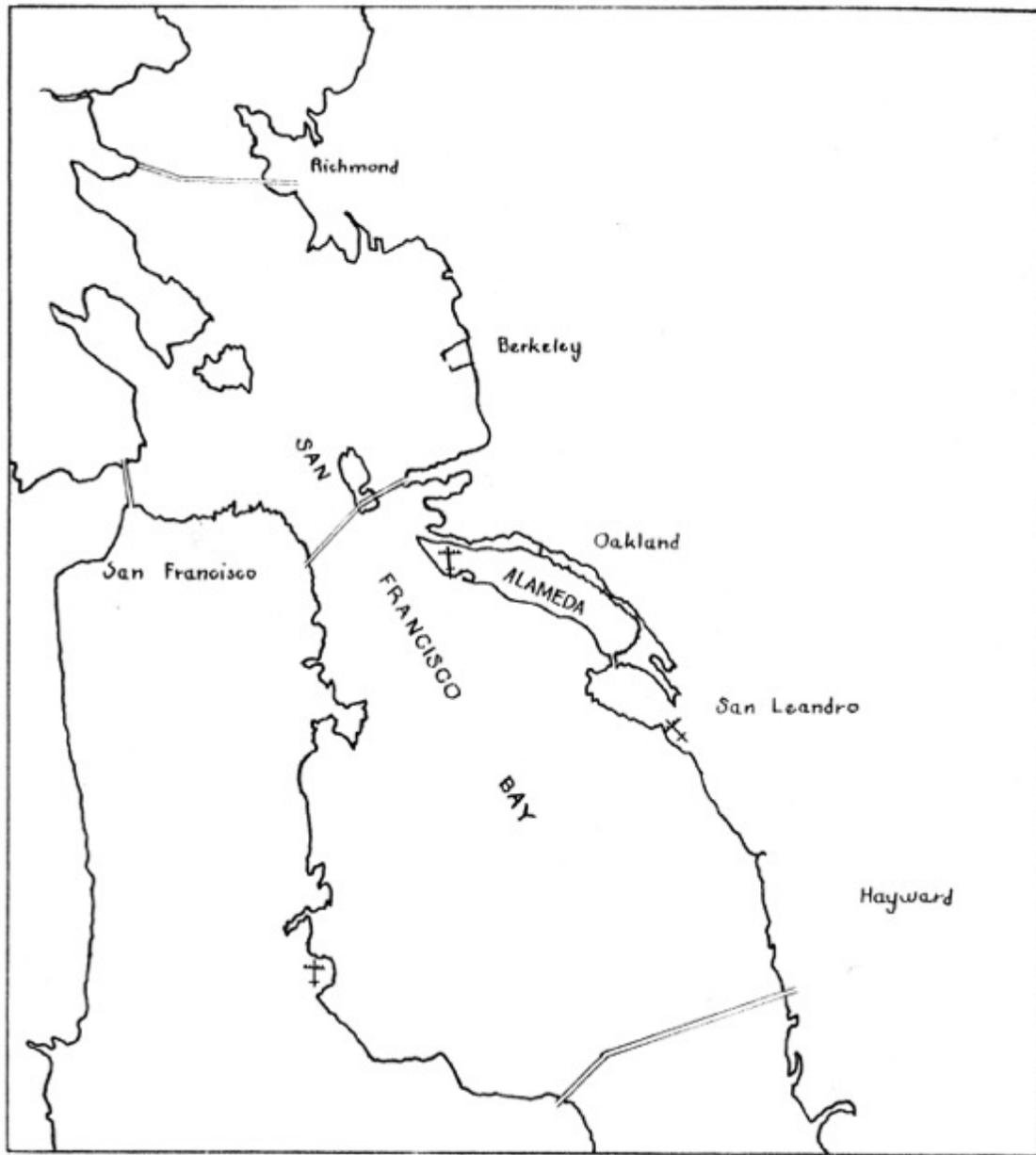
This log shows rising and subsidence of the land or water, as well as the relative time periods, and the composition of the upper 325 feet of the earth's crust at Alameda.

(Copy of log kept by Mr. J. M. Ough, well-driller, 1117 East 14th Street, Oakland, California, about 1875. Hist. Lib. in Alameda.)

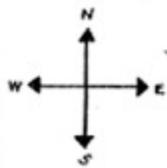
similar texture. In some instances it is very compact and even slightly cemented but usually permeable to roots and water to depths of six feet or more (Holmes, p.73). The log from a well-boring at Alameda High School on Central Avenue shows clearly the stratification of sands and clays in the subsoil. Despite the sandy nature of its surface soil, Alameda provides solid underfooting for any type of heavy construction.

All of that part of the original peninsula of Alameda that was above the high-tide mark thus has a well-drained soil. It was early used to good advantage for truck gardening, especially when supplemented with barnyard manure and irrigated. This soil could be easily worked at all times of the year by the simplest of tools, was readily watered from shallow wells of fresh water, and was capable of producing up to three crops of vegetables per year on the same ground because the soil warmed quickly in the spring. Unlike many other California soils, whose productivity awaited the application of modern technology, the soils of Alameda produced immediately bountiful crops of every description. It is one of the common boasts of Alameda citizens today that one may “stick anything into the ground, water it and watch it grow.” The contrast between results obtained by modern backyard gardeners working the original soil and that which is hauled in from outside is proof of the truth of their claim.

However, even the most fertile soil will not produce outstanding results without favorable climatic conditions. In this regard, too, Alameda is singularly blessed. The summer fogs, which result from the passage of marine air over the cold, upwelling waters of the California coast and onto a warmer land are less frequent and less persistent in the vicinity of Alameda than in other parts of the Bay Area. The cool, heavy air moving in through the Golden Gate characteristically hugs the water and adjacent low hills while the warm, sunny layer of air overhead gradually moves in from the east. Sometimes the fog is low, shrouding the hulls of boats and the bottom of the Golden Gate Bridge as it reaches in like a gigantic arm toward the hills opposite where it spreads to the right but even more to the left along the face of the Berkeley and Oakland hills. The right curve of this fog has largely dissipated by the time it reaches Alameda, about eight miles southeast of the Golden Gate gap in the coastal range which permits entry of the fog (Gilliam, pp. 267-293). In 1955 Oakland Airport, whose weather record closely parallels that of the residential section of Alameda, had four fog-free months compared with only one at Naval Air Stations in Alameda. Oakland Airport reported a total of some 360 hours of fog for the year, considerably less than the 580 hours recorded at Naval Air Station which is located on filled land at the west end of the island of Alameda (Fig. 2).



BAY AREA MAP



M.

Fig. 2

This difference in fog incidence is pronounced. One can watch it dissipate as the fog bank moves eastward – the fog reaches Alameda Naval Air Station 45 minutes earlier than it does Oakland Airport and lasts 45 minutes longer because Naval Air Station is situated several miles farther west. It is not uncommon for the sun to be shining in Alameda while the opposite side of the bay is entirely obscured by fog. The relative absence of fog in most of Alameda and the consequent higher temperatures make possible an almost tropical luxuriance of growth in areas protected from the wind (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3 "An almost tropical luxuriance of growth."

At other times the fog is higher and the procedure is reversed, the upper portions of the Golden Gate Bridge being obscured and the lower part visible. Standing on a hill at Sausalito one can observe these white layers of fog moving inward toward Richmond, gradually becoming less dense until they seem to merge with the smog of the city. At times one can see the foot and the peaks of the hills while the central portions are hidden.

A second type of local Bay Area weather is provided by the dense low-lying "tule fog" or radiation fog that develops at times during the winter. It

originates typically on the floors of the inland valleys and moves toward the Bay through gaps such as the Carquinez Straits. Since Alameda is not in the direct path of these fog movements and because of local wind conditions, it receives less winter fog than do Berkeley and Richmond (Gilliam).

There is at times a great variation in atmospheric conditions from place to place on the island of Alameda itself. Occasionally on foggy winter evenings one can walk from the lagoons on new filled lands along south shore where fog is dense, into the interior of the island only three blocks away and find the air entirely clear. During the summer when hot days are rare and cool breezes are characteristic along the south shore, one can leave his home on the lagoon and only five blocks north find the temperature five degrees higher and the breeze entirely absent, with the sensible temperature at least ten degrees higher. Freezing temperatures are rare in Alameda and frost damage to plants virtually unknown, although a half inch of ice has been reported to have been found on water buckets at least once in the early days of Alameda.

There is no doubt that Alameda enjoys a more equable weather than is found in adjacent cities – often I have driven out of the sunshine of Alameda into and out of fog banks on the way to Berkeley or Oakland where there might be an actual drizzle. Annual precipitation in Alameda is comparable to that at the Oakland Airport – from 12 to 22 inches. The excessive cloudiness and fog apparently inspired many of San Francisco's earliest citizens to desert that city for the more pleasant climate of "The Encinal."

The records of four climatological stations ringing the bay (San Francisco Airport, Downtown San Francisco, Alameda Naval Air Station, and Oakland Airport) provide data on which to base some generalizations on Alameda's weather and climate. Summer winds are, in general, stronger at San Francisco Airport and Downtown San Francisco, gradually diminishing in intensity as one goes eastward across the bay toward Oakland Airport. San Francisco and Oakland Airports have a greater range between average maximum and minimum temperatures than do either Downtown San Francisco or the Alameda Naval Air Station. Downtown San Francisco and Alameda Naval Air Station generally record higher minimum temperatures in winter than do the other two stations. This can probably be explained by the fact that both Oakland and San Francisco Airports are less influenced by the moderating influence of the bay waters. The four stations exhibit closely comparable precipitation figures with the period of heaviest rainfall between November and February. Sometimes precipitation for a given storm or a given month may show surprising divergence (Fig. 4). The unusually heavy rainfall in December, 1955, produced 12.30 inches at San Francisco Airport and only 67.4 inches for Downtown San Francisco, with 9.99 inches for Alameda Naval Air Station and 11.29 inches for Oakland Airport. The

precipitation pattern for October of 1962, another abnormally wet month, shows a quite different pattern – Oakland Airport had the highest of 8.56 inches, Alameda Naval Air Station report 9.00 inches, Downtown San Francisco 5.51 inches, and San Francisco Airport 7.30 inches.

As these four stations have different methods of recording fog data, it is difficult to make anything but general observations on fog incidence. Thus, San Francisco Airport records whatever might limit visibility to less than six miles, and this includes both fog and haze, while the Downtown San Francisco station reports only percentage of possible sunshine. Oakland Airport and Alameda Naval Air Station, using the dewpoint technique, measure actual hours of fog, as distinct from haze and smoke. The data of these latter two stations, suggest that the farther east one proceeds the less fog is recorded. As most of the residential area of Alameda is east of the Air Station, it is safe to say that on the whole the greater part of Alameda enjoys much more sunshine than Alameda Naval Air Station's fog data would indicate. The 1955 figures are probably representative – 650 hours of fog for the Air Station compared with 360 for Oakland Airport. Very little fog is recorded for the five months between March and July, inclusive.

1. Flora and Fauna

In 1850 giant coastal live oaks, *Quercus agrifolia*, were the dominant feature of Alameda or “The Encinal” as it was then called (Fig. 5) Although many trees were probably at least 400 years old and certainly past their prime, they were described as being sturdy and healthy. Caroline Leighton, who arrived in Alameda in 1878, gave her impression of them:

Trees stand everywhere interspersed in wild fields and have a determined look. There are so many trees that you can't see the place. It gives the general feeling that everyone is camping out. They are scattered everywhere, bending low and spreading their branches wide so you could almost live in them. They have a great fancy for twisting and turning which must be their own wild nature. When I look on great fields of them, I feel that I am in the midst of a storm, everything has such a windswept look. One day I came upon a body of them that appeared as if they had all been stopped by some enchantment in the midst of running away. (Figs. 6, 7, 8) The foliage is light and does not obscure their muscular look. (Leighton, pp. 248-249.)

In the spring the ground underneath the oaks was covered with yellow mustard and blue nemophilias. It was said that one could count

Fig. 4--Bay Area Meteorological Statistics for 1955

	<u>Jan.</u>	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Apr.</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>	<u>Nov.</u>	<u>Dec.</u>
<u>Average Maximum Temperature</u>												
S. F. Arpt.	59	66	77	71	87	92	76	82	94	85	82	63
S. F. City	63	67	75	65	82	85	70	75	88	82	84	63
Naval Air	63	67	77	69	86.6	90	76	84	91	82	83	63
Oak. Arpt.	59	66	78	71	86	89	81	87	96	87	79	62
<u>Average Minimum Monthly Temperature</u>												
S. F. Arpt.	30	32	35	36	43	44	49	45	45	43	39	36
S. F. City	39	41	42	42	46	47	49	48	48	48	43	40
Naval Air	38	40	41	43	49	49	52	51	50	50	43	40
Oak. Arpt.	31	32	33	35	42	46	48	48	46	42	37	32
<u>Average Monthly Temperature</u>												
S. F. Arpt.	45	49	53	52	57	59	59	60	61	59	54	55
S. F. City	48	52.2	54	52.3	56.6	57	56.9	56.4	59	59.7	56.3	53
Naval Air	Does not compute											
Oak. Arpt.	44.2	48.3	52.5	51	57.7	59	60.4	61.8	62.4	59.4	53	51
<u>Average Monthly Wind Velocity, in Miles</u>												
S. F. Arpt.	7.3	8.9	11.	14.6	15.2	15.2	13.4	10.2	9.5	7.7	6.6	9.5
S. F. City	5.8	7.1	7.9	10.6	10.2	11.6	11.8	10.7	9.6	7.5	6.3	9.2
Naval Air	4.9	7.	8.1	10.	7.4	9.6	8.6	6.9	6.1	5.2	5.7	8.7
Oak. Arpt.	4.9	5.6	7.1	9.8	8.1	9.4	8.5	7.2	6.	4.8	4.5	8.
<u>Total Monthly Precipitation</u>												
S. F. Arpt.	3.64	1.51	.2	1.54	.09	.01	.01	.01	.11	.01	2.05	12.30
S. F. City	4.	1.18	.29	1.49	.04	.02	.02	.02	.11	1.04	2.38	7.40
Naval Air	3.24	1.27	.36	1.01	.02	.01	.01	.01	.08	1.38	9.99	9.99
Oak. Arpt.	4.14	1.05	.41	1.40	.35	.01	.01	.01	.07	2.10	11.29	11.29

Total Annual Precipitation

S. F. Arpt.--21.25" S. F. City--17.95" Naval Air--17.37" Oak. Arpt.--20.81"

Total Monthly Hours of Fog

	<u>Jan.</u>	<u>Feb.</u>	<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Apr.</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>June</u>	<u>July</u>	<u>Aug.</u>	<u>Sept.</u>	<u>Oct.</u>	<u>Nov.</u>	<u>Dec.</u>
S. F. Arpt.	272	150	44	8	52	22	85	62	184	234	213	233
S. F. City	66	78	84	70	85	65	71	62	78	66	63	41
(% sunshine)	129	68	2		5	2	31	46	55	108	116	89
Naval Air	85	41		.5				40	8	54	66	72
Oak. Arpt.												

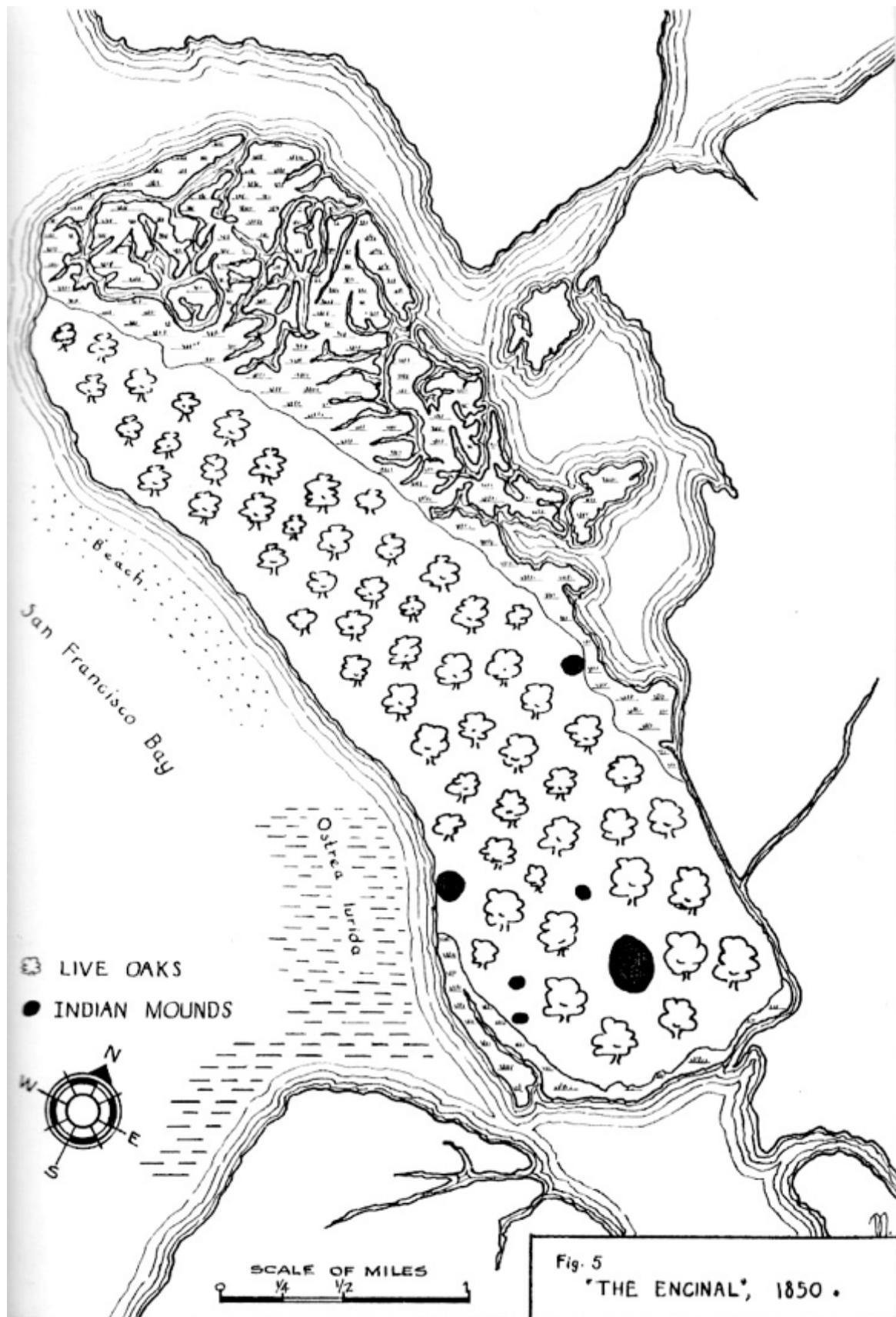
Total Hours of Fog/Haze for 1955

S. F. Arpt. (fog/haze)--1497
Naval Air (fog)--651

S. F. City--records only % of sunshine
Oak. Arpt. (fog)--366

Sources of Information: On S. F. Airport from C. H. Holmes, airport meteorologist; on Oakland Airport from files in the Oakland Airport; on Naval Air Station in Alameda from Chief Weber, meteorologist; on Downtown San Francisco from that station by telephone.

Also Consulted: U. S. D. C. Climatological Data 1955, Part I California, Oregon, and Washington, Asheville, 1955.



without particular effort more than fifty varieties of flowers in the course of a short walk, “the most beautiful of which have been introduced into gardens all over Europe and America.” (Wiggan.) Poison oak, *Rhus diversiloba*, was so plentiful that some early settlers felt that steps ought to be taken to exterminate it before the place would be fit for human habitation. As a matter of fact, the city of Alameda in 1887 passed an ordinance prohibiting any person who owned, leased or possessed land within the city “to permit poison oak to grow, mature, or remain on land so owned, leased or possessed by such a person” (Charter and Ordinances, 1894, p. 41). It was, however, the only foliage that changed color with the seasons. Wild blackberry vines, tar weed, wild oats, lupines, poppies, nettles, and Scotch Thistle flourished as late as 1890 along with a shrub three to four feet high which produced sprigs of eight to ten yellow flowers on a twig, with several of these sprays on a larger stem (Steinmetz, who says it was not Scotch broom). Mushrooms were gathered in the woods.



Fig. 6, “The foliage does not obscure their muscular look.”



Fig. 7 Oak trees “running away.”

Alameda was for a long time a sportmen’s paradise. Before the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, deer and cattle grazed in the Encinal side by side. Tree rats, rattlesnakes, cottontail rabbits, squirrel, elk, and wild cat roamed the woods, while quail were even later reported so plentiful and tame that they fed with domestic chickens. Song birds were so numerous that at times the oak trees were described as being yellow with thousands of goldfinches and canaries. Along the marshes ducks abounded, while on the south shore migratory geese and ducks rested from their travels, sometimes joined by cranes, egrets and flamingoes. Sea gulls were always abundant and today frequent much of the uninhabited part of the new filled areas on the outer side of the island. Along the south shore clams and oysters were also dug. Seals sunned themselves in numbers on Old Alameda Point where Bay Farm Bridge today connects Alameda with Bay Farm Island. The waters of San Leandro Bay were ruffled by the sturgeon, and shark and many kinds of salt water fish were caught by fishermen who braved the sometimes rough water of San Francisco Bay (Chipman Diary, April 19, 1853).

Alameda’s fine climate and soil would not alone have made it attractive enough to lure people to her shores.

But the island was from the beginning strategically placed in regard to the city of San Francisco, the central trading post and commercial center of the bay Area and its largest city. Ferry boats which scudded regularly the seven miles across the bay early gave Alameda preferred connection with “the city.” Other similarly favored but more distant areas never did achieve an equal reputation as a city of commuters, the “bedroom of San Francisco,” since in the early days commuting distances necessarily had to be short because of the type of transportation available. The city’s location just across the Estuary from Oakland gave the citizens of Alameda the added advantages of Oakland’s shopping facilities, job opportunities, and her ferries – a factor not to be overlooked in attempting to understand the early development of Alameda.



Fig. 8. Map showing extent of live oak and marsh in western Alameda and Oakland.
From Dana and Moore, Foundation Engineers, San Francisco, Los Angeles and San Diego, about 1870. Map in Alameda Historical Library.

II. ABORIGINAL SETTLEMENT

Man was present on the shores of San Francisco Bay at least 3500 years ago according to Carbon-14 tests made of shellmound material (Gifford, pp. 1-29). Since at least one mound has revealed a layer of skeletal material below the present ground level, in much the same way as did the Emeryville mound, presumably Indians now thought to have been a branch of Miwok Indians, (Heizer, personal correspondence) occupied the Encinal as early as they did the adjacent areas. They were apparently especially concentrated on the eastern half of the peninsula, found mounds having been formed east of Park Street and two others between Park and Chestnut Streets (Fig. 5). Here the people were protected on every side by great oaks from the persistent winds of the bay and the eyes of enemies. A particularly tall tree may, on occasion, have served as "lookout." Within a short distance were fresh water, edible acorns, and shellfish in abundance. Around the two inland ponds grew tules used for constructing skirts, rafts, or houses. This settlement was separated from the mainland by water except on the northeast where a marshy mile-wide neck of land connected the peninsula to the mainland, a fact which must have provided a measure of protection against enemy raids. First accounts of the Encinal peninsula make no mention of Indians, but there seems to have been an Indian Rancheria near High Street and Encinal Avenue as late as 1847 (Encinal, Sept. 9, 1871). It is known that a Frenchman, Peter Parfait, was living near there with an Indian wife in 1850 at the time of the arrival in force of the Anglo-Saxons.

In appearance the Alameda Indians were apparently undistinguishable from other early inhabitants of the Bay Area. They were graceful, about five feet five inches in height, and rather low of forehead. Their short, round faces, similar to the northern Japanese, had high cheek bones, deep-set eyes with bushy brows, flat noses, and prominent ears framed in coarse, black hair decorated with shells or feathers or arranged in a twist to fall down the back. (Kroeber, A., p. 467). Some of the young girls were fairly attractive, but their beauty was marred, according to some early observers, by tribal tattoos of dots and lines running around the mouth and breast and by large, coarse lips which gave them a "sensual look" (Millard, p. 9).

