

**BENEATH THE SHADOW OF THE MOUNTAIN:  
A HISTORY OF MOUNT DIABLO AND THE CONTRA COSTA TO 1900**

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of  
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**By  
M.V. Mullenberg  
June, 1997**

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## PREFACE

The genesis for this study began nearly twenty years ago when I first ascended Mount Diablo on horseback. I had been told by friends the only time to see the spectacular view was immediately after a rain storm, on a windy day. A hard, windblown rainstorm had attacked the area the night before, and while the wind had driven off the clouds and rain, the wind remained.

My ascent that day was not without its reward. As