On the whole the Alameda Indians tended to be dark, unkempt, passive, and not especially given to work. The mild climate and the availability of food in plenty precluded great effort in the way of house-building and food-gathering. Like other northern California Indians, the early inhabitants of Alameda were innocent of agriculture and lived by gathering. As a location Alameda had several advantages over many of the near by settlements. On every part of the high ground of the peninsula were scattered live oak trees,

Quercus agrifolia, which provided a plentiful supply of acorns. The nutritious live oak acorns, when gathered in the fall, are drier than those of some other varieties and are therefore less inclined to mold or otherwise be spoiled. The Indians ground them with mortar and pestle and then soaked the flour in water for about two hours to remove the bitter tannic acid. The composition of the dried, brownish, bran-like acorn flour is approximately as follows:

water	9	%
protein	4.4	
fat	20.42	
fiber	11.68	
carbohydrate	52.74	
ash	1.76	(wolf, p.7)

Dried lumps of flour were eaten raw as “pinole” or cooked into a gruel known as “atole”. Many northern California villages had structures near their houses in which to store these acorns, while others kept them in baskets inside their huts (Fages, Nov. 20, 1775). Of course it is quite possible that the Indians lived a migratory existence on the Encinal, if one considers the seasonality of acorns. But in view of what has already been said of the climate and abundance of shellfish as well as wild animals and fowl on the Encinal, it seems unlikely that the Indians could have found a more favorable area to which to migrate.

Shellfish were an equally important element in the diet of the Alameda Indians according to evidence from shellmounds. The small native oyster, Ostrea lurida, was of greater importance here than clams and mussels which were commonly eaten in other areas along bay shore. Perhaps this was because conditions along the shore were exceptionally favorable to oysters – certainly commercial oyster farming later became very important along the southeast end of the peninsula and off Bay Farm Island (Fig. 5). These shellfish, readily obtained along the shore, were either eaten raw or cooked by placing them in basket of water into which hot stones were dropped. Shells were disposed of by throwing them on a heap a short distance from camp, until eventually a substantial mound was built up. Other fish were caught in net or speared with sharpened sticks and eaten in much the same way. From time to time a whale would be washed up on shore and then food was especially plentiful, but such a windfall must have been most irregular of supply (Kroeger, A., p. 467). Seals were hunted and caught, though exactly how is not known as the tule rafts appear to have been too flimsy for such activity on the water. Small land animals, such as the rabbit, were cornered by using “rabbit sticks,” one held in each hand, in connection with brush burning intended to rout out the game and to encourage the growth of seed-bearing annuals (ibid.). With

bows and arrows made of willow the Indians shot the deer which browsed in large numbers on the peninsula as late as 1850, and the meat was roasted in strips on sticks held over a fire of leaves, twigs or branches of the live oaks.

There was a kind of wild onion, Chlorogalum, which when cooked could substitute for soap, or when roasted could be eaten (Fages). Berries, seeds, grasses and clover, seaweed for salt, insects such as the grasshopper, quail and waterfowl – all gave variety to the diet. Generally two meals were eaten daily, one before dawn and the other late in the afternoon lasting several hours, after which there might be smoking, dancing, or games (ibid.).

The clothing of the early inhabitants of Alameda was quite simple since the climate did not require an elaborate outlay of garments. In summer the men, and occasionally the women, went completely naked or coated themselves with mud in the morning until the sun warmed the atmosphere sufficiently for comfort. In winter the men wore a mantle made of skins of rabbit, deer, or otter. The year-round costume for women was a skirt resembling two aprons, the one worn in front being slightly shorter and reaching to mid-thigh. If the skirt were made of a plant fiber, tule, grass, or the softened inner bark of willow or cottonweed were used. A skirt made of skins was usually fringed to look like fiber. For colder weather women also had a mantle of skins which was worn thrown over the shoulder during the day but could be made to double as a blanket at night (Kroeber, A., p. 467).

The shelter of the Alameda Indian was scarcely more elaborate than his dress. Each family dug a circular pit three or four feet deep around which willow poles were sunk. The ends were drawn together at the top and tied, and over this conical frame bushes, strips of bark, or grass were woven so as to leave only a small smoke hole at the top. This house was used mainly in winter, both sexes preferring to sleep outdoors during the summer when the cold did not require them to overcome the smoke and bad air inside the hut.

The sweathouse, or temescal, was a typical institution among many California Indian groups, including the Miwoks of Alameda. Very often the sweathouse was a more substantial structure than the dwelling, starting with a pit over which upright and horizontal logs and poles were placed and on top of which wet earth was plastered to make it airtight and rainproof. The idea was to heat this enclosure with a direct-fire, rather than with steam, while the inmates lay on the bottom and remained inside for an hour or more until a copious sweat was worked up. Then the men went outside and rolled in the sand and bathed. The sweathouse seemed to serve as a sort of men's club or sometimes as sleeping quarters from which women were generally excluded. Whether the more or less daily ritual of sweating derived from a religious ceremony or from

medicinal uses is unclear, but it seems to have had some purification significance (Kroeber, A., in Heizer and Whipple, pp. 10 and 11).

For water transportation, the Alameda Indians made a balsa of tules or rushes tied in bundles about ten feet long, to a width of three or four feet, and pointed at both ends. It was poled in shallow water or propelled backward and forward with long, double-bladed paddles and was known to have been used to cross San Francisco Bay (Millard, p.10). That these tules when dried floated lightly as a cork is illustrated by the fact that they were used in making life preservers.

The Alameda Indians had a variety of implements. The most numerous found in archeological diggings has been the mortar and pestle, but apparently they had sinkers and tomahawks of stone, spear heads of lint and obsidian, and bone needles for sewing or repairing fish nets. Their workmanship on abalone shells for ornament was exquisite considering the rude tools at their command (Alameda Hist. Lib.). However, artifacts from Alameda shellmounds do not compare in number, variety and skill of workmanship with those found in the Emeryville Mound where a great many tools made of bone, stone, or antler horn have been found (Uhle, P. 1-106), nor with the Patterson Mound (No. 1) which yielded besides the usual items a baked clay pipe, a bird whistle, a digging tool, fiber-strippers and other things (Davis & Treganza, p. 62).

1. Alameda Mounds

Much of the foregoing has been borne out by the findings in Alameda's shellmounds, the largest and most impressive of which is the three-acre site of the main village on the east end of the island. It has come to be known as the "Sather Mound" after Peter Sather, the man who once owned that area, to distinguish it from the five other smaller mounds (Fig. 5). These mounds provide almost the only traces of humus to be found in Alameda soils, and early reports mention at least three of them as having been planted to fruit orchards and gardens with satisfactory results. The largest mound measured 400 feet long by 150 feet wide by 14 feet high and encompassed an area bounded by Central Avenue, Court Street, Johnson Avenue, and Gibbons Drive. It was first investigated in 1892 when a railroad cut was made through it and the mound was finally leveled in 1908. At this time, a Captain Clark, an amateur anthropologist who had studied many mounds in his native Ohio, carefully worked parts of the mound with a hand trowel and wrote a description of what he found. What struck him as most unusual were the 450 bodies arranged in three layers eight feet apart, all lying on their left sides with arms and feet drawn up and facing the rising sun. This seemed to indicate that burial customs had not changed for many years and that the same tribe had occupied the area

and built the mound from bottom to top. Clark claimed that there was at least one more layer of bodies below the surface of the ground, as in the case of the Emeryville Mound, which he interpreted to mean great antiquity for the mound but which might as logically imply that subsidence had occurred. Only six perfect skulls were found. In many cases the lower jaw was curiously missing. Around many, perhaps the chieftains, were collections of shells and ornaments (Argus, Feb. 11, 1935).

The Sather mound also contained several mortars and pestles made of Jurassic sandstone, the largest of which measured 14½ by 12½ by 8½ inches and weighed 80 pounds. As there is no stone in Alameda, these mortars and the jet-black spearheads of obsidian used for knives or weapons suggest that the early inhabitants of Alameda traded or traveled. Stone sinkers, bone needles, bones of wildcat, elk, deer, seal, sea-otter, the California mountain lion, and part of a whale skeleton were also found. Throughout shells were abundant, especially of the oyster, and in the center the remains of a tree were found. Two feet below the surface of the mound was found a brass medal dated 1768 on which the image of George III and the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland were pressed. This may have been given to an Indian in exchange for sea-otter pelts for which a lively trade existed with the Russians before 1841 (Encinal, Sept. 23, 1892).

Theodore H. Hittell, an early California historian, studied the Sather Mound and subsequently gave an address on the subject of mounds in which he compared those of Alameda with the Danish shell heaps and those of the Andaman Islands. He noted that the most common shell in the Alameda mound was the Ostrea lurida and that it was much larger than was the same species of oyster found in the bay in his day, a situation similar to the case of the shellfish in the Danish mounds. It seems curious that Indians who could hollow out a tube from stone, probably for smoking, were unacquainted with stone axes such as those used by their neighbors on the other side of the Contra Costa Hills, yet such seems to be the case. The artifacts found near the top of the mound were strikingly similar to those at the bottom (Argus, Oct. 17, 1894), which points to a similar culture during the entire mound-building activity.

The contents of this mound of shells and cement-like bones was hauled away in 1908 to nearby Bay Farm Island where they made admirable though grisly paving and filling material. One wonders if the quantity of shellfish in the diet contributed to the exceptionally durable skeletons. In order to commemorate Alameda's most historic landmark, the Copa de Ora Chapter of the D. A. R in 1914 erected a memorial in Lincoln Park in the form of a great boulder brought from Mount Tamalpais on which was placed a bronze tablet with the following inscription:

One Thousand feet due west was a prehistoric mound, 400 feet long, 150 feet wide, and 14 feet high. The remains of 450 Indians with stone implement and shell ornaments were found when the mound was removed in 1908. Erected by Copa de Ora Chapter D. A. R., 1914.

A dedication was offered by Dr. Thomas Waterman, professor of ethnology and anthropology at the University of California, who brought with him Ishi, last of the Yahi, to unveil the monument (Argus, June 18, 1914).

III. FROM SPANISH DONS TO ANGLO-SAXONS

What was to become one of the most valuable land grants in California was given to Luis Peralta, retired Spanish Army veteran, in the year 1820. This grant now comprises parts or all of the cities of El Cerrito, Berkeley, Albany, Oakland, Piedmont and Alameda. The account of how this grant passed from the Peralta into the hands of the newly arriving Americans is typical of early California. The area that is now Alameda was first mentioned in March of 1776 by de Anza. He described it as supporting a very thick grove of “oaks and live oaks.” The same area appears on Font’s sketch of 1776 with the legend: “Bosque que esta al estsudeste de la Boca del Puerto” or “Forest east-southeast of the mouth of the harbor” (Cook, p. 133).

1. The Peralta Family

The earliest report of the California branch of the Peralta family is found in the first census of the Pueblo of the Mission San Jose, shortly after it was established in 1777, with the name, age, and sex of each colonist as well as a list of his animals. Among them were Gabriel Peralta, 45, Francisca Valenzuela (wife), 35, Luís María, 18, Pedro Reglado, 15, and María Gertrudis, 11 (his three children) (Winther, p. 4). Luís María Peralta, a Spanish grantee born in Tubac, Sonora, spent his life as a soldier at San Francisco and Monterey. He was commander of the Pueblo of San Jose for 15 years. During his 45 years of military service he became the father of 17 children of whom four sons and five daughters survived him. In 1818, after nearly a half century of faithful service to the King of Spain, he petitioned for a 35-square-mile grant of land along the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay. In 1820 Pablo Vicente de Sola, the last of the Spanish governors of California, instructed Lt. Ignacio Martinez to install Luís Peralta on his grant after making sure that it did not conflict with the interests of Mission San Jose. Accordingly, a sketch map was made, papers were read, and grass and dirt were thrown to the four points of the compass while six men looked on *(Bowman, p 13). In 1844, under Mexican rule, the Peralta grant was re-confirmed by Governor Micheltoreno. Years later, during land grant trials, the testimony of these six men, Ignacio Martinez, Nicholas Berryessa, Antonio Pacheco, Luís Peralta, and sons José Domingo and Antonio María, gave us the only description we have of an actual granting by title to California land (ibid.).

The rough map of *diseño* made by Ignacio Martinez was copied and sent to Governor Sola in Monterey, Peralta keeping the original as proof of his grant. The original *diseño*, subsequently lost, found, copied, torn and mutilated, shows that Goat Island falls within the lines of the grant. General Vallejo eventually came into possession of the *diseño* and in 1849 placed it in the

statehouse at Benicia (*ibid.*). Efforts to track down that original *diseño* in land grant offices of Sacramento have not met with success. It is possible that it may be in the National Archives in Washington, D.C.

Meanwhile, Luís Peralta in 1842 divided his Rancho San Antonio among his four remaining sons, giving to Antonio María, his third son (1801-1879), 15,206 acres of what is now much of Oakland and all of Alameda. In 1821 Antonio María built the first permanent house in Oakland of adobe at the present address of 2511-34th Avenue, and from there dispensed hospitality. He kept about 8,000 head of cattle, which rose spectacularly in value with the coming of the meat-loving Americans. In 1851, as his lands were being overrun by squatters, he accepted the offer of \$14,000 made by W. W. Chipman for a small portion of his estate, the Bolsa de San Antonio.

Luís Peralta disliked Americans and would have nothing to do with them, often cautioning his sons not to sell their lands to Americans after his death. Antonio María, however, had given a six-year lease in 1850 to two Frenchmen, De Passier and Payot, permitting them to maintain as many horses and mules as they wanted for their use and as many as 50 milch cows (Chipman papers). Two hundred forty dollars were to be paid in advance, the first year was to be rent-free, and a sum of \$1,680 was to be paid annually for five years. The understanding was that all improvements made by the lessees were to be left intact for Peralta. Payot's portion was transferred to a man named Maitre by January of 1851 when Chipman and his partner obtained a sublease of 160 acres east of what is now Versailles Street. Here they immediately set out cherry, apple and peach trees. This six-year lease was to hang over the heads of the founders of Alameda for some time.

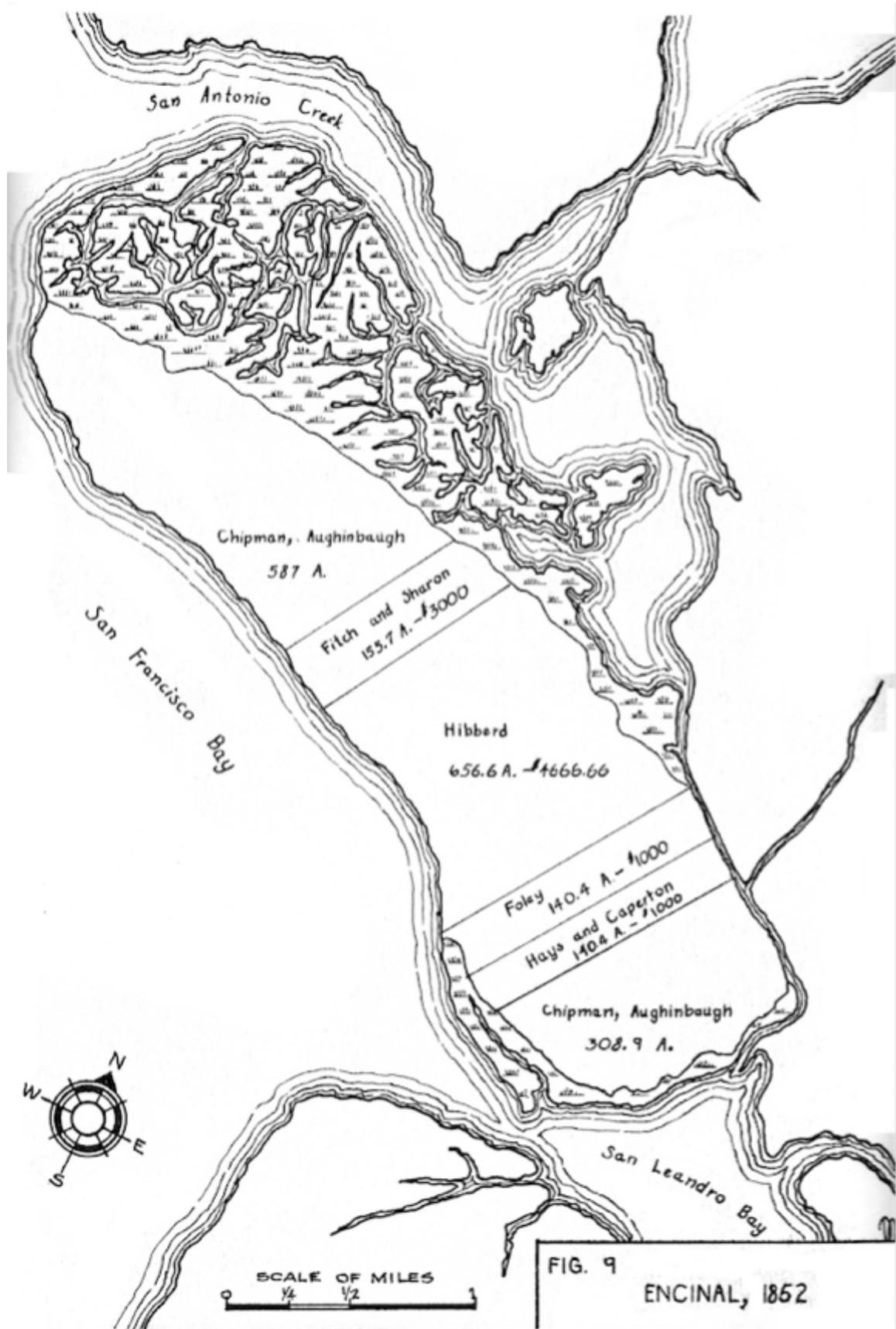
2. Chipman and Aughinbaugh

William Worthington Chipman was a native of Vermont. After growing up in Dayton, Ohio, and serving as school principal there, he studied law. In 1850 he came to San Francisco by way of Panama. He soon set up a Reading Room and Intelligence Office on Clay Street between Kearny and Montgomery Streets where he kept newspapers from the chief towns in the United States and a "Miners' and Strangers' Register," facilities for the use of which he charged a fee (*ibid.*). It was here that he met Gideon Aughinbaugh, a 34-year-old carpenter from Pennsylvania, who was to be his partner and friend for the next 23 years. Little is known of Aughinbaugh beyond the fact that he moved from Pennsylvania to Missouri before coming to San Francisco in 1849 with his wife and child where he set up a grocery store. When he saw the eagerness with which the people bought fruit at fabulously high prices, he senses the possibilities of raising fruit for the rapidly expanding population.

Thereafter his dream of a commercial orchard, and Chipman's vision of a town across the Bay, became the ruling passion of both men's lives (Argus, July 7 and 8, 1897).

Early in 1851 Chipman and Aughinbaugh visited the Encinal de San Antonio where they found the two Frenchmen, De Passier and Maitre, living on the south shore at the foot of what is now Chestnut Street. They were engaged in cutting branches of live oak trees which they made into charcoal for the San Francisco market. Also, Stephen and E. Minor Smith and William Salmon were already established in a shack on Alameda Point, near the present Bay Farm Island Bridge, and doing well shooting game which they took to San Francisco by whaleboat. Amidst lush grass cattle and deer grazed peacefully, and waterfowl was plentiful. Aughinbaugh thought he had found a place not only superb for an orchard, but unsurpassed in every respect for a residence. Chipman went to Benicia to visit General Vallejo, an acquaintance of the Reading Room, to examine the map (now torn into six pieces) of the Peralta Grant. After careful study he decided that the diseño was genuine and immediately set out to purchase a portion of the grant (Argus, May 16, 1895).

Chipman and Aughinbaugh then called on Antonio María Peralta. They apparently made a better impression on him than had most Americans, as they were able to purchase the entire Encinal on October 22, 1851, for \$14,000 - \$2,000 on receipt of the contract, \$5,000 a week later, and the balance to be paid within a year. The two men agreed, also, to take over and honor the lease to De Passier and Maitre which was to expire six years later. Samuel King, later United States Surveyor General of California, loaned the down payment and the \$5,000 was borrowed from a bank at four per cent a month. The real feat was to produce the rest of the cash before the end of the year so as not to forfeit the money already paid and the land as well. To this end they arranged to sell more than half of the peninsula to six Americans named Fitch, Sharon, Hibberd, Foley, Hays and Capterton (Fig. 9) at the same price per acre that Chipman and Aughinbaugh were paying Peralta. These parties bought and undivided interest in the dry land and at a later date chose their section of the Encinal which Chipman with their suggestions had surveyed. These property lines later became streets so that one can still see the outline of the original large tracts on a modern street map. Chipman and Aughinbaugh kept for themselves the portion on the east end where they had planted their trees and the west end adjacent to the largest expanse of marsh land. All parties signed an agreement to build a road 100 feet wide, going east and west through their tracts, so that everyone would have access to his acreage. This road corresponds to present-day Central Avenue. The east-west avenues of modern Alameda run parallel to this main street as originally surveyed.



On the east end of the Encinal in the vicinity of Post and Adams Streets, Chipman and Aughinbaugh in the fall of 1851 set up a prefabricated house which had been brought around the Horn. They now began to devote their time to planting an orchard and garden and to selling lots within which to pay their debts. The first lots offered by Chipman and Aughinbaugh east of High Street and north of Encinal Avenue were four acres in size. They also became fruit orchards. Their dimensions are still discernible in the elongated blocks at the east end of Alameda. At the junction of High Street and Encinal Avenue the first settlement on the peninsula sprouted, with a hotel on one corner and a livery stable on another. Nearby, on Fountain Street, was a fresh-water spring. The only transportation to San Francisco was Capt. Miller's whaleboat, the Red Jacket, docked at the levee at Peach and Washington Streets. However, at low tide one could walk in high boots across the marsh to Oakland and take a boat from there, for as early as 1850 the Kangaroo was operating on a regular schedule from that East Bay settlement.

Chipman and Aughinbaugh were anxious to find a boat which would call regularly at their wharf. By June of 1853, the Bonita was running from Alameda Point to San Francisco, but both its lack of dependability and the bar which stranded boats at low tide made this service less than satisfactory. There was also Cropper's sail boat, which made two or three trips a week to San Francisco. Finally, after the launching of Charles Minturn's steamer Clinton in October 1853 at Encinal Wharf on Grand Street, there began a regular run from the peninsula (Fig. 10). San Francisco bound passengers were brought by stage coach to the landing on the Estuary, the name locally used for San Antonio Creek which separated Alameda from Oakland (Chipman Diary, June 21, 1855).

The two founders of Alameda realized that the inconvenience of transportation was a drawback to the otherwise attractive spot which they had chosen. To spark interest in their new town, they organized free excursions from San Francisco to the peninsula with the promise of plenty of watermelon and a free lot with each one purchased and built on. Of these lots, which measured 33 feet by 100 feet, only 20 were actually built on. These 20 owners thus each had a 66-foot frontage. The bulk of the lots, however, were not built on until after this free offer expired, which explains why today there are so many small lots in the vicinity of Court Street and San Jose Avenue. Enough money was raised by these excursions to buy the Ranger, which called daily at Alameda Point from August 22, 1853, to January 8, 1854, when it blew up with the loss of two lives and an investment of \$10,000 (Chipman Diary, January, 1854).

3. Squatters, “Sharks”, and Lawsuits

While trying unsuccessfully to institute a regular ferry service from Alameda Point to San Francisco, Chipman and Aughinbaugh were spending much borrowed money in building a Plank Road at what is now High Street to connect with the San Antonio Road, now 13th Street in Oakland, and a shell road across to Bay Farm Island near the location of the present-day bridge. This shell road was to continue toward the village of San Leandro and thus to channel traffic from that direction to the Alameda boat landing. Money for these projects was supposed to be paid by subscription from residents already living in Alameda, but in the end most of the expense fell on Chipman and Aughinbaugh, all of which helped to enmesh the two in debt. Litigation hounded Chipman to his grave and stripped both men of most of the land which they had bought. A glance at any map of the Peralta Grant in the 1870's shows a large percentage of it claimed by lawyers and bankers.

Trouble began in October 1852 when Joseph Emeric appeared at one of Chipman's auctions and announced to the bidders that they could not get a clear title because he, Emeric, held a lease from Peralta to cut the wood from the Encinal. This was not entirely accurate but did serve to discourage buyers. The truth was that Emeric thought he had taken over Payot's part of the Frenchmen's lease and had written into the margin permission to cut trees for lumber. Actually, this type of transfer of lease was not recognized by Spanish law, and years later during the court trials of Chipman vs. Emeric, Antonio Peralta testified positively that he did not lease the Encinal nor intend to lease it for cutting timber and wood-burning, that the marginal note on the lease was in Emeric's handwriting and that he, Peralta, did not sign it (Chipman Diary, April 25, 1855).

It also became apparent that James Hibberd was not going to pay for his third of the peninsula and that he too was intent on cutting the timber to sell as lumber or firewood. Furthermore, being a squatter himself in a sense, he encouraged other squatters to pull up surveyor's stakes or cut up Aughinbaugh's road planks for squatters' marks and establish themselves along the north side of the Encinal at some distance from the house of Chipman and Aughinbaugh. Chipman's suit against Emeric and Hibberd, who worked together, began in 1852. It dragged on for many years, causing untold trouble and expense for the rightful owners and preventing anyone from obtaining a clear title to the section held by Hibberd (*Ibid.*, December 11, 1856).

Encinal squatters, apparently encouraged by Hibberd, numbered eight or ten (W. Evans, J. D. Brower, H. R. W. Clarke, J. N. Doane, J. Sandford, S. Moore, Julius Chester, John Bowman, and Pancoast (Chipman Diary, 1852 to 1854).

At the same time Horace Carpentier, Edson Adams, A. J. Moon and others had formed a village in Oakland, just across the Estuary opposite the west end of the Encinal, where a ferry service was operating from the foot of what is now Broadway. Horace Carpentier, a lawyer, had the confidence of the Peralta brothers, and, claiming to be working in their interests, arranged to have a new survey made of their grant, “surveying out” all the water front below high water line (Eldridge, Vol. 4, p. 299). This took away from the Encinal all the salt grass marsh which he intended to gain for himself. On this marsh he planned to set up a town along the north side of the Encinal next to John Bowman, a squatter, who had acquired rights to a portion of the peninsula there. Appealing to the courts, Chipman managed to have this later survey set aside (Chipman Diary, July 31, 1853).

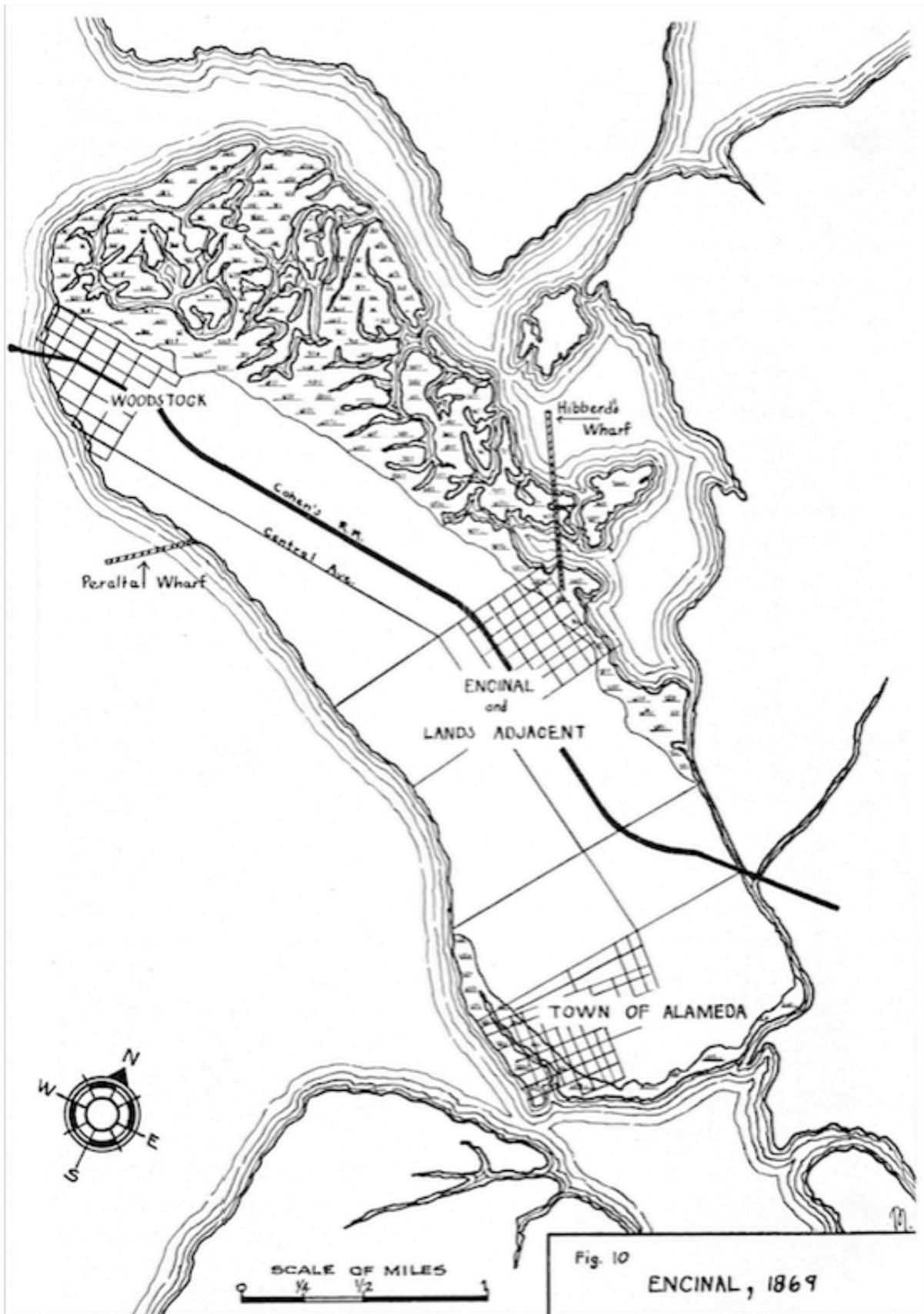
It was all but impossible to evict the squatters and rather than become involved in a lengthy and ruinous lawsuit, J. J. Foley (Fig. 9) chose to give five acres each to Chester and Pancoast for a squatters’ relinquishment of the rest of his land (Ibid., September 24, 1854). Sharon at about the same time also bought out his squatters. Another squatter asked \$1,500 for his squatter rights, but this included a \$2,500 potato crop! (Ibid., June 9, 1853.) Matters got so out of hand that when the man Chester had hired to squat for him abandoned his post, Chester was in turn squatted upon on land belonging to C. C. Bowman, Wilson Flint, and Edward Chipman (Ibid., October 4, 1853).

The squatters, however also lived under a certain inquietude. While those on the Encinal were harried by Chipman for unlawfully cutting timber and were suspected of shooting C. C. Bowman’s hogs and cows, the squatters from Oakland, against whom Peralta had no defense, held two meetings in the fall of 1853 to protect their “rights”; over 100 men attended (Ibid., November 20, 1853). When the courts ruled that the Peralta Grant was indeed valid, the Oakland squatters hanged a suspected horse thief in Oakland as if this show of justice might “whitewash their own actions” (Ibid., January 31, 1855). Early in 1857 the entire Peralta Grant was confirmed as delineated on the original *diseño*, but landgrabbing continued as late as July of that year when Edson Adams talked of selling the Peralta “sisters’” interest in the Encinal (Ibid., July 14, 1857). These examples of squatterism and land-grabbing are similar to those found in the history of other Bay Area cities.

Chipman took his cases to court, but as often as not the judge and jury were squatters themselves. His first case versus Emeric and Hibberd concerned Emeric’s claim that his lease from Peralta entitled him to cut the timber on the Encinal and Hibberd’s wanton cutting of shade trees. This case dragged on for many years. Advising Antonio María Peralta and his brothers in the confirmation of their grant, Chipman and Aughinbaugh waited while the

court tried the “Sisters’ Suit” in which the Peralta sisters tried unsuccessfully to have their father’s will set aside (Ibid., May 3, 1855). The case involving Carpentier’s attempts to include the Encinal’s marsh lands within the boundaries of Oakland was also much prolonged. By April of 1854 Chipman was simultaneously involved in ten lawsuits including some on appeal. None of his cases seem to have been decided in his favor in the local squatter courts. As matters became too involved for one man to handle, Chipman hired other lawyers to argue some of his cases and tried to raise money to pay them as well as court and jury fees, by borrowing and mortgaging his lands or selling them. Thus Chipman lost his original homestead in Alameda to Nahun Poland. He saw his name on every sheriff’s list and was reduced to despair at the thought of having to spend the rest of his life in this dog-eat-dog game which had gone on too long for him to withdraw.

The significance of all this litigation is that honest men were afraid to buy property lest the titles prove to be falsified or otherwise invalid. As a consequence, a great deal of land was bought by lawyers who alone knew the intricacies of the land title system and how to hold on to those suspected of being invalid. The final decree of January 5, 1871, after surveys and testimony, stated that the Peralta Grant was to be honored according to the exact limits as set forth on the original *diseño* of 1820 (Peralta, p. 407). This represented about the average length of time required to establish the validity of a Spanish title in the California of that time. It is interesting to speculate to what extent this litigation and uncertainty concerning land titles may have contributed to an unstable community life and governed the type of settler coming in during the first two decades after California passed from Spanish possession. One cause was served – the profession of “Title Searcher” and the title insurance industry became established among California’s most lucrative “service activities.” They remain so to this day.



IV. THE ENCINAL'S THREE VILLAGES

Before 1872 the peninsula of Alameda under a township government consisted of a loose association of small enclaves of people widely separated in space as well as in aim and function. The three main agglomerations of people were the "Town of Alameda" east or what is now Versailles Avenue, "Encinal and Lands Adjacent," known also as "Hibberd's Wharf" on the Estuary at what is now Grand Street, and Woodstock at the west end which early became a mecca for sportsmen because it bordered a wide expanse of marsh where wild fowl abounded (Fig. 10).

1. "The town of Alameda"

In 1909 Mr. M. W. Peck, who at that time was said to have lived longer in Alameda than any other man, recalled that the first house there was an adobe pile near San Jose Avenue and Mound Street belonging to a French fisherman named "Parfe" (Peter Parfait) and his Indian wife. It was built about 1848, with the permission of Peralta who also permitted him to keep a garden, to cut firewood for his own use, and to kill such livestock as he could use himself. Chipman attempted unsuccessfully to buy him out. Parfait died in 1865 and was buried on the island; his wife thereafter disappeared.

The second house (Fig. 11) on the island and the first frame structure was one built in France, shipped around the Horn, made into a raft, and floated across the Bay in 1850 from San Francisco to Alameda. It was re-assembled on San Jose Avenue and Union Street by George and Julius Chester who were woodburners (Peck). Aughinbaugh in 1895 mentions finding two Frenchmen likewise making charcoal and living on South Shore at the foot of what is now Chestnut Street, but he does not describe their quarters. Also on the Encinal in 1850 near the present bay Farm Island Bridge was the shack of three hunters. All these early buildings were strictly dwellings- the barns built by all those who had large acreages came a few years later.

Reminiscent of the Indians, the earliest residents of Alameda lived by gathering, except that they gathered firewood, fish, and game for the San Francisco market whereas the Indians carried on a subsistence economy. Wildlife attracted the hunters, nearness to water drew the fishermen, the seemingly limitless supply of wood offered a lucrative occupation to the woodcutter, and the mild climate and easily worked, fertile soil invited the farmer. Despite the difficulty of transportation to San Francisco in the early days, Alameda's rural attraction brought many homeseekers to her shores.

In October 1851 Chipman and Aughinbaugh set up their tent near the hut of the sportsmen on Alameda Point and by December their knocked-



Fig. 11 Built in France and shipped around the Horn, this house was re-assembled on San Jose Avenue and Union Street by G. and J. Chester.

down house brought around the Horn had been set up into a two-story, seven-room dwelling near present-day Peach and Washington Streets. It served as the home of Chipman and Aughinbaugh and his family for nearly three years before Aughinbaugh built a house of his own.

Among the earliest arrivals to the east end were two French families, two Chilean families – the rest were mainly New Englanders. Very early there was a grocery store, a nursery, a livery stable, and a hotel near the junction of high Street and Encinal Avenue. But most of the residents during the first five years depended for their livelihood on farming, although many combined it with their professions of medicine, law or the ministry. It is interesting to note that Chipman, during the first two years, attracted five members of the clergy.

Since Chipman's vision was of a city rather than of a rural township, early in 1853 he began thinking of drawing up a charter for his little town. He first toyed with calling it "Peralta," then "Leandro City," the next day "Elizabethtown," perhaps in honor of Mrs. Aughinbaugh, and finally "Alameda" was decided on (Chipman Diary, June 11, 1853). At this time the populations of

Oakland, San Leandro, and Alameda were fairly even as the contest for the county seat was changed several times as one or the other outvoted the residents of the previous county seat.

In May 1853 Chipman surveyed and laid out in blocks his “Town of Alameda” which was bounded on the north by Taylor (Santa Clara) and Monroe (Encinal) Streets, and on the south by San Francisco Bay. It spread from San Leandro Bay westward to what is now Versailles Avenue (Fig. 10). The blocks were laid out in rather small sections with a great deal of space marked off for streets although hardly any street was as wide as 60 feet. The average was more nearly 40 feet and remains so today. I have never been able to figure out why at such an early day city lots were so tiny – there was plenty of land in Alameda as late as 1900, yet Chipman’s lots were 33 feet by 100 feet and sold at auction in 1854 for about 475 each. The lots have an interesting arrangement – most of them face the north-south streets except for the key lots which face the cross streets and look in on anywhere from six to ten back yards. The long four-acre lots east of High Street and north of Encinal Avenue, which sold at \$65 per acre, do not appear on the original town map. They were planted to orchards and were not intended at that time to be given over to housing.

Chipman was not altogether pleased with the results of Stratton’s survey – bad chaining by one or the other had failed to make his lines meet with the previous ones made by Surveyor Whitcher. The surveying chain consisted of 66 feet of links about 8 inches long. It was used in measuring acres and miles and could easily become kinked and shortened in surveying an oak grove heavily matted with an undergrowth of berry vines and poison Oak. Furthermore, the whole survey unfortunately was begun from the east end of the peninsula at a line not parallel with Chipman’s peach trees which accounts for the awkward angles east of Versailles Avenue. “Thus with every first bad step in any project through life, we feel the effects. It can seldom be cured.” (Ibid., May 20, 1853).

Names of legislators and presidents were chosen for the north-south streets. The names of the cross streets are self-explanatory – Mound Street ran through the great Sather Mound as well as a small one; Court Street he hoped would be the site of the Court House, and Fountain Street marked a fresh-water spring. Whether the street was named “Fountain” because of this spring, or because Chipman hoped in the future to erect a fountain there, or for the Fountain family is debatable. High Street, the easternmost road on the Encinal, was also raised on planks; Front Street in both San Francisco and Alameda fronted on the Bay; and Water Street (Waterton) was actually under water. Versailles (Ver sāles) may reflect the French element which was present near that area.

From the beginning Alameda was intended to be a city of homes. Chipman was interested in attracting such groups as athletic clubs, legislators, and educators and wrote many letters inviting such groups and promising free lots if they would locate in Alameda. He offered free land, a well, and landscaping if the court house could be located in Alameda and, when defeated in that, he later put in a bid for the State Capitol. He gave land to the Masonic Temple, four acres to the Academy of Sciences, and numerous lots for churches and other public buildings (Ibid., April 4, 1853).

The charter which Chipman drew up for the town of Alameda was a very generous one for developing a town. Among other provisions it gave the trustees power to open streets, with the cost to be evenly divided between the taxpayer and owner. It did not give the owner complete control as to whether or not a street could be opened through his property – a problem which in 1878 became a stumbling block to progress in Alameda. After circulating the Petition for Incorporation in Alameda and San Francisco and getting over 100 signatures, Chipman sent it to the State Legislature where it passed on April 1, 1854 (a month after Oakland's) with an amendment requiring that it be renewed within ten years as population grew.* Since this charter was not renewed, the government of the Town of Alameda was administered by the township and county after 1864.

In November 1854 a County Commission came by to inspect the new town and was pleased with the artesian well, the plank road across what is now High Street, the shell road under the construction, the bridge and levee across the slough and the wharf at Alameda Point. They also admired C. Holloway's house which was the only plastered one in town (Ibid., November 25, 1854). Still, people were not settling in Alameda as quickly as they might have had the ferry service from the Point been more regular, as it was clear even then that most residents did not depend on industry and farming on the peninsula for livelihood but had offices in San Francisco.

* Apparently, because of the small number of petitioners, a temporary charter was issued with the provision that it could be renewed and amended within a ten-year period.

2. “Encinal and Lands Adjacent”

Although Hibberd had not paid for his third of the Encinal and had petitioned against the Incorporation of the Town of Alameda, he also had his portion surveyed in 1854 and laid out in blocks as there was already quite a group of people living near his and Minturn’s wharf at the foot of Leviathan (now Grand) Street on the Estuary. His blocks were larger, his streets of the same width with alleys provided for, but the individual lots of 25 feet by 100 feet are eight feet narrower than those of the Town of Alameda. Since the back-to-back or side-to-side type of house so familiar to San Franciscans was never used in Alameda, these narrow lots gave rise to ugly little houses in what are now among the poorest sections of town. Very often, of course, a buyer bought two lots or two men divided the lot lying between them.

Hibberd named his north-south streets after species of fish: Mullet, Pompino, Bass, Minnow, Salmon, Trout, Pike, Dolphin, Leviathan, Perch, and Parus. “Paru,” the only “fish” name still used today, is a West Indian species similar to the butterfly fish. The east-west streets north of Central Avenue were named for birds: Quail, Linnet, Dove, Falcon, Eagle, and Condor, of which only “Eagle Avenue” survives today. Names of trees and of landholders have since been substituted for the fish and bird names.

Before the end of 1852 Charles Minturn had entered the scene and was building a wharf nearly 3,000 feet long from which he later ran a ferry service between Grand Street and San Francisco (Fig. 10). This wharf became the Encinal’s focal point for shipping activities and has remained so to the present. Chipman’s diary does not state what type of people settled in the wharf area, but mention is made of a 15-acre strawberry bed along the marsh land worked by squatters. There was also a tannery near the wharf (Ibid., April 22, 1853). Presumably the heads of families in “Encinal and Lands Adjacent” worked on the wharf, at the tannery, or like those in the “Town of Alameda,” had income from San Francisco and kept gardens on the side. This tannery and the wharfing is the first mention of industry on the peninsula, attracted probably by its transportation facilities.

3. “Peralta Landing,” or “Woodstock”

C. C. Bowman appeared on the west end of the Encinal as soon as, if not before Chipman and Aughinbaugh and for some time that area was known as “Bowman’s Point.” However, whether or not he was a squatter originally, he paid for the 144 acres and received a deed for it. Bowman had come to Chipman asking him to help develop the west end by giving away 20 or more lots to families who would build along his “Ditch,” which Bowman made in lieu of a fence, and put in other improvements such as a road. Since ferry service from Old Alameda Point at

the east end had never been a success, Chipman agreed to transfer his activities to the west end and accordingly had it surveyed and found that opposite Second Avenue the distance to deep water was only 1,125 feet with no bar to cross. Chipman spoke of "Second Avenue" and of making a map of that section as early as 1855, referring to the town he hoped would grow up around there as "Peralta" or "Peralta's Landing." But apparently no map of this town survives. Later maps of the entire peninsula show "Peralta's Wharf," which might lead one to think that Peralta had built and used it, but that certainly is not the case.

Twenty lots were given away for promises to build homes and contribute toward the construction of the wharf and road. There was little use in advertising lots for sale until transportation across the Bay had been established, so Chipman and Aughinbaugh again went into debt in order to build the proper facilities, hoping that part of the expense could be raised by subscription. But as such promises are not binding, the burden again fell on the two founders.

As Chipman needed 10,000 redwood piles, he made arrangements with the captain of the Russian ship Kamchatka to bring in part of them, and again "beach-combers and squatters stole timbers for the West End Wharf" (Ibid., July 22, 1856). Meanwhile Chipman and Aughinbaugh had discovered that the shell road to San Leandro was not going to serve the purpose for which it was planned, as the county declined to extend it beyond Alameda's limit to the road from San Leandro, so the timbers and shell were hauled from there and used in the new wharf at the west end (Ibid., July 22, 1856). Chipman felt that once a wharf was finished and a road leading to it, he and Aughinbaugh would "have the place certain" (Ibid., January 19, 1855), that is, people would come in and buy lots when they knew that they could commute across the Bay.

While all this was going on, Chipman was looking for a ferry and a skipper to institute service across the Bay from "Peralta Landing." He finally contracted to hire the Gen. Kearny and Capt. Lubbock who was at first agreeable but later backed out with the excuse that a farmer had warned him that he'd have no freight or passengers because there were no roads (Ibid., July 1856). It was rumored that Charles Minturn had bought him off, and the fact that the Kearny later ran from the latter's wharf seems to prove the suspicion (Ibid., September 4, 1856).

Rivalry between Oakland and Alameda arose very early. This was due in part to the fact that Oakland's population seemed to consist mainly of squatters while Chipman saw to it that most of those in Alameda acquired their property legally. Chipman was frank in his condemnation of squatters, those on the Encinal as well as those in Oakland, and several times he had occasion to protect the Encinal from attempts at grabbing by Oakland's founders. Also, the

business of selling lots, which depended directly on transportation facilities of each area, increased the competition between them. Later, as the population of Oakland soon outnumbered that of Alameda, it was feared that the larger town would have a controlling vote in any type of county election – measures would be passed favoring Oakland to the detriment of Alameda.

After two or three months' search for a suitable boat, the Ellen Craig was refitted and renamed Peralta, but again the passengers were plagued by an irregular schedule caused in part by the fact that the Peralta frequently blew a hole in her boiler or burst a blister which laid her up for repairs. Chipman attributed these defects to soft English iron. Apparently, steamer accidents in the 1850's became common occurrences, as in the course of only two years Chipman mentions about a dozen episodes with loss of life ranging from two to several hundred.

At no time did Chipman underestimate the role that transportation was to play in the development of Alameda, and indeed of the entire coast. As early as December 1854 he went on an exploring trip from the west end of Alameda to Stockton to look for the best route for a railroad, and two years later he drew up a plan for a railroad to go to San Jose the while writing letters to Senator Gwin and others who might listen to his projects.

Gradually most of Chipman's and Aughingbaugh's holdings were getting away from them and being transferred to A. A. Cohen, John W. Dwinelle, and others. Cohen, born in London in 1829, had studied law and with this knowledge and a great ambition he was able to acquire large tracts on the Encinal. Apparently he had also acquired enough capital to institute in 1864 a railroad and regular ferry service from the west end of Alameda (Fig. 10). Cohen drew up a map of Woodstock, laying out long blocks of lots 25 feet by 125 feet in size and naming the streets for trees and landholders.

In the early sixties at the foot of what is now Pacific Avenue, the four Bird brothers had established a hotel to which San Franciscans flocked on weekends and holidays. They arrived at night in order to be out early next morning to shoot the waterfowl which were abundant along the marsh. Woodstock early became noted for entertainments, including boxing as well as hunting. Urban Bird had a small dairy near there and his son used to row out to the Estuary to deliver milk to Robert Louis Stevenson, whose yacht, Casco, was being fitted for a South Seas voyage (Bird).

Thus the peninsula of Alameda had three separate villages, differing greatly in character, being governed by a county government when, in 1869, the editor of the Encinal set up his presses on Park Street and began a campaign to unify the disparate and ineffective hamlets of "The Encinal" into a modern city.

V. COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

The completion in 1864 of Cohen's railroad and the institution of ferry service to San Francisco from the west end bought a sharp increase in population. From 449 in 1860 it rose to 1,557 a decade later. In 1869, the year of the publication of Alameda's first newspaper, there were three widely separated hamlets on the Encinal – The Town of Alameda east of Versailles Avenue, Encinal and Lands Adjacent in the central portion of the peninsula, and Woodstock at the west end. To the editor of the Encinal, who followed a progressive policy in civic affairs, goes much of the credit for uniting the fragments into a whole. From the beginning he stressed the need for internal intellectual communication as well as contact with the outside which the railroads and ferries would provide.

1. Alameda's First Newspaper

The three Encinal hamlets went along independently with none but the cumbersome county government, and with little communication with or interest in each other. Central Avenue, the only road traversing the length of the Encinal, was a narrow, winding course full of mudholes in the rainy season and covered with a cloud of dust the rest of the year. The complete disregard with which property owners laid out their own tracts resulted in the cross streets, sometimes mere trails, often coming to an end at the boundary of the next man's property, so that a traveler had to backtrack and try to find another way out of the maze. Adding to the confusion was the duplication in street names. On the entire Encinal there was no provision made prior to 1872 for public lighting, sewage, city water, fire-fighting, city police, sidewalks, high school, or postal delivery.

In 1869, when Editor A. K. Karuth arrived, there were about 1,200 persons living on the Encinal. They were scattered through the woods in every direction, as Alameda was still a forest of live oaks and underbrush. The earthquake of 1869 had brought down many chimneys causing roofs to leak, and people everywhere were busy repairing the damages. When Krauth asked the people at Encinal Wharf where the central business district was, he was told that there was no central business district so he settled on Grand Street only to discover that Park Street, which then had only 12 houses on its entire length, was in fact the business area on the peninsula (Figs. 12 and 13). The focus of activity had moved from High Street and Encinal Avenue to Park Street and Railroad Avenue after the coming of Cohen's railroad which intersected Park Street in 1864. Alameda was a good-size village with cattle, coyotes, and cotton-tailed rabbits roaming at will among its trees and shrubbery, but rarely did one see a human abroad.



Fig. 12 Artist's conception of Cohen's wharf built in 1864.
Note the sportsman and the gnarled oak.



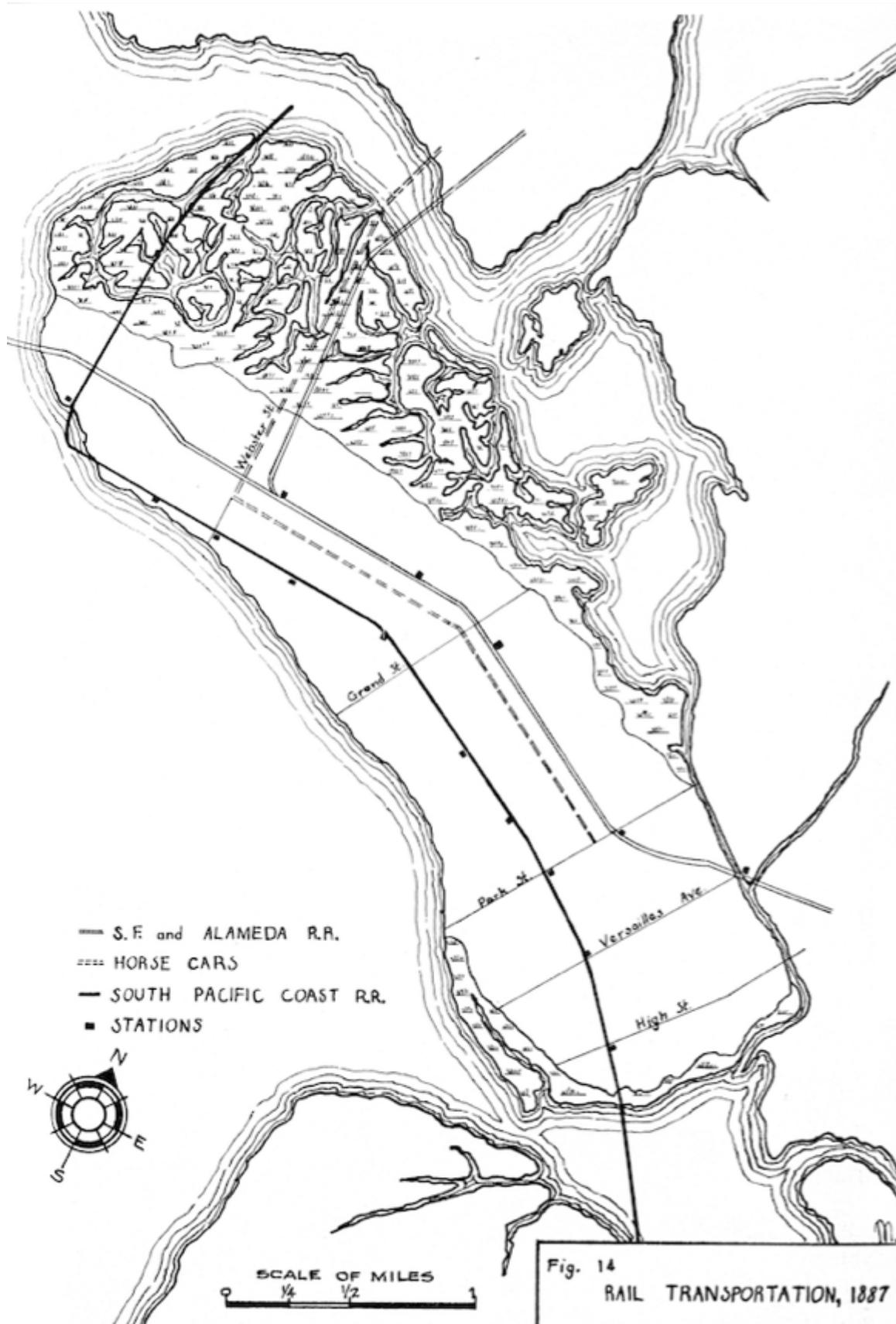
Fig. 13 Park Street was the main business district of Alameda after 1864
until the Southern Pacific Railroad built rails on Webster Street.

The Anxiety over titles of lands which resulted from the Sister's Suit, the Dent Case, and other similar attempts at landgrabbing had cast a pall over all titles and no one wanted to risk buying or improving lest it all be lost (Encinal, September 17, 1887). Such was the state of affairs when publisher Krauth came out with his first edition of the Encinal on September 16, 1869, one week after buying out the Alameda Post which had printed one issue the week before. In 1877 another newspaper, the Argus, began circulation under the editorship of P. G. Daniells. Both of these newspapers gave Alameda a community identity at least.

2. The Two Railroads

Chipman's visions of railroad and ferry connections with the interior of the state from Alameda were in part realized by A. A. Cohen on August 25, 1864, when the ferry Sophia McLane met Cohen's new commuter railroad at the foot of Pacific Avenue on the west end of the peninsula (Fig. 14). Cohen's interest in a railroad into southern Alameda County was stimulated by his ownership of a resort hotel near Warm Springs. Besides the potentialities of Alameda as a residential area for San Francisco, Cohen realized the importance of the grain and cattle trade from "Hayward's" (Due, p. 1). This ushered in an era of ferry commuting which was to become and remain a vital part of Alameda life until the discontinuance of ferries in 1938. This "San Francisco and Alameda Railroad," or the "Broad Gauge," or simply "Cohen's Line" as it was called locally, began operating in Alameda from the terminal on Pacific Avenue on the Bay and followed Railroad Avenue (Lincoln Avenue) eastward, swerving to miss most of Alameda east of Versailles Avenue, and thence to San Leandro and Hayward. There were five stations along its route - Fernside at the northernmost point of Versailles Avenue, Alameda Station on Park Street, Fasskings Station on Grand Street, Bay Street Station on Bay Street, and Mastick Station on Eighth Street (Fig. 14).

The first noticeable effect on Alameda was the shift of the business district from High Street to the vicinity of Park Street. In September of 1869 the Central Pacific Railroad extended its rails to the coast and, while waiting for the facilities at Oakland to be completed, brought its trains over Cohen's Line from Hayward to Alameda Point on the west end of the peninsula. Thus, Alameda became the west coast terminus of the Central Pacific Railroad when the steamer Alameda met the first transcontinental trains to reach San Francisco Bay. The honor was short-lived, however, as two months later the Central Pacific Railroad extended its Oakland Pier and transferred its activity to that area. In the same year, Cohen and Co. sold their line to the "Big Four," Leland Stanford, C. P. Huntington, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins, who



added new ferries – the Washoe, El Capitan, Thoroughfare, a new Oakland, and Transit with provisions for both freight cars and livestock pens (Ferry Lore, 1938).

Meanwhile James G. Fair and his associates, who became wealthy in mining Nevada silver, were building the narrow-gauge (3-foot) South Pacific Railroad, also known as the “Bay and Coast Railroad Company,” from Santa Cruz, San Jose, and Newark (Shaw, Fisher, Harlan, pp. 93-111). Completed in 1878, it entered Alameda via Bay Farm Island, followed Encinal Avenue until it merged with Central Avenue, thence to West End Avenue (Fourth Street). At this point the track swung out over the Bay to enter again on Main Street and continue north across the marsh. A left curve took it to the pier at Alameda Point where it met the ferries Newark (Fig. 15) and Bay City. Thus a second railroad and ferry service was provided for Alameda. Before this, in 1873, the Central Pacific had built a bridge across the Estuary at Webster Street and had diverted its Alameda line to Oakland so that Alamedans riding that line took Oakland’s ferries. Thus, the broad-gauge and narrow-gauge lines never did cross each other at the west end of Alameda. Both Cohen’s Line and the narrow-

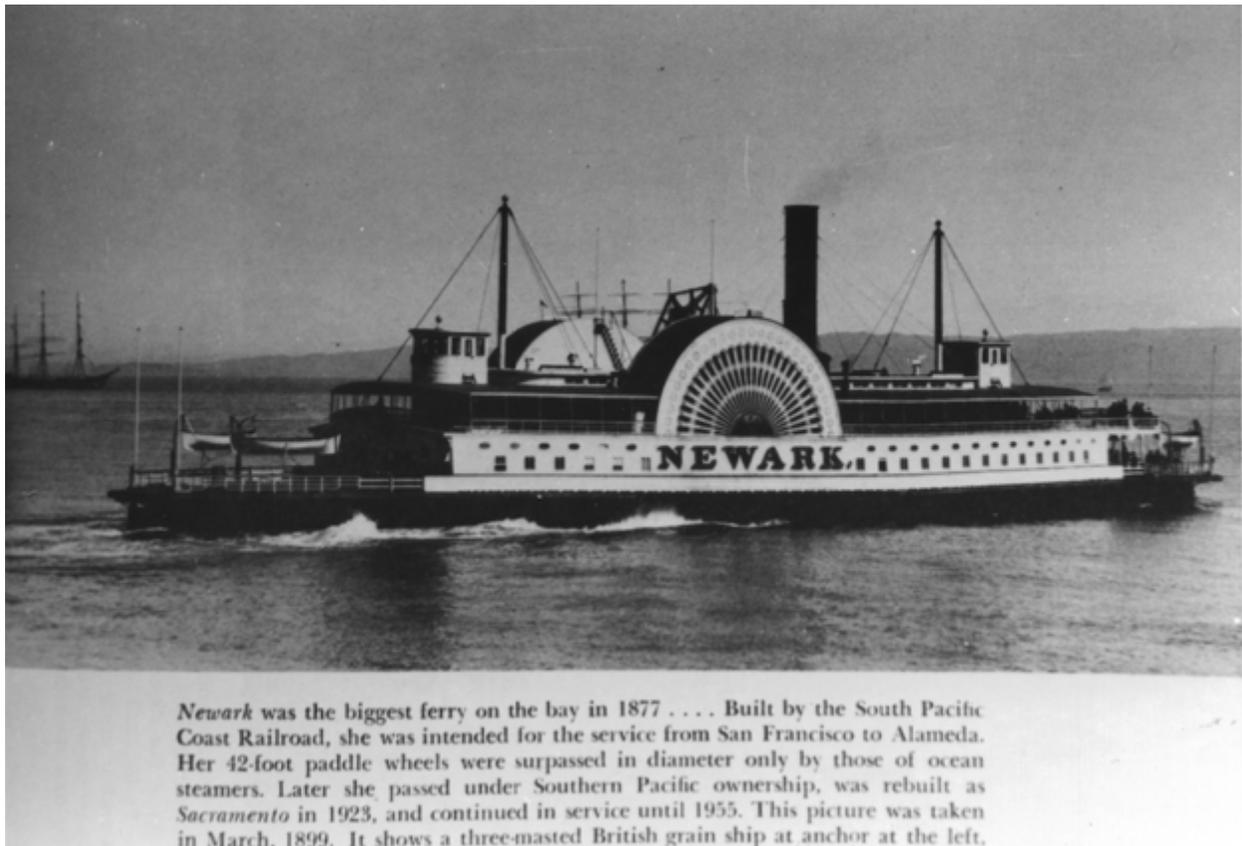


Fig. 15 It was said of the Newark that after leaving the ferry slip at San Francisco nine turns of her paddle wheel brought her to Alameda.

gauge, which had nine stations enroute (Fig. 14), were double-tracked to provide hourly, and later half-hourly, service between High street and the ferries at Alameda Point. Originally "Alameda Point" referred to the east end of the peninsula as there was actually a point of land on the southeast portion of the Encinal. After the incorporation of the entire peninsula into the town of Alameda in 1872, however, "Alameda Point" came to mean the west end, and anyone then speaking of the "point" on the east end always said "Old Alameda Point."

In 1884 the Alameda Pier was built at the end of the rail line westerly from Webster Street along the Estuary, across the marsh to the Bay. In 1887 the Central Pacific, now the Southern Pacific, also acquired the narrow-gauge line and made the pier into a "mole" in 1894 to accommodate more traffic. In 1898 the narrow-gauge line was made into a dual-gauge and after the earthquake of 1906 the narrow-gauge suspended operations altogether as result of damaged tracks and tunnels outside of Alameda. Since the Southern Pacific was using broad-gauge trains, it did not see the economic value of repairing this expensive section of railroad which was said to have cost an average for \$110,576 per mile (Shaw, p. 97). But this railroad since the time of its inception twenty years before had contributed much toward the development of the coast along its route as well as the southern half of Alameda which before the time had been practically uninhabited. Lumber from Santa Cruz and farm products made up the bulk of its freight. After the earthquake the Southern Pacific removed the narrow-gauge rails and laid down track on Fernside Boulevard to connect both lines into a loop around the east end of Alameda.

The new "Red Trains" were soon to become a familiar part of the Alameda scene with the conductor sounding an earsplitting claxon by way of warning riders of his imminent arrival. Also making the loop on the same track was the "Dinkey" with a capacity of thirty passengers, really a local street car to Oakland. It stopped at every corner where a passenger was waiting. Trains and streetcars ran every few minutes during the rush hours and half-hourly in between. Fares varied from books of local tickets not to exceed 2½ cents per ride; single tickets to San Francisco for 10 cents and commutation tickets to San Francisco, \$3 monthly; tickets from Alameda to Oakland, be more than that between Oakland and Alameda (Vigness, p. 82).

Already in 1870, as the map in David Weiss' M. A. thesis shows, the portion between Park and Webster Streets had 25 trains per square mile per day compared with a high of only 10 in Oakland. By 1890 Alameda had become a gridiron of tracks, and for a time residents were permitted to ride within the city free of charge. No wonder that the Encinal boasted that Alameda enjoyed the best transportation facilities of any city west of the Mississippi River.

In 1908 work was begun on electrifying the whole system. The cars were of steel throughout, clean and well ventilated, and capable of smooth and rapid starting and stopping, all of which made it a pleasure to ride to the Bay. President H. Rosenthal of the Alameda Chamber of Commerce wrote: "The Southern Pacific, in the completion of this magnificent system, has given the world the very last word, the final object lesson, in electric railway construction." (Irvine, p. 51). Alameda's steady rise in population, while not so spectacular as that of Oakland and San Francisco, was a direct result of the excellent transportation facilities. Industries connected with the building trade as well as realtors enjoyed a steadily mounting income.

The last passenger train in Alameda operated in 1941 and the last steam locomotive chugged down Lincoln Avenue in 1954, bringing to an end a historic era of railroading on which old-timers still look with nostalgia (Times-Star, July 11, 1960). The only railroad remaining in Alameda is the Alameda Belt Line, owned in equal shares by the Santa Fe and Western Pacific Railroads. It was formed in 1928 to handle freight for a dozen industries along the Estuary. This line is short in extent, running only between Fruitvale Bridge and the west end of the island. Spurs run alongside berths in Encinal Terminals so that freight can be loaded directly onto railroad cars. These cars then travel to Versailles Avenue where they are switched to the Southern Pacific tracks and engines to continue into Oakland. Or, they are barged from the slip at Sherman Street in Alameda to Oakland, San Francisco, Tiburon, or Richmond where they connect with Santa Fe or Western Pacific rails. The Southern Pacific also makes a daily run on the rails of the Alameda Belt Line, until it meets its own lines which intersect with it a block east of Webster Street. This line serves Todd Shipyards and the quartermaster of the Naval Air Station.

3. The Horse Cars

Before 1871 the only connection between Oakland and Alameda was by two disreputable wagon roads at High Street and Park Street. In 1870 residents of Alameda began planning for a bridge to connect with Oakland at Webster Street, the cost of which was to be borne equally by both towns. But the property owners of Brooklyn, which the section of Oakland directly opposite present Government Island was called, protested because they felt that the bridge would be detrimental to their interests while Oakland citizens thought that a bridge would obstruct navigation on San Antonio Creek. Since it was the Alamedans who wanted to get to Oakland, it was argued that they should pay for the bridge themselves. Actually, there was much traffic both ways. People from Oakland complained of the poor roads in Alameda, especially Webster Street, which they had to cross in order to get to the beach for swimming or

water sports, and Alameda housewives went to Oakland to shop. In the end, a swing-type bridge was completed in March of 1871 and then followed much harangue as to who was responsible for the salary of the bridgekeeper and for seeing that he did his job properly (Oakland Tribune, December, 1962).

Besides the service to San Francisco provided by the Southern Pacific Railroad, a local horse-car line financed by subscription and known as the "Alameda, Oakland, Piedmont Rail Road" was begun in 1872. It was designed to give Alamedans more convenient access to Oakland's stores and her ferries at the foot of Broadway and 16th Streets, and incidentally to further enhance property values in Alameda. Because Oakland had superior ferry transportation facilities at that time, property there brought higher prices than did that in Alameda (Encinal, July 6, 1872). In 1875 the first horse-car began its run down Santa Clara Avenue west of Park Street. Two years later this line was extended east on Santa Clara Avenue but not until 1882 did the County Supervisors finally give their permission for the line to lay track over the Webster Street Bridge. By this time the line had extended across Park Street into Oakland, up 23rd Avenue, down East 12th Street, across the lake (near the present Auditorium), down 11th Street to Jefferson Street, down Jefferson Street to Sixth Street, on Sixth Street to Broadway, down Broadway to Water Street, down Water Street to Webster Street, and then on Webster Street over the bridge into Alameda (Sappers). It was Alameda's most convenient link with downtown Oakland. In 1894 the horse-cars were converted to electricity and nine years later Francis Smith bought out the line and incorporated it with his Key System (*Ibid.*).

Much of the original purpose of making the horse-car connection with Oakland had been accomplished when the Southern Pacific in 1873 built its bridge at Alice Street, as it was not until nine years later that the horse-cars were allowed to cross San Antonio Creek. This gives an idea of the speed with which a public project in Alameda was carried out in that era.

4. Ferryboats on San Francisco Bay

The earliest ferryboat pilots were Indians who hauled passengers and later mail across the Bay on tule balsas. In 1835 Capt. William A. Richardson introduced for-hire service with two schooners shuttling produce and passengers between ocean-going ships in the Bay and Mission establishments on land. The first regular ferry service was begun in 1850 by Capt. Thomas Gray whose little steamer Kangaroo made twice-weekly trips across the Bay between San Francisco and the Oakland side of San Antonio Creek. Fare was \$1 per person or hog; \$3 per horse, wagon, or head of cattle; \$5 per two-horse wagon; and 50 cents per hundredweight of freight (Ferry Lore). Also appearing at this

time were whaleboats rigged as schooners with two masts and two sails, capable of carrying considerable amounts of freight and passengers. During 1852-1853 the Contra Costa Steam Navigation Company was organized by Horace W. Carpentier of Oakland and Charles Minturn who built a wharf at what is now Broadway. In the following year James Hibberd built a long wharf from what is now Grand Street in Alameda and began regular ferry service from there. Competition became keener and began when James Larue in 1858 organized his Oakland and San Antonio Steam Navigation Company. Service was greatly improved and fares drastically reduced. In the following year San Antonio Creek was dredged to make two channels, each 200 feet wide and 5 feet deep at low tide, which eliminated a former hazard – that of occasionally having to spend the night shivering on a boat stuck on a sandbar. With the deepening of the channel and more and more competition with other companies, some exciting rides were experienced as the captain stood at his wheel with a rifle lest a rival pilot attempt to run his boat afoul the narrow creek channel (Harlan, Fisher, p. 20).

The second phase of ferry travel, which was to last for 75 years, was ushered in by Oakland’s first railroad in 1863 and Alameda’s in 1864. Crossing the Bay by ferry was a thoroughly pleasant daily experience. The passengers knew each other. Crowds ambled into the bar or past the snack stand, or through groups talking politics and walking the decks. As Alameda had no high school before 1874, students could be seen inside catching upon their studies. If one had boarded out of breath, there were coffee and doughnuts for him while he had his shoes shined or read his paper. The “nickel ferry,” named for its five-cent fare, carried foot passengers and later vehicles between Broadway in Oakland and the Ferry Building in San Francisco. Passengers arriving via commuter trains boarded the ferries from the Alameda and Oakland moles (Kihn). The following table gives an idea of the numbers using the ferries: (Fitzpatrick)

1919 (Peak Year)	Oakland-S.F. Traffic	Alameda-S.F. Traffic
S. P. Ferries	18,782,202	6,370,778
Nickel Ferry	2,310,520	
1930	Oakland and Alameda combined – to San Francisco	
Seated People in Autos	19,653,782	14,855,753

A good many romances begun on board ended in matrimony – just one of the nice little asides that have been lost with the building of the Bay Bridge. Gone also are the Christmas parties on board, “Straw-hat Day” when everyone threw his straw hat overboard to signal the end of summer, and the annual party for the “Happy Bootblack” who had his shoes shined by a commuter of position in the fraternity. With the institution of the Bay Bridge many wives for the first time saw their husbands gulping food across the breakfast table, and in the evening saw the formerly relaxed businessman from San Francisco replaced by a tense and irritable “commuter.” The residents of Alameda took their loss especially hard and even toyed with the idea of organizing a municipal ferry after their petition to reinstitute the ferries, containing 3,000 signatures, was turned down. It required from 10 to 25 minutes longer to reach “the City” now, as commuters had to go via Versailles Avenue where trains were rerouted or else drive through the crowded streets of Oakland to reach the bridge. In 1951 buses began direct service to and from Alameda to San Francisco. The San Francisco Bay ferryboat service, which had made possible the growth of cities on the East Bay, had performed so well that by the 1930’s the East Bay was populous enough to warrant building the Bay Bridge which had been discussed intermittently since 1871 (Fig. 16).

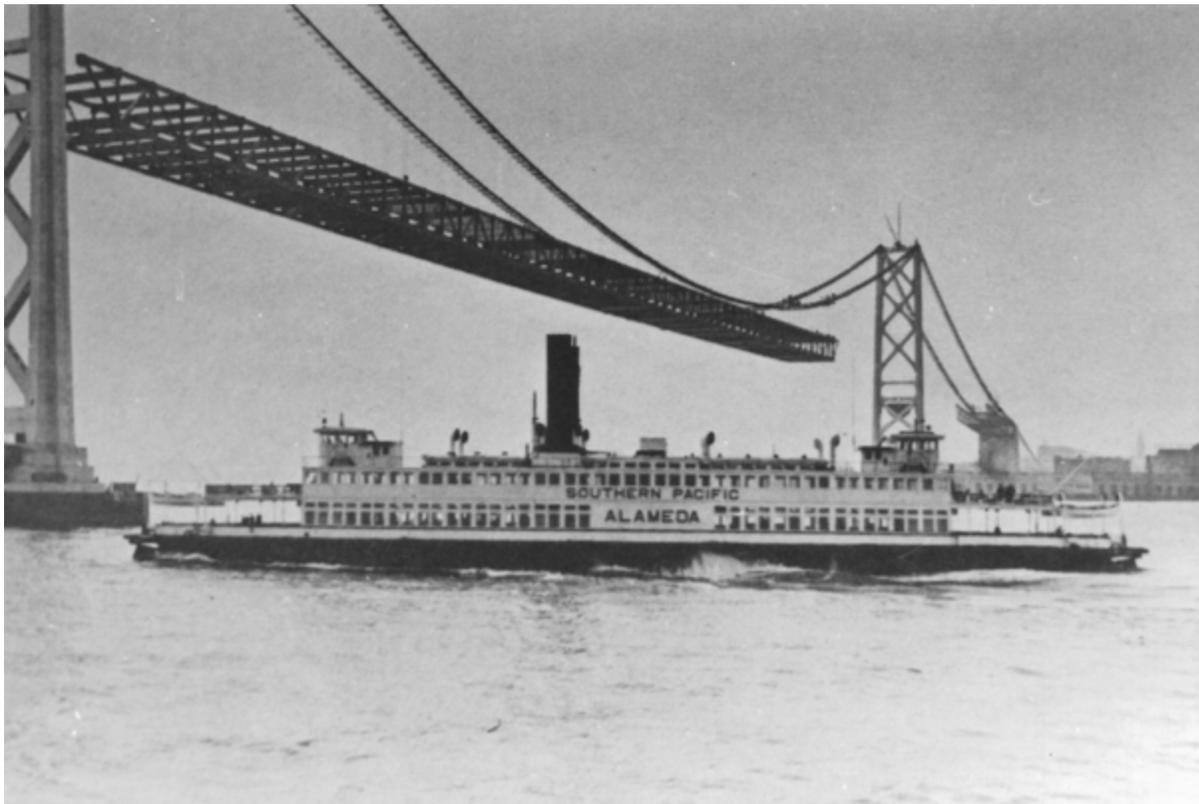


Fig. 16 One of the last of the ferries, doomed by the bridge they had helped to make possible.

Much of that made life in Alameda unique came to an end in 1940 – those who rode and loved the ferries still describe the ferry boat times and continue to sigh wistfully over the end of an era. However, it did not end commuting or slow the growth of Alameda, still famous as a city of homes. Fig. 17 shows the distribution of employees living in Alameda according to the 1960 census.

Fig. 17 – Destinations of Alameda Commuters

Work Area

Inside Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.....	27,089
San Francisco	1,515
Oakland	5,869
Contra Costa County	206
Marin County	24
San Mateo County.....	89
Solano County.....	25
Remainder of Alameda Count *	19,361
Outside SMSA	418

* Includes city of Alameda, San Leandro, etc.

Of these Alameda employees, only 2,411 used public transportation – four took the railroad and 2,407 used bus or streetcar. The rest of the 27,089 rode to work in private autos or walked (U. S. Census of Population, 1961).

VI. ALAMEDA'S SECOND INCORPORATION

The increase in population with the coming of the railroad required the solution of the problems of schools, police and fire protection, pure water, sewage, and street improvement. After the original charter of the Town of Alameda, incorporated in 1854, had expired in 1864 the Encinal had been governed by township and county government which were unsatisfactory for a fast-growing community. Oakland had incorporated in 1854 also, just a month ahead of Alameda, heightening a certain amount of competition which existed between these two towns. Part of this attitude arose from the dispute over squatters whom Chipman and Aughinbaugh kept out of the Encinal by means of court action although Carpentier and other active squatters from Oakland tried unsuccessfully for many years to take over at least the marsh lands of the peninsula. In spite of the ill-feelings between these two towns in the sixties and seventies, some people in Alameda were in favor of annexing to Oakland so as to have a more efficient local government, but most of the citizens of Alameda preferred to reincorporate under a separate charter. A few powerful landowners rejected both suggestions and did their best to preserve the semi-rural, township aspect of the peninsula.

The sense of rivalry between Alameda and Oakland was intensified when the Central Pacific extended its rails to the Pacific Coast. For one month Alameda was the terminus until the facilities at Oakland were completed in November 1869. With the coming of this railroad, shipping shifted from Vallejo to the inferior harbor of Oakland, which caused citizens on both sides of the Estuary to agitate the federal government to improve the harbor. This improvement, begun in 1874 and completed in 1902, meant cutting a tidal canal across the neck of the peninsula. The channel, connecting San Leandro Bay with San Antonio Creek, was to keep the harbor clear of silt to permit deep-draft vessels to use the harbor.

The editor of the Encinal in 1881 bitterly reviewed the developments of the past thirty years, comparing Oakland's forward-looking policy with the ineffectiveness of Alameda's:

It is discouraging, if not exasperating, to review the past policy of our large land-holders and capitalists in Alameda. We started fair with Oakland. In 1854 we were ahead. Our communication with San Francisco was better than that of Oakland. Two steamboats ran along the south side of the Encinal to High Street. Our population exceeded that of Oakland. We had a

seminary of learning, with 200 students, and Oakland then had none. Our climate was superior to that of Oakland, and our soil and drainage as good.

We had, of all large land-holders, only two progressive men whose capital was limited, but who fully appreciated the situation, and their efforts, had they been seconded, would have kept us in the lead of Oakland to this day. These men were Chipman and Aughinbaugh. As sure as the sun shines, Alameda would have had a population of thirty thousand had the efforts of these men been properly encouraged.

Beginning with the princely possession of the entire Encinal, both men of means and indomitable energy, starting gigantic improvements, roads, wharves, dikes, bridges and ferries, which if all had been completed, would have made Alameda famous years ago.

Perhaps over-sanguine of ultimate success, these pioneers worked up all their own means and had to borrow on their landed interests, at a time when money commanded 4% and 5% a month.

...They failed for want of that proper encouragement. A different policy was inaugurated. An anti-progressive, pull-back, Shylock policy. It prevails to this day. It expends no money. It opens no streets, or if any, they are narrow, crooked, 40 or 60 foot streets. It fights every effort for the town's improvement in the courts or at the capital. It has given us no public plazas; no broad thoroughfares; no sewerage; no elastic, enterprising public spirit; it has driven away hundreds of enterprising men and good citizens who felt the full force of the vampyre that has weighed like a nightmare upon the public spirit of the town. Not a single street has been opened or widened by virtue of law since the town was incorporated. It is disgraceful. Action was commenced four years ago to widen Park St. – the business street of town, to 80 feet. This anti-progressive element fought it in the courts. It is in the courts yet. Some have voluntarily moved back; but the legal width of the street is still 60 feet. Property holders could close up the sidewalks at any moment they chose and fence them in. What is the result of this skinflint, this Ishmaelite policy? We have 6000 population, where we should have had 30,000. We have an assessment roll of a little over 3 millions when we should have 20 millions. We have a few incomplete sewers; a few improved streets, no public buildings, no seminaries of learning and nothing else that

has not come to us within the last 3 years in spite of this devil-fish policy, which throttles the life out of everything within reach of a cold, calculating, miserly, unscrupulous intelligence that directs it. Look at the opposite picture. Look at Oakland. They have pulled together, dredged her bar to let steamers to her landing, built many seminaries and costly buildings, and drawn to herself educational institutions of the state as well as the county seat. She has a population of over 35,000. (Encinal, February 12, 1881).

Much of the seeming backwardness of Alameda can be explained by the aims and backgrounds of the men who were shaping the town. Whereas Chipman had come from Ohio where cities were fairly small and close to the country, Cohen had been raised in teeming London and was familiar with the crowding of city life there in 1850. Chipman was an admirer of city life while Cohen surely would have heartily disliked the almost solid agglomeration of people that characterizes the Bay Area today. Therefore while one faction of Yankees was striving to unite into a city government, Cohen and other large landholders were doing their best to retain Alameda as a township of country estates where life could be lived as simply as possible with a minimum of administrative machinery. So long as large landholders were nicely screened from crowds of people by oaks and so long as their water was in no danger of being contaminated by a neighbor's cesspool or outdoor toilet, they took little interest in municipal water supply or sewage disposal. And because they could afford fine horses and drivers, they were not too inconvenienced on their way to work as was the ordinary citizen who was demanding improved streets. However, the lack of fire protection was a more worrisome problem, and the great Chicago fire of 1871 probably did as much as any other agency to unite the bulk of the smaller property owners on the Encinal.

As has been stated, the original charter of 1854 had expired in 1864, after which the peninsula reverted to township and county government, neither of which served the needs of the new growth in population. One group, led by Cohen, held that all the Encinal needed was a street commission to organize the public transportation system, especially the railroad and ferry links. The other deficiencies could be worked out by private subscription. This whole attitude was in part based on an unwillingness to spend money, but more important, on a desire to keep Alameda from becoming anything more than it was – just a pleasant suite for homes. Acquainted with city life on their daily round in San Francisco, this faction had retreated to Alameda precisely because it was less ordered, less noisy, relaxed, rural, and unsophisticated.

The editor of the Encinal, however, felt that more than a street commission was called for, and he kept his columns full of warnings of what would happen unless all the voters got together on one policy for the whole peninsula. The county and township governments were too slow and ponderous and subject to political pressure to attend to the innumerable minor civic matters of a town. Alameda would have to be annexed to a larger municipality or incorporate separately again. Those who rejected both suggestions asked to whom, for example, should they be annexed? To Oakland, and have to help pay its debts which had piled up over the years, and to be outnumbered at the polls by Oakland's larger population? This proposition was voted down in 1871 by a count of 141 to 47 (Encinal, October 26, 1872). It would be improper to be incorporated with San Francisco since San Francisco is in San Francisco County and Alameda County was said to have been named for the only town in it at the time of the county's establishment in 1853. Otherwise this proposition was not entirely irrational. In 1871 there were already plans for a bridge to be built across the bay from Alameda Point at the west end to Hunter's Point; plans which were to be revived again in 1895. Annexation was rejected, yet incorporation seemed to many equally distasteful, especially in view of Oakland's premature move in this respect and her consequent financial difficulties.*

Oakland's leaders had been active in constructing public buildings and providing streets and utilities in order to handle a growing population. They had a more complex administrative system and charter which permitted them to spend money more freely than was thought wise in Alameda. The citizens of Alameda, on the other hand, lived in a semi-rural atmosphere which required a minimum of municipal control except on holidays when large crowds came from Oakland and San Francisco to enjoy the beaches and parks. For such occasions special officers were hired to head off trouble which could arise when large groups of outsiders gathered to celebrate. One faction in Alameda preferred these temporary measures to the expense of organizing an efficient city government.

The discussion of annexation and its attendant problems made those against incorporation a little more receptive to it as the lesser of the evils; at least they could control the budget through their own rules and regulations. The first meetings were held in 1869, and soon a commission was at work writing a new charter with special emphasis on laying out and macadamizing new streets and beautifying the avenues and public grounds in

* Oakland had been incorporated as a town in May of 1852 and as a city in March of 1854.

general However, a clause was inserted which gave landowners power to protest the opening of streets through their premises as it was believed that otherwise the powerful landowner's lobby would block its passage in the State Legislature. This clause was to prevent real progress in cutting streets through tracts since three-fourths of the cost of building streets was to be paid by owners fronting on them. But the charter was passed on February 29, 1872, and at last all those disparate sections of the Encinal were joined under one government and one name. Actually in the incorporation of 1872, Alameda was made coterminous with Alameda Township which includes Bay Farm Island.

Very early, through H. Carpentier's machinations, Oakland held the notion that the marsh lands along both sides of the Estuary belonged within its corporate limits. In rewriting the original substance of the Peralta grant, the language had been altered to exclude from the grantees the marsh lands. This alteration prompted Chipman as late as 1863 to write an appeal against this change in wording which had altered the original intent of the land grant (Peralta, pp. 347-349). Oakland was miffed when Alameda turned down the offer of annexation to the larger city. Conflict between the two settlements continued. As late as 1877 Oakland citizens were dumping garbage on the Alameda side of the Estuary, an insult which prompted the irate editor of the Encinal to inquire whether "these people still imagine that Oakland's charter line runs to high water mark on the Alameda shore?" (Encinal, February 3, 1877). The courts ruled that Alameda's boundary followed the channel of San Antonio Creek, north of what is now Government Island.

The liquor question came up in 1874. To some it appeared that Alameda had as many saloons as all other types of shops put together. Should the sale of liquor continue to be licensed or should the sale be abolished altogether? Many mass meetings were held by both temperance and pro-liquor groups and finally an election was held. The entire German-American community, which was very numerous by then on the western half of the peninsula, considered the proposed prohibition an infringement of their liberties. The other side, a cosmopolitan mixture of many nationalities, viewed the proposed law as a promise of a more orderly community (Vigness, p. 42). The pro-liquor faction won, the vote being 201 for and 108 against.

The actions of hoodlums from San Francisco who came to Alameda for "a lark" illustrated very clearly the need for more stringent law enforcement. Alameda had a reputation for soft treatment of transgressors: "Alameda is a paradise for roughs. For striking a policeman with a knife the tax is \$6; for knocking a policeman down, only \$3; and for being a third party who assisted the first two in their sport no tax was imposed." (Encinal, June 17, 1877).

Actually, Alameda itself had little need of police protection except for special occasions when people from San Francisco and Oakland flocked to her beaches, beer gardens and dancing pavilions.

The lack of enthusiasm for the 1872 charter, which was less liberal than that of 1854, more likely stemmed from the fact that the citizens on “The Encinal” could not immediately experience a feeling of unity rather than from any real defect in the charter itself. After several years of indifferent success under the new charter and much agitation against opening some streets, notably Lincoln Avenue through Cohen’s estate, another charter was written and sent to the State Legislature. It was passed in 1878 without ever having been submitted to the townspeople for approval. This charter, credited to Cohen and the Southern Pacific Railroad, contained some paralyzing legislation: the tax limit was dropped from \$1 to 70 cents; authorized assessment was dropped; compensations for city officials were cut; several jobs were combined; there was to be not expenditure beyond the annual tax receipts or what was already in the treasury; the cost of a lighting system was to be borne by the owners directly benefited; and property owners were given greater voice in the procedure of opening streets. The street problem had been the main reason for incorporating in 1872, and with this new charter progress in this direction was halted (Times-Star, January 9, 1963). Since no public works could be started until the money was already in the treasury, virtually nothing of a civic nature was accomplished for the next seven years. The editor of the Encinal referred to the years following 1878 as “dead-letter” years. But a possible solution to the problem was offered in the form of a General Law which came under discussion by the State Legislature in the early 1880’s.

The State Legislature had announced that it was not going to attend to any more local governments or amend existing charters. Accordingly, 1881 a convention was held in San Francisco to consider how cities under 10,999 might handle their own private affairs. The new General Law, an act to provide for the organization, incorporation, and government of municipal corporations, was approved by the Legislature on March 13, 1883. While one group still maintained that Alameda had reached her zenith and that more growth was not to be expected of her, the editor of the Encinal once more rushed into the fray urgently persuading the voters to rid themselves of the 1878 charter which could not be amended and which, if kept, would doom Alameda to stagnation. He published various provisions of the General Law, urging citizens to judge for themselves whether or not it would be advantageous for Alameda to accept it. In part it read: “the new law shall give the Trustees the power to establish, build, and repair bridges; to establish, lay out, alter, keep open, open, improve and repair streets, sidewalks, alleys,

squares, and other public highways and places within the city, and to drain, sprinkle, and light the same..." (Encinal, October 15, 1884).

As the matter of streets and transportation had been sore point as well as a retarding factor in the settlement of Alameda from the beginning of the town's history, the citizens who had become thoroughly fed up with mudholes and dead-ends voted in 1884 by a vast majority to accept the new, more liberal charter under the General Law as provided for a city of the fifth class (Encinal, November 5, 1884). In 1900 and again in 1906 other charters were presented before the citizens, but none was accepted until 1917. In that year, the city-manager form of government was instituted, which with minor changes, prevails to the present day.

VII. TRACTS AND STREETS

The progressive breaking up of larger tracts into smaller ones and eventually into single lots was intimately tied in with the whole problem of streets. Direction, width, naming, and the actual decision as to whether or not a street was to be opened through his property was largely the prerogative of the individual landholder, at least before 1884.

1. Real Estate

The first subdivision of the Encinal was actually made before it passed into the hands of the Americans. Chipman and Aughinbaugh sold half of the peninsula to six Americans in 1851. This left the two founders jointly owning two large properties at either end of the peninsula together with the marsh land which had not been included in the survey to the six Americans in 1851. It has been shown how the three hamlets of Alameda, Woodstock, and Encinal (later also known as Bartlett-town) were laid out rectangularly into blocks varying greatly in length and width from one area to another. In addition to these platted areas, a small settlement had grown up in the Fitch tract between Central and Santa Clara Avenues and west of Prospect (Eighth) Street. It became known as "Schroederville" after Louis W. Schroeder, who supplied the water for that area (Encinal, April 18, 1888).

With the coming of the railroad in 1864 the pace of settlement accelerated. The railroad and ferry service were financed by such large landholders as Mastick, Dwinelle, and Cohen who were intent on selling their holdings for a profit. In the late sixties they began laying out blocks and lots which were offered up for auction in San Francisco. Alameda's growth rate had been much slower than Oakland's, apparently in part because of excessively high land prices. As large landholders of Alameda preferred a township of large estates, fewer and larger lots went on the market in Alameda. There was no encouragement to manufacturing industries in Alameda under the assumption that its residents would, for the most part, commute to offices on the other side of the Bay. As late as 1911 Alameda was advertising that "there will never be an undesirable factory population or other aggregation of workers to change the character of the town." (Irvine, p. 7).

Toward the end of the sixties and into the seventies, eighties, and nineties, realtors made maps of the various tracts showing the exact location of each lot for sale and its proximity to the lines of communication. A typical sale bill of Alameda land in the late sixties mentioned such advantages as frequency of rail and ferry service as well as the fertile soil and excellent climatic conditions which made possible year-round gardens. This claim to "the finest

climate in the Bay Area” has been a recurrent theme in Alameda’s promotion. Chipman had noted in his diary in 1853, while living in Alameda, that “it is sunny here and foggy in San Francisco as usual.” (Chipman Diary, 1853.) The Oakland and Alameda Directory early stated that Alameda has been noted for its delightful and invigorating climate, a place where people go to escape San Francisco’s fierce winds and fog which prevail for six months of the year. It was claimed that the equable weather of Alameda, with its built-in air conditioning, made it possible for people to wear practically the same clothing all through the year. Add to this the nearness to the beach from any point on the island and the meadowlike appearance of open glades surrounded by beautiful evergreen oaks which shut out the harsh bay winds, and it would be difficult, the promoters said, to find a more favorable spot on which to build a home and raise a family. The earliest settlers typically kept chickens and a cow or two, and cultivated a garden which accomplished the dual purpose of providing food for large and growing families and chores “to keep them out of mischief.” And all this just twenty minutes from San Francisco by ferry at a cost of only five cents each way – less than San Franciscans paid on their own local street cars!

Bannister’s map of 1872 shows small aggregations of people at either end of the peninsula and another clump around Encinal Wharf on the Estuary. Most of the rest of “The Encinal” was apparently unsettled. Talk that a bridge might be built one day to connect Alameda with San Francisco, the proposed harbor improvements on San Antonio Creek, and the fact that the Central Pacific had made the East Bay its west coast terminus contributed to Alameda’s first spurt in speculative real estate activity in 1874-75. At about the same time the cutting up of the Minturn property in the southwest quarter of Hibberd’s tract opened up some of Alameda’s choicest acres, later known as the “Gold Coast” (Figs. 18 and 19), where many beautiful and stately mansions were built on the waterfront overlooking San Francisco, with dock facilities for sailboats (Baker, p.328). But it wasn’t until much of the interior oak forest had been removed that people in numbers began to prefer the seaside to the interior blocks (Keane).

Already in 1871 an association was building homes at the west end of Alameda and selling them “on time” in the modern manner, much as if the buyers were paying rent (Encinal, June 3, 1871). By 1879 there was a total of 1,020 dwellings in Alameda, 371 having been built within these last two years, and the population had increased from 4,000 to 5,500 during the same period (Encinal, June 28, 1879). From this time on, growth was continuous, with carpenters seldom idle. For example, 65 houses were built in April and May of 1891 (Encinal, May 5, 1891).



Fig. 18 Spacious lawns, original live oaks.



19 "Beautiful houses," enhanced by planting.

Fig.

The largest tracts, such as Fassking's Park and the Haight Tract, were first sold to individuals in portions the size of a city block. As late as the 1890's there were in the central portion of Alameda many such lots containing only one house each with vacant blocks between on which small boys played baseball or "treetag." The latter game was played mainly in branches of old oak trees which still predominated the landscape in some areas at that time (Steinmetz).

Ayer's map of 1887, however, shows that enough really large holdings still existed to be seriously obstructing street development. Rising tax assessments helped to solve the problem by promoting the cutting up of tracts, as many owners were thus forced to sell parts of their property for taxes. There were a good many people who understood in the eighties and nineties the meaning of the expression "land poor" (Heche).

With more and more people dividing their property according to their own whims, lot sizes varied from a skimpy 25 feet by 100 feet as laid down originally in the Town of Encinal and Woodstock to more than 50 feet by 200 feet in the vicinity of Pacific Avenue and Willow Street (Figs. 20 and 21). Besides including a railroad timetable, advertising circulars by 1880 were adding to their roster of advantages for Alameda "Pure artesian water on every lot; easy terms - one-fourth cash, balance in 1, 2, or 3 years at 8% per annum payable quarterly; TITLE PERFECT" (Real Estate Maps). The last item was an important consideration in light of the past history of land litigation. In 1880 Capt. R. R. Thompson had received a franchise to provide artesian water for the city of Alameda from wells sunk east of High Street.

Population growth in Alameda was steady in the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Hardly an issue of the Encinal did not contain advertisements for real estate, usually with some claim to superiority as a residential area. As late as 1913 Alamedans were striving to preserve a certain amount of exclusiveness as can be seen in the advertisements for Waterside Terrace along Fernside Boulevard, and for other avenues such as Bayo Vista and Fairview.

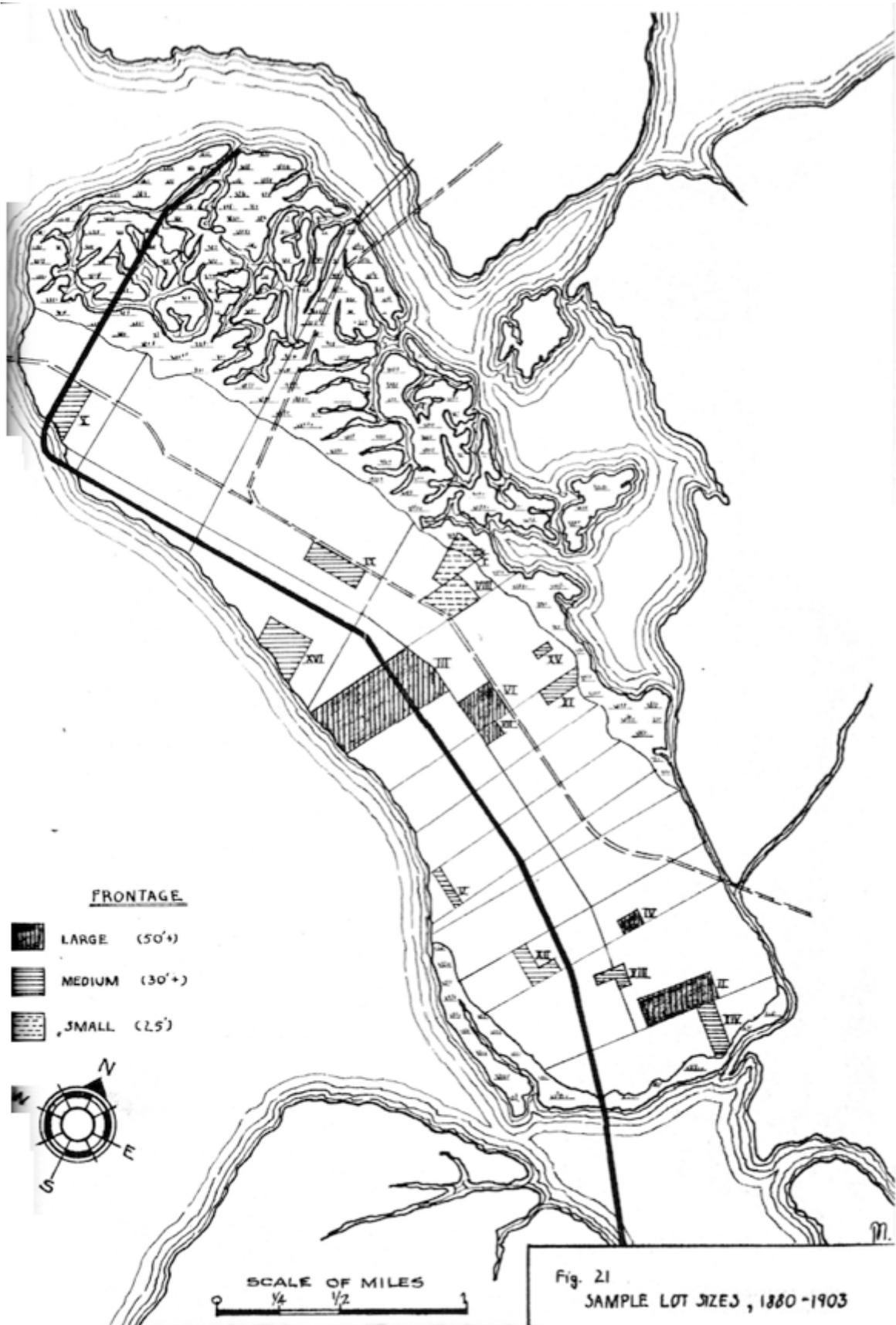
The last major tract to be subdivided east of Grand Street was the 65-acre Cohen estate known as Fernside. It had remained an orchard and horse pasture until the late 1920's when the heirs put it on the market after several years of careful planning. This development brought to an end the open park-like atmosphere that once characterized all of Alameda, but in its place has come a fine residential area. Finally, in the 1940's, the last of the unforested area west of Webster Street, formerly in gardens, was converted into government housing.

Fig. 20 Sample lot sizes and locations of tracts, 1880's -1903.

- I. Fitch tract, east of Benton.
25 x 100, 25 x 125
- II. Sather-Robinson tract, Court to High.
56 x 130, 56 x 117
- III. Oak Park and Oak Park E. tract.
50 x 159, 50 x 130, 45 x 150
Several large ones already built up, 150 x 248
- IV. A. A. Cohen. Lincoln and Santa Clara.
70 x 140
- V. One block west of Park St., auction.
50 x 120, 40 x 120
- VI. Auction: sewerred, macadamized. Union and Lafayette.
65 x 108, 45 x 150
Some very large, already built on, 80 x 150, etc.
- VII. Lafayette and Central.
50 x 108, 54 x 157 50 x 207
- VIII. Powers tract. Arbor and Stanton.
25 x 100, 25 x 165
- IX. Mozart to Bay St. Railroad to Santa Clara.
50 x 125, and some huge places already
- X. Gov. Haight Homestead
30 x 144, 40 x 135, 50 x 135
- XI. Buena Vista and Stanford.
46 x 150, 46 x 127
- XII. Versailles and San Jose.
50-54 x 140, 40 x 135, 50 x 135
- XIII. Grove to Mound.
45 x 150, 50 x 110
- XIV. Liberty and Garfield tract, Auction.
50 x 155, 50 x 110
- XV. Eagle and Clement. Auction.
37 x 108
- XVI. Weber and Caroline area. Lots mixed in with others already
occupied.
50 x 140, 30 x 125

(Everyone used his own discretion, with total disregard for the rest.)

Compiled from Real Estate Maps in the file of the Alameda Historical Society.



2. Street Improvements

Narrow, unpaved streets were still plaguing the town although as early as 1852 Chipman and the others who held deeds to the entire peninsula had signed an agreement to build a road 100 feet wide through their property from the west end to High Street. Central Avenue, although never as wide as that, remained the only road which traversed the entire length of Alameda until 1878 when the South Pacific Coast Railroad laid its rails over Encinal Avenue from San Leandro Bay to the west end. Since after every heavy rain the one or two over-worked roads required much repair, this subject of streets was the first to receive the attention of the fledgling town after its incorporation in 1872.

A visitor to Alameda in 1872 made the following observations of the town:

I accordingly took the delightful trip across the bay and found myself comfortably seated in a car at Alameda Point and was soon gliding toward the woods. The first thing that attracted my observation was that there were neither roads nor sidewalks, over which teams and pedestrians could travel after leaving the steamboat wharf. The teams plowed into the sand and the persons on foot took to the railroad track.... Soon this Railroad Avenue became curtailed and I was certain that it could not be more than 50 or 670 feet wide, and as the cars flew along, the track being laid in the middle of the street, it seemed as if the few teams we passed were crowded by the train clear to the fence for safety. The street, instead of being graded, paved, or macadamized, was a bed of sand and weeds; and scrub oak, poison oak, and underbrush held almost entire possession of the surface.... Examine Encinal Station. The road opposite Fassking's Hotel is only 670 feet wide. The rails are in the middle of the street, occupying with the sleepers, say eight feet; then comes the dirty little dilapidated 10 x 10 building and the fence is less than 10 feet away, and this is the carriage way and sidewalk combined. On the other side of the track – say five feet off – and near the center of the street is a telegraph pole, they are all along the avenue, and between this pole and the posts Mr. Fassking has tried to designate a sidewalk of 10 to 12 feet. And through this space all the travel must pass. And this is at the depot, opposite the principal hotel in town! ...Cannot they realize that a good, broad avenue, well-macadamized with pretty grounds, ornamental fences, and fine sidewalks in front will be attractive to

the eyes of strangers who pass through, induce settlement, and add to the value of the property, and give to the town the very advantages they desire? ... But what is here? This must be Alameda! Quite a village; but the avenue seems narrower still. Here it is a double track, and absolutely no space in the street beside what it occupies. No carriage-way, no sidewalks, no enterprise, no nothing. I will return by the next train. Alameda will not do for me! (were first sold to individuals in portions the size of a city block. As late as the Vigness, pp. 35-38.)

Here we have a stranger's candid description of one of the main thoroughfares on the Encinal in 1872. He apparently did not realize that the "little village" was only Park Street and that the railroad bypassed Old Alameda altogether.

Actually, a year earlier the first gasoline lamp had been erected in front of Morgan's saloon and some months later several blocks of Park Street were lighted, mainly by business firms along the street. Also a few people were laying narrow, wooden sidewalks alongside their own fences. When Webster Street was macadamized in 1872, it sparked interest in resurfacing and sidewalking Central Avenue which was the most traveled east-west road in town. This was really the beginning of a campaign of opening, widening, grading, curbing, resurfacing, sprinkling, and lighting streets that promised to remake Alameda. By 1873 the demand for improved streets and sidewalks induced the Trustees to hire the Oakland Paving Company to macadamize Pacific Avenue. Regulations were passed requiring landowners to build sidewalks along their premises two or three boards wide and to paint hitching posts and stiles white so that pedestrians would not bump into them at night (*Encinal*, March 1, 1873). In the following year Bartlett, who owned much of Alameda directly west of Park Street from the Estuary to the Bay, began grading, macadamizing, and sidewalking Chestnut Street from north to south with an eye to raising the value of land in that area. In 1875 the town instituted its first street-sprinkling system – a cart drawn by four horses wetted down the main streets of Alameda (*Ibid.*, June 26, 1875). In the same year the street department ordered street signs to be made and posted, and while Grand Street was being widened to 80 feet, Eagle, Blanding, and Clement Avenues were opened from Park Street westward. By 1877, 25 miles of sidewalks had been completed, high fences had been removed, and streets were being renamed to avoid duplication or unpopular labels (Fig. 22) when another charter went into effect which halted further progress on streets.

During the six years following the 1878 charter very little was accomplished officially on street improvement although once the movement got under way in 1872, most of the large landholders who were interested in selling lots did open streets through their acres and made some attempt at embellishment. Senator Steward, for example, extended Versailles Avenue and other streets in his property in a straight line to the Bay cutting up what had been a 20-acre tract of vegetable gardens (Ibid., September 14, 1879).

With the adoption of the new charter of 1884, the Trustees immediately took up the battle where they had left off and hires I. N. Abell to measure every block and to give a number to every house in town so that mail could be delivered (Ibid., July 30, 1884). Dairy men were prohibited from grazing their cows on the public streets and from driving herds through the community any time they chose (Ibid., March 19, 1884). The Street Superintendent hired a man and a cart to gather up refuse that couldn't be burned or removed from public sight. At about this time we find the first mention of a hard paving material – yellow “Fruitvale cement,” which was “hard as flint,” and was used to pave a section of road (Central?) between Park and Everett Streets. It was simply an orange-colored clay-gravel which had unusual cementing properties when laid down and compressed by means of a heavy roller. Brought in from the hills behind Fruitvale just across the Estuary, this material was found to be far superior to any type of surfacing used before. From then on this “cement” was widely used in making the “stone” sidewalks which became an extra selling point for realtors (Ibid., September 17, 1884).

Almost daily from 1884 on the Encinal mentions grading, curbing, and macadamizing of various streets, as many as five at one time, with the cost being borne by the property owner – a provision that was carefully deleted from the earlier charter of 1878 (Ibid., June 6, 1888). There were still property owners protesting the opening and improving of streets, and their protestations were being heard, but in the end the power given to the Board of Trustees under the new charter prevailed. The result was that by 1890 Alameda was well on the way to having one of the cleanest, most attractive, and most complete systems in the state (Ibid., July 11, 1888). Although much progress had been made in resurfacing and widening the main streets, there were still unpaved lanes here and there in the more untraveled parts of Alameda until after the First World War (Steinmetz).

3. Nomenclature

Originally streets on the east side of Old Alameda were named principally for statesmen; those in the middle third of the peninsula for fish, birds, and trees; those in the Fitch Tract for saints, and those in Woodstock for

large landholders and for trees. Caroline Street was named for Mrs. Caroline Chipman, a lover of music, who in turn named Weber, Mozart, and Verdi Streets. The streets in the Cohen or Fernside Tract honor colleges – a direct appeal to the sort of people who might have been interested in just such institutions (Keane). Reading the map of Alameda from east to west, we have a short “Who’s Who” of Alameda’s former large landholders and important men who have been immortalized on street signs: Meyers, Briggs, Thompson, Gibbons, Tilden, Johnson, Bishop, Blanding, Lewelling, Otis, Chester, Crist, Foley, Clement, Minturn, Hibberd, Powers, Benton, Morton, Sherman, Chapin, Mastick, Page, Haight, and Taylor.

In 1877 undesirable fish names in the Hibberd third were replaced by names of men. Saints’ names in the Fitch Tract were changed to those of landholders – one wonders whether the Protestant Germans had anything to do with the latter change, as it is known that the population west of Stanton Street after 1870 was largely German Lutheran. A proposal made in the 1890’s to change the names of all cross streets to numbers in order to facilitate the matter of location was not well received. However, the blocks were renumbered at about that time for the purpose of standardizing the address system, the lower numbers beginning at the west end and progressing eastward.

Ironically, not a school, park, or street in Alameda honors Antonio María Peralta, W. W. Chipman, nor Aughinbaugh – they are pretty much forgotten by all except the archivist.

VIII. THE CHANGING COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

The population of Alameda in its earliest years was mainly Anglo-Saxon – Yankees from Ohio and points farther east. There were some Chinese from the very beginning, but not until after the 1906 earthquake did they come in significant numbers. The Germans began arriving in the late 1860's and the Italians about ten years later. Negroes did not arrive in force until after 1940.

1. Ethnic Composition of “Old Alameda”

Prior to 1860 there were only about ten houses west of Versailles and about thirty east of it. A review of the names of these householders reveals their ethnic origin – mostly English names, and the people from New England. There were in addition, a few Chilean and French families. The character of this group was for the most part sober, industrious, and religious. Chipman himself was an active member of the Sons of Temperance while Aughinbaugh was described by contemporaries as that “rare type of honest man so hard to find” in early California. Settlers in the first two years included five ministers and several other professional men such as doctors and lawyers, men who had come in contact with Chipman through the agency of his San Francisco Reading Room. Here he had been able to discover something of the reputation of those to whom he was selling. He not only tried to keep out undesirable settlers but made positive efforts to attract lawmakers by offering land for the county seat and later for the capital. He also gave land to educational institutions and tried to lure tennis and yacht clubs to Alameda. Although he was unsuccessful in getting the county seat or the capital to locate in Alameda, the Oak Grove Educational Institute was founded there in the middle fifties. Several churches were also early established which set the tone for the east end of the Encinal. Even today, the area east of Park Street is to some the prestige area of Alameda.

2. Central Alameda

Hibberd's third of the Encinal between Park and Paru Streets was settled more slowly than the section east of Versailles; much of the southern half of Hibberd's remained in farms for some years. This slowness of settlement in the early years was partly an effect of the lengthy litigation between Chipman and Hibberd. The incorporation in 1854 of the Town of Alameda, east of Versailles Avenue, gave property buyers there a feeling of security in their land titles. And once a nucleus was established at the junction of what is now High Street and Encinal Avenue, others of like interests gravitated toward that center. When Cohen's railroad came through Alameda in 1864, the focus of

business shifted from High Street to Park Street, where there was a station stop, but it did not deter people from building homes on the east end.

Hibberd befriended a number of squatters, and the type of people who settled at the foot of Grand Street and along the Estuary were therefore entirely different sort from the staid group east of Versailles. This waterfront area is one of the lower income areas today. Encinal Wharf's earliest residents worked on the docks and later, as ships began using the facilities of San Antonio Creek, the families of deck hands and stevedores built small houses within walking distance of the Estuary. Many of these earliest settlers, like those of the east end, were from the eastern United States but there were more foreign-born who took jobs requiring less knowledge of the language and less skill than was possessed by many property owners in Old Alameda.

However, after the Bartlett Tract in the southwest quarter of Hibberd's third was subdivided in the seventies, some of the finest houses (Figs. 18 and 19) in Alameda went up in what came to be known as the "Gold Coast," outlined roughly by the bay shore, Lafayette Street, San Antonio Avenue, Central Avenue, and Weber Street. In 1875 Peter White built a 14-room house (Fig. 23) with polished oak paneling, gleaming hardwood floors in herringbone pattern perfectly matched, and mahogany banisters. A fireplace of marble, floor-to-ceiling windows of glass tinted to let in diffused lighting, and copper knobs on heavy doors added richness to an open living room designed for gracious living. Six men worked for three weeks painting Mrs. White's family crest, the Ledyard coat of arms, on the ceiling of the dining room which was an exact replica of the Cardinal Wolsey room at Hampton Court, England (Times-Star, January 10, 1952). Christ Episcopal Church, established in 1874 on Santa Clara Avenue, is an indication of greater concentration of English in this south central section, but on the whole the people living thus represented a cross-section of the wealthier businessmen of San Francisco. For pleasure they went to the Encinal Yacht Club (Figs. 24 and 25), built over the water at the end of Grand Street, where boating, bathing, dancing, and the bar provided entertainment for old and young. After the tidal canal was cut through in 1902, the altered current from San Leandro Bay eventually brought in six feet of silt which rendered the pools too shallow for diving, and made the beach less attractive for bathing in general.

3. The Germans

Probably of the part of the peninsula was more predominantly represented by a single national group than was the section between Stanton and Webster Street in the last 25 years of the nineteenth century. Germans began coming in during the late sixties, partly in response to the annexation of



Fig. 23 The home of Peter White, built in 1875. Designed for gracious living, this 14-room mansion boasted matched herringbone floors, mahogany banisters, marble fireplace, tinted window glass, and the “Ledyard coat of arms on the dining-room ceiling.”



Fig. 24 Encinal Yacht Club, end of Grand Street.



Fig. 25 The famous “Neptune Beach” in 1925, opposite what is now Webster Street.

Hanover to Prussia, and partly because of the growing objection to the compulsory military service at home. The first arrivals made stopovers in San Francisco. But once they discovered the groves of trees and the milder climate of the Encinal, many hastened to move to the East Bay. They formed a Loan Association to assist their friends and relatives in Germany to join them. Many brought money with them and went into business in San Francisco; very few were engaged in farming. Those Germans who continued to live in San Francisco came to Alameda on holidays for swimming and ball games at Neptune Beach, picnics and dancing at Schuetzen and Fassking’s Parks, and to drink beer with their confreres at Harmony Hall. In semi-rural Alameda they found the trees and flower gardens which reminded them of their native Germany and which were missing in San Francisco.

Although the majority of Germans settling in Alameda commuted to San Francisco, there was on Webster Street an almost solid string of shops owned by Germans: Croll’s Hotel, Hofmann’s Bakery, Volberg’s Drugstore, Finster-Busch’s Bazaar, Seebeck’s Saloon, Steinmetz’ Furniture, Traube’s Jewelry and Bicycle Shop, Hecker’s Hardware, and Holtz’ Hall to mention a few. The first generation traveled in almost exclusively German circles –they went to the same church, sang together in the Sangebund while drinking beer, and

danced in the outdoor parks. The Ladies' Relief Society of Alameda was originally an all-German organization (Encinal, December 12, 1883). The Germans brought their national customs as well as their own style of architecture which was a substantial two-story structure with a bay window for house plants and sun, a feature especially attractive in chillier, cloudier Germany. When the frame was up on the ridgepole, spread a lunch inside, and "wine, wit, and wishes for prosperity flowed freely." (Ibid., October 23, 1880). Then a glass of wine was drunk and thrown over the shoulder. The 1890 U. S. Census figures show that Alameda's population was nearly 50 per cent foreign born compared with 78 per cent in San Francisco and 60 per cent in Oakland for the same year. Of the foreign-born in the East Bay, only the Irish outnumbered the Germans. As there were never many Irish in Alameda, it seems safe to assume that a very large proportion of Alameda's foreign-born in 1890 were German.

This thriving community of German Protestants built two churches, one on Lafayette Street and another on Haight Street. In 1874 they established a German-English school with 25 students (Ibid., August 22, 1874). They read German-language newspapers printed in San Francisco. The second generation, however, was rapidly assimilated and by 1900 the stinging parties and even the use of the German language had pretty well disappeared (Steinmetz).

4. West of Webster Street

Between Webster Street and Bird's Point at the foot of Pacific Avenue, where the Bird family had built a hotel in 1864 to accommodate the construction workers for the Southern Pacific Railroad and the sportsmen who came to shoot wild ducks on the marshes, were garden cultivated by Italians. The Parodis and Bruzzones were the most prominent families. The owners used to import Italian laborers who, somewhat in the manner of indentured servants, worked for a number of years while being fed and housed by their sponsor until such time as they had worked out their passage debt. Occasional spiritual guidance for these citizens and their large families was provided by St. Joseph's Catholic Church on Chestnut Street and Encinal Avenue. But its location was probably too far from their homes to admit of regular attendance (Mrs. Angelo Ratto).

After repaying their sponsors a good many entered the garbage-collecting industry, always an Italian monopoly in Alameda. Originally, many Italians vied with each other for the business of collecting, but in 1906 an association of several families was formed. The Ratto, Bertero, Musso, Zunino and other families have held a franchise from the city of Alameda in return for which they observe several regulations. A weekly pickup is required and the

garbage must be taken to the dump and covered every night and packed down with earth to discourage flies and rats (L. Canepa). A large portion of Alameda's new golf course on Bay Farm Island has been created on marsh land by just such "fill."

A least two other national groups were represented near Webster Street. In the Encinal of June 28, 1873, we read: "Portuguese and Spaniards living on the West End had a knife fight leaving each other so cut up that they could not appear in court."

5. The Chinese

Of all the ethnic groups in Alameda, the presence of the Chinese was the most completely documented in the daily papers because of the strong anti-Chinese sentiment during the last half of the last century. As early as 1852 a Chinese was hired by Chipman to cook, garden, and drive wagonloads of produce to the Encinal Wharf on San Antonio Creek. "Celestials," as they were commonly called, filtered in as servants for the wealthier families and gradually acquired permits to rent gardens of their own as they did not generally buy property until after 1900. Their intention was usually to make as much money as they could as fast as possible and then to return to China. By 1870 there were 12 farms under intense cultivation by Chinese north of Lincoln Avenue as well as others on Bay Farms Island (Times-Start, October, 1932). People complained that the Chinese obstructed traffic as they lumbered along down the middle of the road with their overloaded vegetable wagons (Encinal, August 24, 1878). Journalistic styles have changed since 1878 when an Encinal correspondent wrote about a fight between some farmers on Bay Farm Island:

The trouble originated about a cow, the property of Thomas J. Meralda, which got loose and went through the Chinamen's pea patch. Meralda started in pursuit of his animal, and found her in the hands of the Celestials. Meralda wanted his cow, but the heathens could not see it in that light. About this time the row began. Meralda was knocked down by a club wielded by one of the moon-eyed fraternity and in less time than it takes to tell the story, the field was covered with combatants – seven Portuguese and 14 Chinamen. (Ibid., January 12, 1878).

Chinese laundries were scattered throughout the peninsula. Before erecting large wooden cylinders "to be propelled by dog-power or Chinese steam" (Ibid., January 3, 1874), washing was done by unmercifully beating the garments against a big tree or on a jagged stone at the imminent risk of all the

buttons on the garment (Ibid.). There was a good deal of complaint from the citizens against the odors emitted by laundries located in residential areas They tried to cause the owners to get rid of them by invoking the “nuisance” clause provided for in the charter, but the judge ruled in favor of the Chinese, arguing that there was no specific ordinance prohibiting what they were doing – creating odors, smells, and unsanitary conditions (Encinal, August 2, 1882). It was widely presumed that every Chinese laundry contained an opium den in the back, proof of which was “painfully observed in opium-smoking boys ruined almost beyond redemption.” (Ibid., May 24, 1882.) The shack of the Chinese was described as having a fire built on the floor with no chimney so that smoke poured out of it into the house nearby, often nearly suffocating its occupants (Ibid., February 8, 1888). In fact, the whole arrangement of the Chinese way of living and especially of the wash house prompted the editor of the Encinal to suggest that the Chinese be confined to one quarter or else the citizens had better “sell out the town to the Celestials and let them convert it into a mammoth slop bowl.” (Ibid., January 27, 1877). So far there were no women to keep house for the Chinese men. The first Chinese woman to arrive in Alameda was the wife of one Wong who started a bazaar on Park Street in 1880 (Times-Star, October 1932). The U. S Census listed 284 Chinese living in Alameda in that year.

On the whole the Chinese were regarded as enterprising and law-abiding citizens although it was supposed that they did a great deal of petty thieving from the households where they served:

Unemployed Chinese lie in a communal house until they have found work, meanwhile fed by the employed who sneak articles of food in their clothing from the house of their employers. An officer, unknown to the Chinese, witnessed the unloading of these thefts, in no case amounting to a half pound of each item, but when totaled, making an ample supply daily for a goodly number of boarders.

(Encinal, March 18, 1885)

Many reasons were advanced for the widespread, unsympathetic attitude which the Americans exhibited toward the Chinese in the last century:

The heads of the Six Companies have in their peculiar manner of business introduced and conduct a system of slavery more degrading than any ever before known and the powerless to control it. These people have for 25 years been with us but not of us.

(Encinal, October 6, 1877)

Here the editor was unduly emphasizing the control function of the Six Companies while ignoring the beneficial activities of that organization. Later he continues his tirade against the Chinese:

We find that of \$180,000,000 earned by them on our shores, the whole of it has been abstracted from the State and sent to China, thus absolutely impoverishing instead of enriching our State. The sharp contrast between their kind of work and that of whites who invest in homes etc. is obvious to all. This is “mining” California.

(Encinal, March 18, 1885)

The editor of the Encinal, looking for a scapegoat, blamed the profit-motive and the short-sightedness of the Southern Pacific Railroad which had imported cheap Chinese labor to build the railroad, on the completion of which this ethnic problem was thrust upon the people. A modern parallel can be found in the importation of Negroes for shipyard work in 1940.

In 1878 Henry Sienkiewicz, a Polish immigrant, wrote for publication in Poland an account of the Chinese problem in California. In his opinion the Chinese would work at any kind of work and live on next to nothing until they had saved \$300 or died in the attempt. Thereafter they would return to China. For this reason they did not bring their families but formed households of perhaps ten men and one woman, the “immorality” of which shocked the whites. It should be recalled that Alexis de Tocqueville in 1830 remarked with surprise the unusual morality of Americans which he ascribed to the fact that people were religious, industrious, and able to marry when young because economic opportunity was not wanting. Furthermore, wrote Sienkiewicz, the Chinese farmed the land “until it was depleted,” bought exclusively in Chinese stores, and took up job opportunities in this temporary type of existence that otherwise might have encouraged people from Europe. Immigrants from Europe would have stayed on at their jobs with no intention of returning to Europe and therefore would have settled and increased the population of California (Sienkiewicz). It is difficult to believe, when contemplating the acceptance and contribution of the Chinese in the Bay Area today, that they have achieved these goals in the face of monumental hardships and stubborn opposition which were their lot in the last century.

6. The Japanese

The first mention of Japanese in Alameda is in 1882 when the editor of the Encinal described Yizo Yunagiya, son of the Japanese Consul, as a

very bright child “without rival in quickness of apprehension and tenacity of memory in the Alameda schools.” (Encinal, February 8, 1882). Immigrants from Japan began to arrive in large numbers after 1895, the first generation working as handymen around the house and as gardeners par excellence. For a while they sent their sons to Japan to be educated, but in the course of time the children balked at leaving the country where they were born (Kadonga).

7. The Negroes

While the 1860 Census lists three colored people in Alameda, exclusive of Asiatic, and eight the following census, there were only 299 as recently as 1930 and even fewer in 1940. The real influx came following the opening of shipyards on the East Bay during the war. The 1960 census shows a total of 3,137 Negroes which represents a 40 per cent decrease compared to 5,312 in 1950. This lower number is the result of recent demolition of temporary government housing constructed during the war years. Oakland and San Francisco show the same spectacular rise for 1950 but continue to gain in 1960 while Alameda has lost.

IX. ALAMEDA INDUSTRY

Although Alameda has been generally known as a residential city, it has made many attempts in the past to bolster its economic base with industry. Most, if not all, of the earlier industries have been discontinued, such as the pottery works (Fig. 27), petroleum refining, vegetable oil processing, oyster farming, and agriculture. Among those that are rising in importance are food processing, Encinal Terminals, and warehousing.



Fig. 27 Clark and Sons Pottery Works with gardens and workers' shacks in the foreground. Built in 1886, it was torn down in 1963.

1. Alameda Agriculture

It would be difficult to find an area of like size with a more diversified agriculture than that developed in nineteenth-century Alameda. The rich soil which was easily handled any time of the year and readily watered from shallow wells encouraged farming and gardening in countryman and cityman alike. The soil and water, coupled with a mild climate which hastened maturity of crops, and a location within easy distance of San Francisco's expanding markets, made such ventures economically rewarding.

The 160 acres leased by Chipman and Aughinbaugh in 1851 were planted in peach, apple, and cherry trees. Five varieties of apple were

represented: “Red June,” “Early June,” “Early York,” “Winesap,” and the “Pippin” and at least two varieties of peach, “Snow Peach” and “Coolidge’s Favorite” (Chipman Diary, 1851-52). Most of the early settlers planted fruit trees, and it was said that one could ride on the train from one end of “The Encinal” to the other without ever leaving sight of orchards which were planted in open glades among the oak trees. Five of the largest orchards were those of Taylor and Aughinbaugh east of High Street, Chipman’s orchard from which Peach street derives its name, the Sather Indian Mound planted with cherry trees, and the Cohen estate which produced apples until the 1920’s.

In February the almond trees appear in full bloom, then comes the cherry with its white blossoms, then the plum, pear, and the peach, the apple, the quince to keep up the magnificent floral display into the middle of April. The fig and lemon and orange flourish also.
(Encinal, January 2, 1884)

While some of these trees were set out, a few amateur horticulturalists planted from seed, especially the peach, with interesting results. Aughinbaugh developed an early-ripening blackberry by crossing native brambles, probably Rubus vitifolius. In 1881 Judge Logan of Santa Clara developed the widely known “loganberry” from a chance crossing between the seed of the Aughinbaugh blackberry and a red raspberry, probably the “Red Antwerp.” (Bailey, p. 1900). Watermelon, raspberries, grapes, quince, and Boston nectarines were included in the list of fruits grown east of Versailles Avenue (Chipman Diary), and Pancoast’s patch of “British Queen” strawberries on Park Street produced quantities of fruit for many years.

There were as many kinds of vegetables grown as there were fruits: “Bodega” and “Sandwich Island” potatoes, onions, beets, cabbage, cucumbers, turnips, cauliflower, artichokes, corn, rhubarb, tomatoes, pumpkins, and sweet potatoes among others. Proof of the fertility of the soil was furnished by constantly being brought in to the editor of the Encinal for his admiration – a squash weighing 120 pounds, seven onions weighing six pounds without irrigation, carrots 20 inches long, asparagus 1½ to 3 inches in diameter, 91 plus on a single branch 15 inches long, and 32 stalks and over a pound of grain from one kernel of Norway oats (Encinal, November 5, 1870). For some time Dr. Henry Haile of Alameda had a corner on the early pea market with the “Early Knit” variety from Canada, until an enterprising farmer eventually bought up some dry pea vines from him for forage and shelled out the remaining peas left in dry pods. Because of the lucrative San Francisco market, vegetables were grown by all the early settlers either as a fulltime occupation or as a side line.

A. K. Krauth estimated that there were about 200 acres under cultivation in 1872 (Ibid., July 7, 1872).

Besides clover Chipman mentioned raising various grains for hay which was selling for \$75 a ton in San Francisco (Chipman Diary, December 13, 1853), and whoever could harvest 20 acres of hay several times a year could soon become a capitalist. Grains were planted in the fall; once the buckwheat froze in January (Ibid., January 1, 1853). There was quite a demand for oats, wheat, and barley because several kinds of fowl were raised as well as hogs, horses, mules, cows, sheep and Angora goats. Everyone raised chickens and some were very fine ones; there were also turkeys. Chipman imported 12 pairs of pigeons, and George Fox raised ducks for one year until he found that they wandered off down creeks and sloughs where they were shot by hunters to whom a duck was a duck. Thereafter he turned to general farming (Fox).

Dairies were spaced throughout the peninsula – Bird's on the west end, Mr. Burry's between Encinal and San Antonio Avenues and Union and Lafayette Streets – and as late as 1889 when over a thousand families occupied the Encinal, there was a complaint of a cow ranch nuisance near Everett and Blanding Avenue. Although an ordinance of 1872 prohibited the herding of animals on the public streets as well as requiring licenses for dogs, Alameda's semi-rural aspect was evident 15 years later when people were still objecting that cows, sheep, and goats were eating their shade trees and ornamental bushes (Encinal, November 30, 1887).

The intensively cultivated gardens (Fig. 28) leased by the Chinese, who were not generally able to purchase land outright until 1900, were taken over in turn by Italian immigrants who began arriving in the 1870's. Joseph Bruzzone in 1877 leased some land from a Mr. Murtz and began gardening with a new method of irrigation. He was the first to buy water from the city for use in sprinkling with carts drawn through the rows. After that several men rented three-fourths of a block of land between Railroad and Santa Clara Avenues, and copying the Italians, planted 40,000 cabbage plants in the dry ground and irrigated them with a watering cart. They later sold the product for @1.50 a dozen (Encinal, November 10, 1877). For a good many years the Italian gardens, leased for an average of \$40 an acre, were cultivated by newly arrived Italian workers fed and housed on the premises. They lived comfortably and kept the best of stock, their horses being the best cared-for on the west end (Ibid., September 12, 1888). They were reputed never to drink water, saying "We want all the water for our cabbages." (Ibid., September 12, 1888). The



Fig. 28 Gardens north of Lincoln Avenue (taken after 1915) with Government Island and the Alaska Packers' Fleet in the background.

employers crushed ten tons or more of grapes every year, making enough claret for themselves and their employees.

Although horses were used to haul the sleds of vegetables off the fields and to plow the ground periodically, a job which could be done at any time of the year without danger of packing the soil, most of the gardening was done by hand. More recently irrigation water came from two artesian wells, one on each side of Webster Street, from which water was pumped into ditches, helped along by a man wielding a wash basin attached to a stick or board. Some vegetables, such as carrots, were planted in long rows with moats between while others like celery were on raised beds six feet by ten feet in size with ditches around them. The fertilizer, brought in from ranches and stables nearby, was spread by hand at least once a year and often permitted three crops to be grown annually on the same piece of ground. The vegetables were tied into bunches in the field before being brought into the barns where they were washed in a trough in preparation for the Oakland market (Mrs. Ratto). The gardens still in cultivation on Bay Farm Island typify the areas long since given over to housing on the main island of Alameda.

2. Oysters

Ostrea lurida, about the size of a silver dollar, propagated naturally along the south shore of Alameda in the days of the Indians (Fig. 5). The first imported seed planted on the mud flats of San Francisco Bay arrived in 1851 from Shoalwater Bay. Some died enroute, some froze when uncovered by the water, and others were eaten by the “drum fish,” also known as “white sea bass,” “sea trout,” or “corvina” (Cynoscion nobile). Outside of a few oysters imported from Mexico, this Shoalwater Bay oyster was the only one available in San Francisco until after the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad in 1869. In that year the Eastern bivalve, Ostrea virginica, was planted along the tidewater (Cooper, Overland Monthly, 1894). The native oysters attached themselves to the shells of the Eastern oyster which grows four times as fast as the former and even faster than its sisters on the East Coast. This faster growth in both Ostrea virginica and Ostrea gigas, the Pacific oyster, is a result of an anatomical difference between them and the native California oyster. The native oyster loses much fine material which passes through its ostia, and as nanno-plankton is a very important source of the oyster’s food, this loss has a retarding effect on growth (Barrett, p. 13). The Japanese oyster was first seeded commercially in California in Tomales Bay in 1928. After 1931 it far surpassed the native oyster industry in California. Since the Japanese oyster does not reproduce itself in Bay waters, seeds are regularly brought to Tomales Bay from Matsushima and Tokyo Bays and from the Hiroshima and Kumamoto Prefectures (Barrett, p. 51).

For several years after planting the Eastern oyster no oysters three or four years old were found – apparently the warmer water at high tide or the frost in winter killed the eggs or they were suffocated by silt on the sea floor. Temperature and water density are important factors in oyster culture. The Eastern oyster prefers a salinity of 1.012 to 1.018 and temperature between 63 and 82 degrees (Barrett, p. 17). By 1873 the Eastern oyster had naturalized and was propagating profusely which led to renewed interest in the tidelands all along the Bay. Oysters in crowded bed developed grotesque shapes – the two halves were uneven or the lower might be convex with a concave shell. The Eastern oyster, distinguished by dark muscle scars, is midway in size between the Ostrea lurida and the fossil Ostrea titan which when mature measured about thirteen by eight inches by six inches (Johnson, p. 420).

In 1872 Capt. J. J. Winant, who had been raising oysters for twenty years, purchased tidelands along Bay Farm Island and in the same year the Pacific Oyster Company of Oakland moved their beds to the south shore of Alameda, where both areas were seeded with oysters brought from the East Coast (Encinal, March 15, 1873). By 1874 Alameda boasted the most extensive oyster beds in the state and was producing both Eastern and Shoalwater Bay

oysters for the San Francisco market. In 1883 Winant, after forming a partnership with Eugene Maillot, inspected the oyster beds of Louisiana and arranged for regular shiploads of the “Mobile Bay” or “Morgan Bay” bivalves to be sent from there to the San Francisco market. In the early eighties oyster farming on the San Francisco side of the Bay was beginning to feel the effects of pollution, silting, and natural enemies of the oyster. J. S. Morgan, oysterman and ship’s captain, moved his beds south to Millbrae on that account in 1887 (Ibid., August 2, 1887).

Several enemies of oysters existed in the Bay waters. Of these the most important was the starfish which clasps the oyster in its arms and protrudes the lower part of its stomach until it partly envelops the oyster. The stomach juices of the fish paralyze the oyster which is then sucked into the stomach of its adversary. Or the steady pulling on each valve by the suction cups of the starfish rays forces the oyster to open, after which it is absorbed (Washburn). Other enemies included drills which drill into the oyster – the native drill (Acanthina sperata), the Eastern drill (Urosalpinx cinera), and the Eastern slipper shell (Crepidula fornicata). The sting ray (Aetobatus californicus), which can destroy a great number of oysters in a short time by crushing with its powerful jaws, does little damage to Japanese or Pacific oysters and can be controlled by stake fences. A ghost shrimp (Callianassidae) stirs up the mud on the bottom by burrowing which tends to suffocate the young oyster, and finally a marine algae which forms in warm water decomposes on the bottom, producing a waste that kills the oysters (California Fish and Game Department, 1935).

Although dumping of mineral waste and pollutants into the Bay was prohibited by law, clams all around the shore of Alameda began dying in large numbers from the refuse of the oil refinery on Alameda Point as early as 1880, the year of the establishment of the petroleum refinery there (Encinal, September 11, 1880). Also, the constant washing up of silt from storms or in response to filling and cutting, which altered the wave currents, had so interfered with the growth and propagation of oysters (Ibid., August 13, 1887) that by 1887 a few stakes were all that remained of a once flourishing industry on the south shore of the island.

3. Pottery, Vegetable Oils and Petroleum

Cheap pipe was available to contractors in Alameda, thanks to the considerable activity in the pottery manufacturing field. The only asphaltum pipe factory in California in 1870 was located on the southeast point of the island close to deep water. As the raw materials are heavy and the output not valuable for its weight, clay was probably brought in from nearby on barges or

scows as Alameda has no clay of its own. Apparently this venture did not prove profitable as it was discontinued after a year or two of operation. With increasing settlement in the Bay Area the demand for pipe must have been great because despite the disadvantages of manufacturing it in Alameda, another company took over Asphaltum Pipe in 1872 and began making large-diameter pipe of blue clay. In 1880 a street contractor named MacDonald began making Benicia and Portland cement sewer pipe at the foot of Grand Street on the Bay where he had built a wharf to receive the raw materials and ship out the finished product to Oakland and San Francisco. Alameda's largest pottery works and the one that operated for the longest period – its buildings were torn down in 1963 – was built by Clark and Sons (Fig. 27) at the foot of Pacific Avenue in 1886, within easy distance of the rails of the Southern Pacific. A spur line was built to run directly alongside the pottery works which made all types of coarser bricks and sewer tiles from local material to be sent all over the state. The Clark factory contained four kilns fired by oil, wood, or coal and was at the time it was built the largest building in Alameda, with 28,600 square feet of space and four stories (Encinal, June 9, 1886).

In 1868 the Alameda Oil Works was established near the wharf in Woodstock by Samuel Orr, the brother-in-law of Robert Louis Stevenson, for the purpose of processing oil from copra imported from the South Seas (Baker) and from the “kukui nut” from the Sandwich Islands.

The forerunner of Standard Oil in California was the California Star Oil Works Company which was formed in Newhall near Pico Canyon in 1876. This did not prove an economic location as it was too far from markets, so three years later the Pacific Coast Oil Company was incorporated. It took over the Pico Canyon activities of California Star Oil and built a refinery east of Main Street and south of Lincoln Avenue on Alameda Point because of its superior transportation facilities of rail and water and its nearness to markets. Here it converted great quantities of crude petroleum from southern California into kerosene; gasoline was of little importance in those days. This plant also produced naphtha, lucine, benzene, paraffin, lubricating oil, car oil, cylinder oil, engine oil, and a dark green lubricating oil (Calif. Rev., 1894).

In 1895 the first steel oil tanker built on the Pacific Coast, the S. S. George Loomis with a capacity of 6,500 barrels, brought oil to the Alameda refinery from Pico Canyon and Santa Cruz. By 1901 the demand for kerosene had outgrown the facilities. The plant was moved to Richmond just a year after Pacific Coast Oil became Standard Oil of California (White). Thus, for lack of space suitable for industry, Alameda lost a multi-million dollar operation, which, incidentally, had been polluting its water and air and was therefore not

regretted by many of the residents. It removed, however, a large income in the way of taxes which was later to be assessed to property owners.

4. Miscellaneous

There were early a number of breweries in Alameda. In 1870 Rutland and Greenewald built a brewery between Woodstock and Mastick Station; Henry Schuler and Son operated the Palace, formerly Alameda Brewery, on Sixth Street and Santa Clara Avenue; the Empire Soda Works did business on Blanding Avenue between Park and Oak Streets; and in 1891 Moritz Weiss was operating a beer bottling works also on Blanding Avenue (Encinal, September 23, 1881). The frequency of the German names mentioned and the easy access to grain suggest an explanation for the steady supply of beer manufactured in Alameda, whose population after 1870 numbered many German immigrants.

In addition to the foregoing there were, among others, a carriage factory in the 1870's, the Royal Soap company in the late seventies and eighties, and a nail factory alongside the narrow-gauge railroad on Alameda Point on the west end. Also at Alameda Point, borax was refined from the early 1880's until after the turn of the century. Rail transportation facilities with the interior and ferry connections with San Francisco made it possible for raw materials to be brought in and the finished product to be shipped out at a nominal cost. Part of the reason for these attempts at manufacturing lies in the fact that Orr, for example, owned a portion of land in Woodstock near where ships came in from the South Seas, and the transition to industry seemed entirely natural. When a man found himself the owner of a warehouse with nothing to store, he tried to get someone to set up a factory in it, pointing out that Alameda had excellent transportation facilities.

5. Shipping and Shipbuilding

Shipping activity began on a small scale in Alameda in 1853 when farm produce was shipped from Hibberd's Wharf on the Estuary. After 1855 produce was shipped from the Peralta Wharf and after 1864, when Cohen completed his line between Hayward and Alameda Point, shipping became even more active. In September of 1869 the Central Pacific brought its trains over Cohen's line in Alameda until November when the facilities at Oakland were completed. Those two months gave Alameda its first great impetus in shipping – for the first time deliveries were made to ports other than San Francisco. Three steamers, a barkentine, and two pile drivers loaded railroad material for Portland, Oregon. Later in the same year, there were three other steamers loading wheat from 84 cars at the Alameda Wharf, Hibberd's on the Estuary

(Encinal, September 23, 1869). After the terminus of the Central Pacific was transferred to Oakland, however, shipping activity centered around the Oakland mole.

Although the Oakland-Alameda Harbor was inferior to that at Vallejo, shipping shifted from the latter port to Oakland with the coming of the Central Pacific. By 1874 the Oakland Harbor was said to be second to that of San Francisco on the coast, and both Alameda and Oakland began to agitate the federal government to improve the harbor to handle larger vessels. Dredging of the bar and San Antonio Creek began in 1874 as a federal project and by 1887 deep-sea vessels were anchoring on the Alameda side of the Estuary just above the Alice Street Bridge (*Ibid.*, November 16, 1887). Cutting the tidal canal, part of the harbor improvement project, was finally completed in 1902.

The Alaska Packers, formed in 1893 from several smaller companies for the purpose of canning salmon, anchored its “Star” fleet on the Alameda side of the Estuary (Figs. 29 and 30) during the winter. Many Alameda sailors and maintenance men, who worked on these ships in the yard at Paru Street, later became masters of both sail and steam ships.



Fig. 29 The Alaska Packers Fleet at anchor on the Alameda side of the Oakland-Alameda Harbor.

Italians and Scandinavians manned the vessels, and many Chinese were on shore detail in San Francisco and Alameda. In the 1920's the Alaska Packers began sailing out of Seattle but kept their property in Alameda where they still store their salmon pack. By 1930 windjammers were being replaced by steam ships as the cost of operating sail ships was prohibitive, and also because it was

becoming increasingly difficult to hire sailors who were willing to go aloft, By the late 1930's only five Stars were left. Recently the Star of Alaska was restored to her original condition and name of Balclutha and berthed alongside Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco where she is now a Maritime Museum (Fig. 31).

Encinal Terminals, where rail, truck, and steamer meet (Fig. 32), has thirteen berths in Alameda and at the Ninth and Fourteenth Street piers in Oakland. It began with one transit shed in 1925 and has since grown into the largest privately-operated ocean freight terminal on the Pacific Coast. It offers over 1,000,000 square feet of sprinklered, covered transit sheds and warehouses. The thirteen berths handle ships from 66 major steamer lines which serve countries all over the world. Steel, lumber, oils, rice and a variety of other cargo are loaded or unloaded with only one handling as trucks and railroad cars approach directly the side of the ships. Alaska Packers' and Fortman Basins are maintained to a depth of 30-32 feet and the harbor channel at 33-35 feet. (Fekete).



Fig. 30 A typical "square-rigger of Alaska Packers' Star Fleet.

One hundred seventy ton schooners were built at Oakland as early as 1868 and in the late 1880s William Campbell was building schooners on Old Alameda Point a little east of the present Bay Farm Island Bridge. As the water was too shallow there, he bought space to the west of the bridge where he soon employed 25 men in building ships (Encinal, September 21, 1887). There were several places along the Estuary in the Oakland-Alameda Harbor also where small boats were made. After the harbor had been deepened to let in deep-draft vessels, Alexander Hay moved his Hay and Wright Yard from San Francisco to

Alameda in 1898. At this time the firm was credited with building more wooden steam schooners than any other shipyard on the coast. In 1902 the Southern Pacific Company built its own shipyards at the entrance of the Estuary for the



Fig. 31 The Pacific Queen, ex-Star of Alaska, was bought in 1954 by the San Francisco Maritime Museum Association, restored to a good approximation of her original condition, rechristened Balclutha, and now is anchored alongside Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco (Kemble, p. 189)

purpose of maintaining its ferries (Harlan Fisher, p. 40). The Dickie Brothers in Alameda built the boats used by the Key System which was incorporated in 1902 (ibid., p. 58). The Stone Yard was also moved from San Francisco to Oakland in 1912 and the Barnes and Tibetts Yard was established in Alameda in

1914 (Kemble, p. 66). No doubt the improvements in the harbor had attracted these shipbuilding activities to the Oakland-Alameda area.

Moore, Bethlehem Steel, and Todd began shipbuilding during World War I, but today only Todd is active in this field, with 700 employed in overhauling. Alameda's role in industry today is limited primarily to warehousing and breaking of bulk.

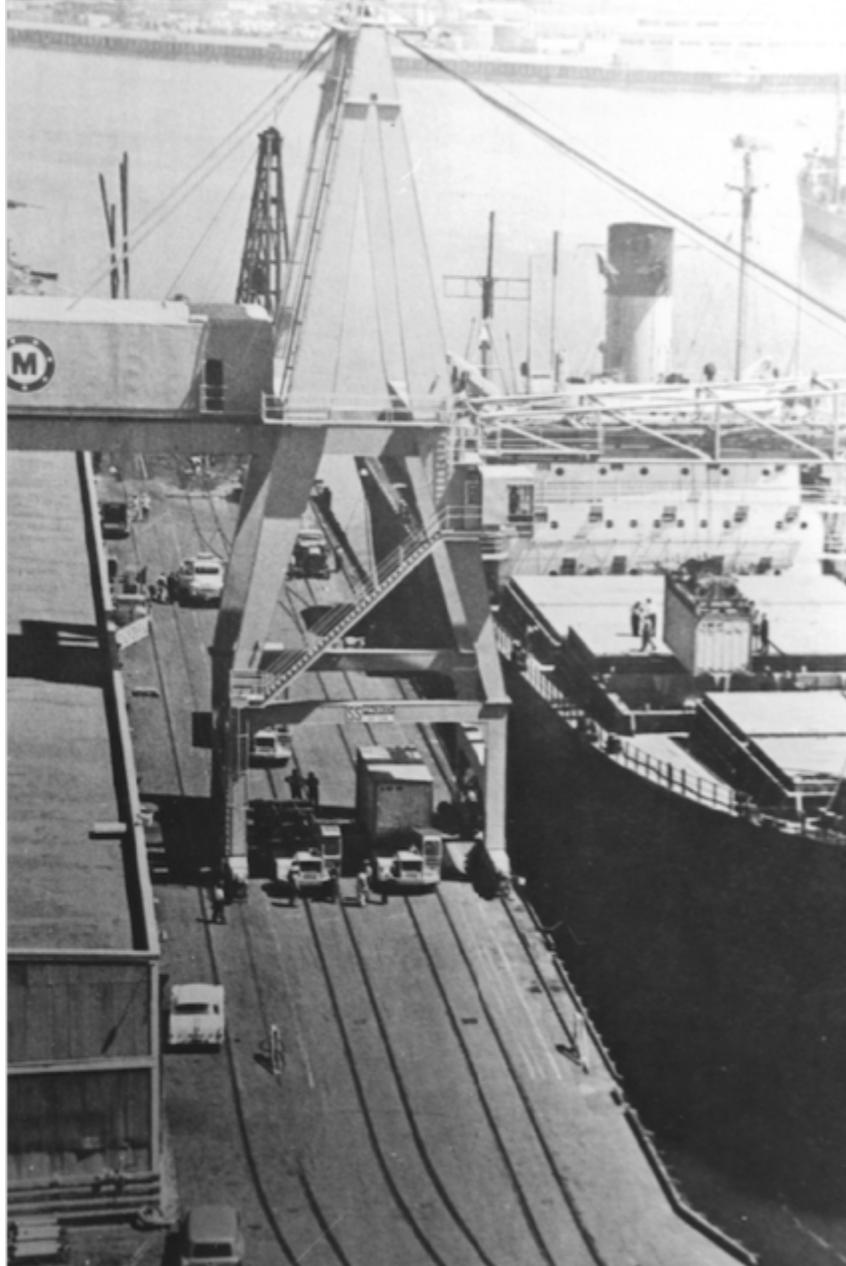


Fig. 32 Encinal Terminals, where “rail, truck, and steamer meet.”

X. MAN AS MODIFIER OF THE PHYSICAL SCENE

Not content with converting the Indians' "Happy Hunting Ground" and Peralta's "Green Pasture" into a desert of concrete and rooftops, man has cut Alameda off from the mainland, linked it to the mainland with bridges and tunnels, leveled off high places, filled in the low, and most recently dredged sand from the adjacent bay to greatly extend the area of the city. Reclamation began very early. In 1871 squatters on the west end hired Chinese to throw up dykes in preparation to fill with dredgings from the San Antonio Creek Channel. Later in the same year, tidelands along the south shore of the peninsula were thrown open for sale, resulting in the transfer of large areas to the hands of San Francisco businessmen. Some 100 Chinese built dykes four feet high along the Estuary, thus reclaiming a large strip along the north side of the peninsula. After being drained, only salt-resistant plants such as beets, onions, or asparagus were grown until the rains of one or two winters had washed the excess salt out of the soil (Encinal, June 18, 1872). By 1873 Bay Farm Island contained 1,800 acres, only 300 of which were originally above high tide (Ibid., March 1, 1873). At that time Bay Farm Island's population of about thirty included the following family names: Benedict, Cleveland, Ellis, McCartney, See, Titlow, Sweet, Miranda, Anderson, Swift, Lawrence, and Ross. In 1877 a basin in the Fitch Tract between Santa Clara and Central Avenues and St. George (Sherman) and Bay Streets was also filled in.

The project of separating the peninsula from Oakland began in 1874 when the federal government granted funds for improving the harbor by channeling the waters of San Leandro Bay into San Antonio Creek. The work was completed in 1902, but meanwhile the dredging and digging had netted enough material to fill most of the marsh land along the Estuary from the east end to below Grand Street, areas which became useful to the railroad, shipping, and commercial concerns. From the beginning factories and processing concerns had located on the water near the railroad so as not to have to get permits from private property owners to run spur lines alongside their plants. The work of cutting the canal required only a few years, but the conflicting claims of the Oakland Waterfront Company to all tideland areas of the Estuary held up appropriations by Congress until this matter was settled (Oakland Tribune, December 30, 1962).

At about the time of the inception of the harbor operations, residents along the southwest shore of Alameda had begun erecting bulkheads because wave action was eroding the land at a rate of from three to seven feet yearly. Some residents estimated that their land had been reduced 70-80 feet in 16 or 17 years (Brooks). The space between these retaining walls and the

actual escarpment of high land was filled in and plated with grass, giving the lovely, sloping lawns one sees in old pictures of Bayfront mansions (ibid.).

The first bridge across the Estuary was built at Webster Street in March of 1871. Two years later the Central Pacific Railroad built the first of several bridges at Alice Street to eliminate the need of a direct ferry service to San Francisco via Pacific Avenue Wharf for the San Francisco and Alameda Railroad. This bridge continued in operation until September 1894 when the dual-tracked Harrison Street Bridge was completed. Meanwhile the Webster Street Bridge had been converted in part in 1879 to a railroad bridge by the Pacific Coast Railroad whose franchise was unsuccessfully fought by the Metz Horse Car Company who were also given use of the bridge three years later.

A wooden cantilever bridge was built between Alameda and Bay Farm Island in 1874, 18 years after Chipman and Aughinbaugh had removed the one they built and found useless in the early fifties because the county did not continue the road out of Bay Farm Island to the county road. When the Webster Street Bridge was replaced in 1900, the swing section was transferred to Bay Farm Island as the latter bridge spanned an official channel of navigable water. This old swing section from the Webster Street Bridge was in service until July 1, 1953, after having been in use for 91 years. The Park Street Bridge was completed and put into use in 1892 and both the High Street and Fruitvale Bridges in 1901, part of the excavating under the High Street Bridge being finished after the bridge was already in use. The Fruitvale Bridge still has a swing center, but both Park and High Street are bridged with the new bascule type construction. The Alice Street Bridge was removed in 1898 and the Harrison Street Bridge in 1924 on the discontinuance of the old "Dinkey" service to Oakland. The Webster Street Bridge almost came to a premature end when the steamer Lancaster rammed it on January 7, 1926, requiring hasty repairs to extend its life until the completion of the Posey Tube in 1928.

Talk of building a tunnel under the Estuary goes back to August 31, 1908, when the Board of Supervisors of Alameda County passed a resolution asking the county surveyor to submit an estimate of the cost of such a construction. It was discovered that the state was not authorized to help in defraying the expense of such construction, so no more was done until 1913 when the limiting statute was amended. Still the project lay dormant until 1919 waiting for joint action with the Southern Pacific Company which meanwhile had built its own bridge. This left the County of Alameda to shoulder the whole expense (Posey, p. 10). In August 1922 the Board of Supervisors directed George A. Posey to prepare a preliminary report of costs to present to the voters of Alameda County. A proposition for a bond issue to raise the \$4,494,000 was passed unanimously by the voters on May 8, 1923.

A large force of engineers worked from September 1923 until January 1925 on designs for the project. The tube, entirely of reinforced concrete, was built in the open trench method like that used in the Detroit and Harlem River Tunnels. Portions were cast in place in the dry trench and the remainder was constructed at Hunters Point Drydock in San Francisco and towed across San Francisco Bay to their place in the trench. The George Posey Tube, completed in October 1928, begins in Oakland at Harrison and Sixth Streets and, curving downward to 62 feet below sea level, connects with Webster Street in Alameda. The total length is 4,435.5 feet, of which 3,545 feet are covered and ventilated by eight large fans driven by 75 h.p. motors which supply 1,000,000 cubic feet of air per minute. Fire extinguishers are placed at 100-foot intervals, and two lines of overhead lights consisting of 100-watt bulbs spaced 20 feet apart burn day and night. At each end of the tube is an equipment building housing automatic monoxide detectors in which air is chemically analyzed and recorded continuously on a graphic chart, the object of which is to regulate the fans to maintain the monoxide below four parts per 10,000 (Posey, p. 15). It has a capacity of 4,224 vehicles per hour.

The new Webster Street Tube, begun in 1961 and opened late in 1963, has similar dimensions. It is used for Alameda-bound traffic while the Posey Tube handles Oakland-bound traffic. (Fig. 33)

Government Island, of which 72 acres had originally been exposed at low tide, was created in 1915 out of "spoil bank." The futility of trying to keep the channel deep enough at the mouth of Brooklyn Basin had been recognized, and building up the center to avoid shoaling seemed the only sensible course to follow. The dredgings dumped on top of the 72 acres enlarged the island to 100 acres, 72 acres being above water at high tide and pronounced fine for shipbuilding. The ensuing controversy as to whether Oakland or Alameda owned the island was settled by reference to the Geodetic Survey Map of 1853. This showed it as belonging to Alameda. Alameda gave it to the government hoping that they would make an interesting development there, and they have. Government Island is a Coast Guard Station with a complement of several hundred men who live on the island and have their own facilities including a band and a club. A bridge was built connecting the island to Oakland rather than to Alameda in order to avoid spanning the more active shipping lane to the south of Government Island.

Between 1900 and 1920 web garbage and other rubbish were used to fill 62.4 acres of what now consists of the Alameda Municipal Golf Links on Bay Farm Island. Krusi Park on Mound and High Streets, between Calhoun Street and Otis Drive, was filled in the 1920's with material bought in from various excavation activities.



ALAMEDA
CALIFORNIA

Walter Smith and Associates

6

1960 AVERAGE DAILY TRAFFIC VOLUMES
 1963 Posey Tube takes traffic north; Webster St. Tube handles south-bound

In 1936 the residents of Alameda voted to give the western portion of their island to the federal government for use as a Navy Air Base. The Navy now owns 2,671 acres, 1,108 of which are still under water. Of the remaining 1,562 acres, only 300 were on high ground when the city of Alameda gave the area to the Navy. About half of the other 1,263 acres have been reclaimed – between 1937 and 1943, 1,500,000 cubic yards of sand were pumped from the Bay bottom to fill a portion of the area. In addition, Navy officials bought a hill from a private owner northeast of Oakland. A scar on the landscape was created when this red rock was removed between 1942 and 1944, to fill in areas of the Maritime Academy, the war-time Chipman Housing Project, and parts of Naval Air Station. The question of why the city of Alameda gave the government that area has been answered in several ways. First, it was considered an undesirable part of town, and few commercial concerns could afford the reclamation necessary to make the area usable. By letting the federal government develop the area, Alameda was also inviting war-time contracts. The people attracted to this base would then live in Alameda, patronizing its stores and services and thereby boost its economy.

The Naval Air Station was commissioned on November 1, 1940 and the vast influx of people that followed the opening has permanently altered the makeup of Alameda's population. To the predominantly property-owning population has been added a large number of transient families and many young sailors. It has markedly lowered the average age of Alameda residents. Many old-timers look back on the days "before Naval Air" when you could walk from Webster Street to San Leandro Bay any time of the day or night.

Beginning in the early 1950's there were several private filling activities which added small portions of dry ground to Alameda. Developer Paul Woods filled in the eastern rim of Alameda with earth brought in from behind the County Court House. East of Waterton Street was filled by Hester & McGuire in a similar manner, and south of Waterton Street itself, Sydney Dowling brought in enough solid matter to provide space for six houses. A steady influx of people to the Bay Area since 1940, growing land scarcity, and advances in technology have made it economically worthwhile for engineering companies to undertake filling extensive areas of San Francisco bay, and since Alameda is an easy commute to the city, it seemed a logical place to carry on such an enterprise.

The city of Alameda is still rocking from the manifold effects of its largest and most controversial filling operation of all, that which was completed by the Utah Construction Company in 1957. For this project a Reclamation District was formed, consisting of three attorneys and an official from Utah Construction Company and one businessman from Alameda. Its object was to

float a bond to raise \$3,900,000 to finance the reclamation of some 350 acres of tidelands along the south shore of Alameda. Over much opposition from residents along South Shore, the proposition was approved by the voters of Alameda on May 24, 1955, after which Utah negotiated with the city to fill the tidelands. The state had given to the city in trust the area under the water outside the limit of the tidelands to Pier Line (McGinnis). In return for the use of this material, Utah agreed to sell to the city 38 acres of the new land at \$2,500 per acre which could be used for such public purposes as schools and libraries. The company was to construct a new public beach along the south shore at no expense to the city. Utah also agreed to develop the new area according to specifications required by the Planning Committee – that is, only a certain percentage of the new area was to be used for multi-units, and the single dwelling and commercial centers were to be balanced with the rest of Alameda.

In July 1955 Utah Construction brought in a dredge which could pump into mud dykes 1,000,000 cubic yards of sand per month through two miles of pipe six feet in diameter. In filling right up to the sea wall, the company covered springs on the beach, forcing the water into the basements of nearby houses. To relieve the flooding, Utah agreed to excavate lagoons 250 feet wide along the sea wall, thus mollifying in part the irate former shoreliners who again were incensed when they found that the lagoons were actually 125 feet wide at the most and as often only 90 feet wide. By February 1957, 335 acres of land had been added to Alameda, bringing the total of dry land to 5,481 acres, nearly two and one-half times the original 2,200 acres of high ground as of 1850.

Now much has the population increased as a result of the Navy installation and the new South Shore Fill? The population of Naval Air fluctuates – at present there are about 5,500 active Navy personnel working and living on the island and around 8,500 civilian employees, 21 per cent of whom live in Alameda. Together they account for approximately 10,000 people. On South Shore there are 250 single dwellings averaging 3.5 persons per household and more than 1,300 apartment units averaging 2.7 each, giving a total of about 2,200 on the Fill. Thus, the combined population of Naval Air Station and the South Shore comprise roughly a fifth of Alameda's 63,000 residents.

How much more the population will increase as a result of the Fill depends on how much of it can be rezoned for multi-units, and especially what type. Recently the Planning Committee approved a plan for 174 single units to be built on the portion east of Broadway. There is still a sizable section west of Grand Street which comes up for rezoning from time to time, but thus far has not been opened up for high-rise apartment construction.

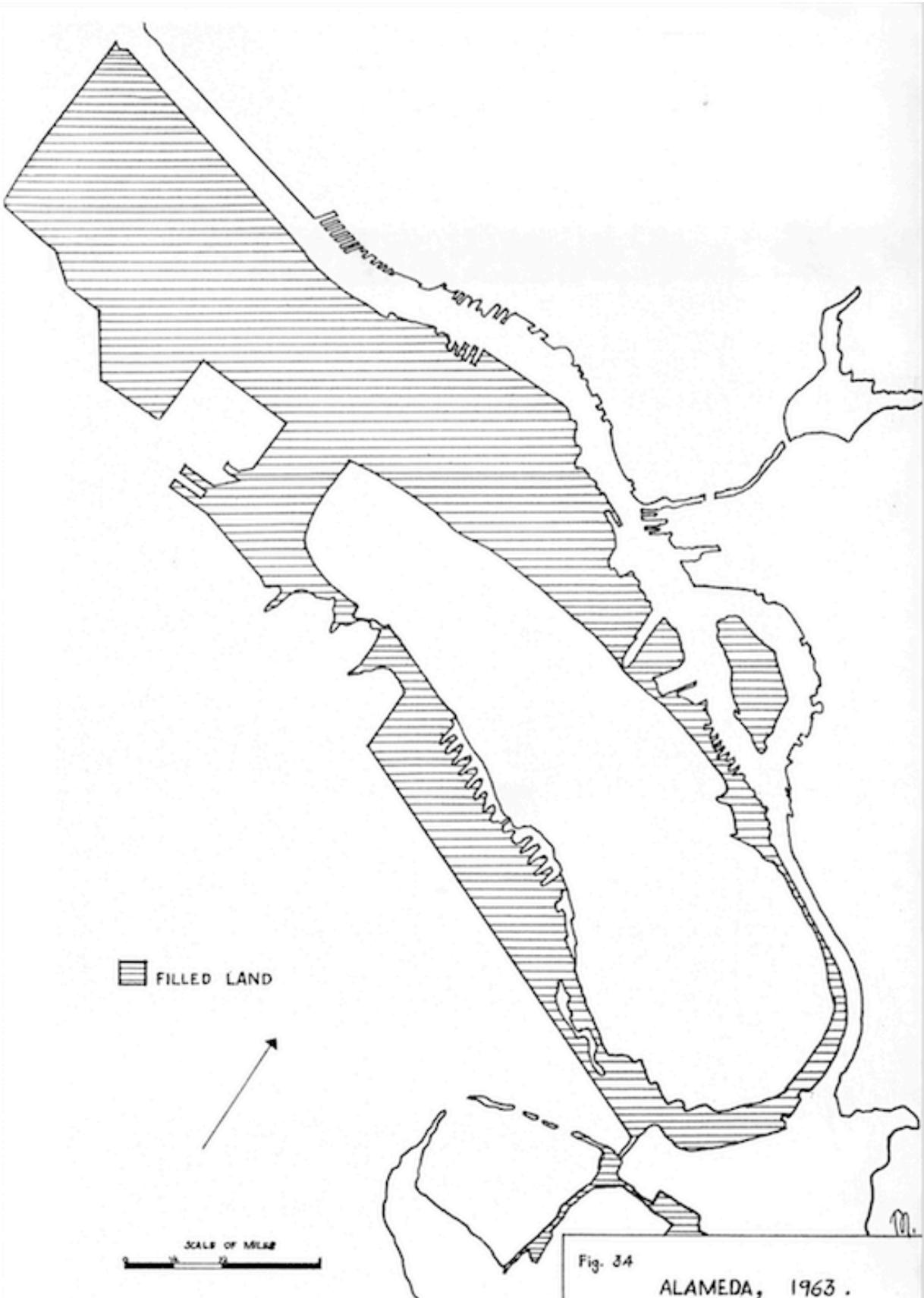
Opinions regarding the effects of the Naval Air Station and the South Shore Project vary greatly. Residents who maintain that the "South Shore Fill is the best thing that ever happened to Alameda" point out that as yet it has not caused the city expense for extra police and fire protection, and it has added many dollars to the tax roll. The city also benefits from the utilities used, as taxes from them go to the city. Others say that already Alameda has built an extensive school on the Fill, and another must be built soon as well as a fire station. Whereas formerly the beaches were mainly privately or commercially owned and kept clean accordingly, now the city spends large sums on cleaning the street and beach along the south shore.

Traffic naturally has increased and will continue to do so. In 1960 Alameda hired Wilbur Smith and Associates to study the traffic pattern and to suggest a plan for the future. Besides calling for several "left turns only" on major streets, some stop signs have been eliminated to speed up traffic. To handle expected increases on the Fill, Shore Line Drive will be extended eastward along the Fill to intersect Otis Drive at Fernside Boulevard, and westward to Eight Street which feeds into the Tubes.

Whether or not the Naval Air Station and South Shore Project "pay their own way" can be answered accurately only after an exhaustive and official study of all facets of the problem. The Naval Air Station attempts to hire Alameda craftsmen to help with its repair work whenever possible, and 21 per cent of the employees rent or buy property in Alameda. Many native Alamedans shop outside their city, so it is not surprising if the newcomers do also. However, officials of Utah Construction Company feel that the volume of trade in the Commercial Center on South Shore is increasing and that Alameda is capturing a larger portion of the consumer dollar. The federal government gives Alameda funds according to the number of personnel at Naval Air, but no taxes are paid on the area occupied by the Naval Air Station. Presumably when the residents of Alameda voted for these two propositions, they hoped that both would bolster the economy of their city or they would not have passed them.

Alameda has changed much in character of the 113 years of its existence. Formerly an overwhelming majority of residents commuted to San Francisco; now they fan out into the entire Bay Area (Fig. 17). With the opening of the Naval Air Station and other commercial ventures along the Estuary, more people than ever before now work on the island. A good number of those employed in Alameda live in less expensive areas on the mainland, reversing the old commuter pattern.

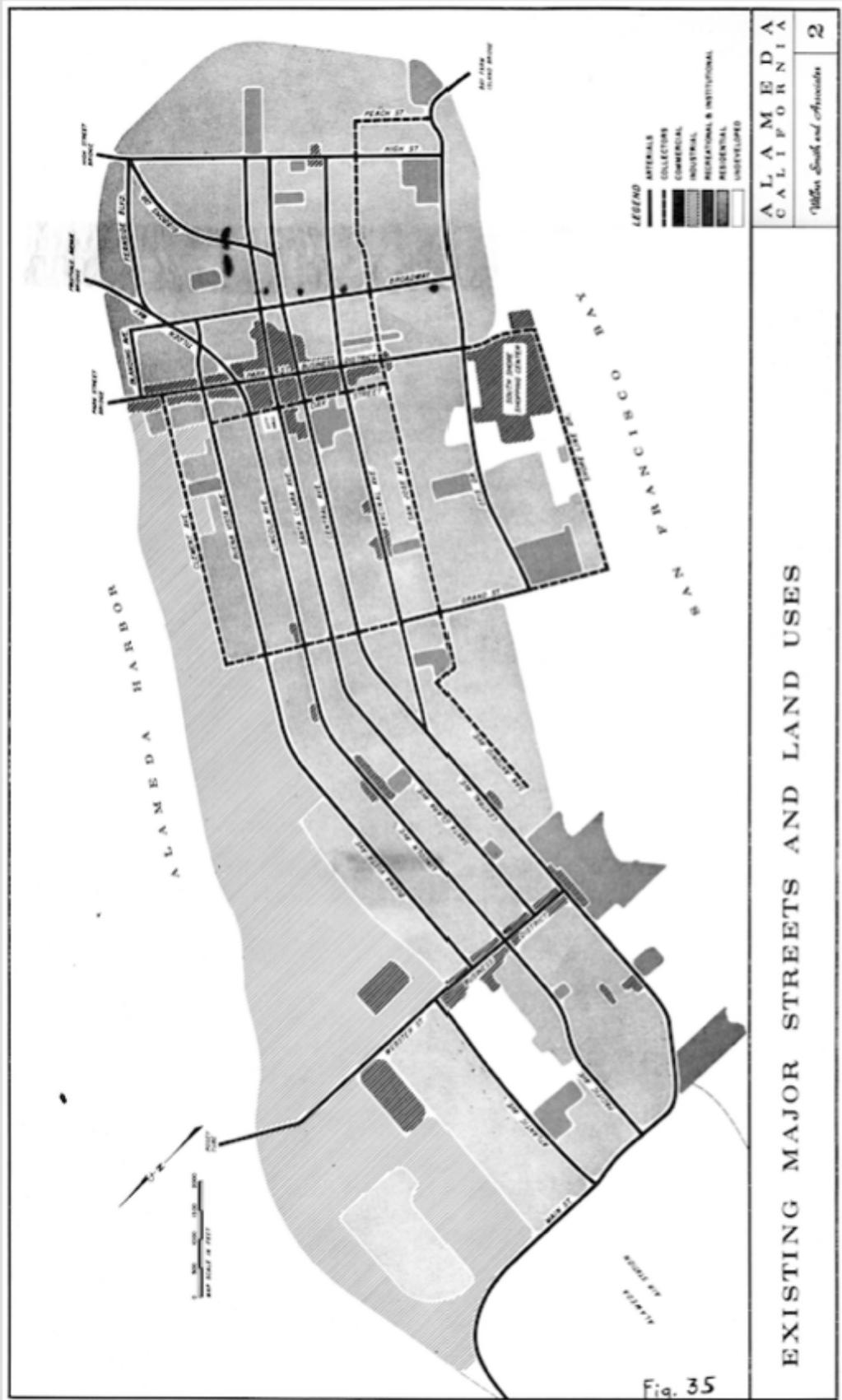
Although Alameda still retains some of the leisurely pace of small town living, it has lost completely the rural charm which first prompted the

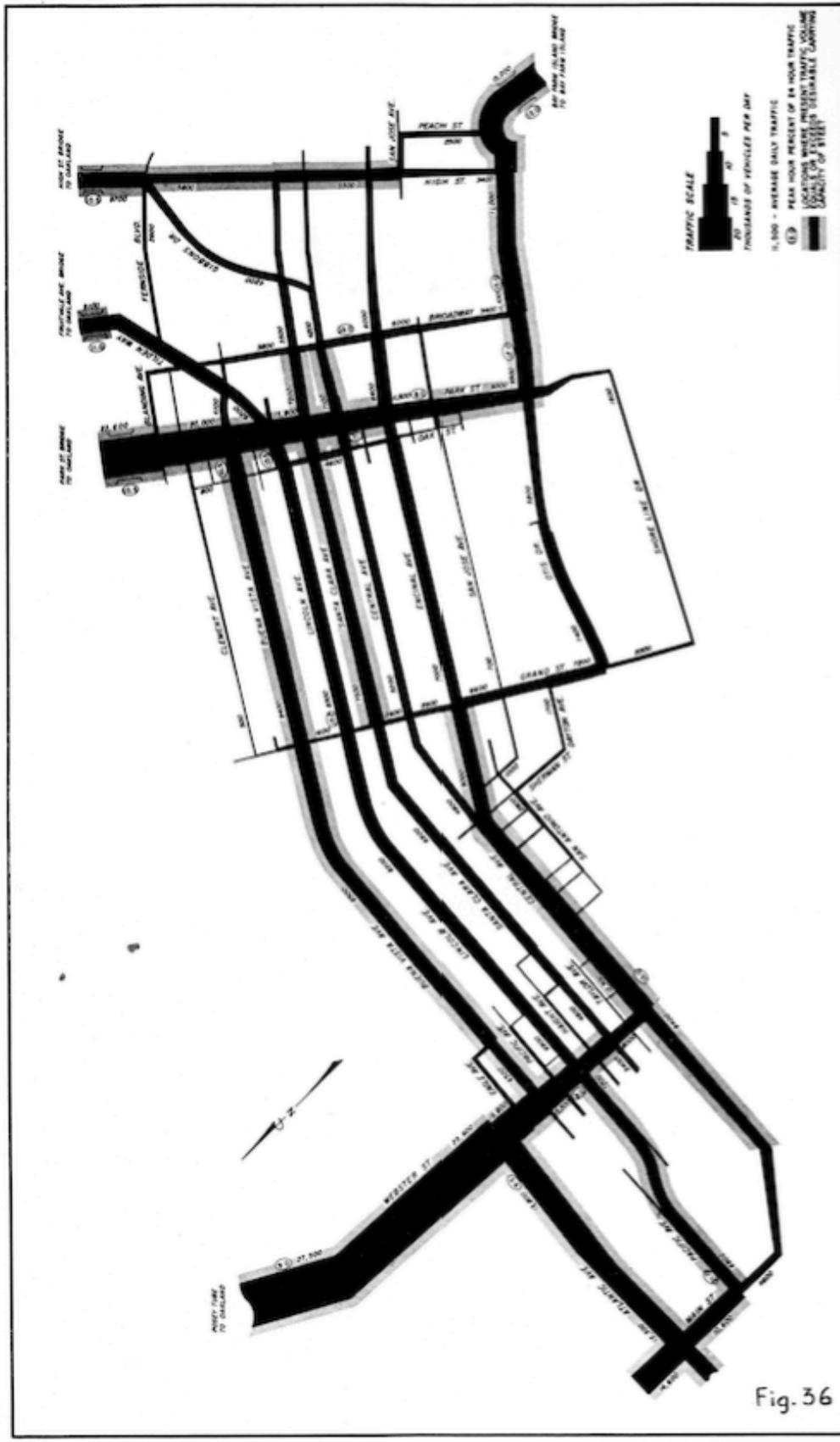


founders and early settlers to build among the live oaks. Gone are the orchards and the large gardens which rested the eye. In their place are modest houses, often built very close together. In some areas, where old and more spacious dwellings have been condemned, multiple units are going up! Central location and the forest of apartments springing up on South Shore seem guaranteed to insure Alameda's reputation as a bedroom city, if not of San Francisco, of the Bay Area in general.

On weekends and holidays, from earliest times, the residents have been accustomed to large crowds lured by Alameda's attractive beaches and parks. Before 1940 much of her population had deep roots in the town and appreciated its old traditions. There is still a hard core of "natives" who resist the changes taking place in all Bay Area cities – "There are getting to be just too many people in too small a space." In reality, neighboring cities have absorbed greater concentrations of newcomers than has Alameda. Perhaps Alameda can be expected to answer the dilemma of the continuing influx of people just as the adjacent cities are doing. For example, the fact that the Planning Committee expects a fire station and another school to be built on the Fill, and has a traffic plan projected to 1970 would seem to indicate that the city of Alameda is responding to the challenge of changing times.

With all the social unrest plaguing nearly every city today, Alameda remains in the enviable position of not having problems too large to solve. Small enough to have at least some community participation, our town is one of the few which still have some power to shape the future. This fact alone makes Alameda unique, not to mention the dozens of Victorian houses which have suddenly, like country music, become the style. Before it was too late, Alameda citizens seem to have recognized what a good thing we have here and have taken steps to preserve some of the small-town feeling that is the envy of cities who long ago have outgrown their livability.





ALAMEDA
 CALIFORNIA

1960 AVERAGE DAILY TRAFFIC VOLUMES

Wilbur Smith and Associates

6

Fig. 36

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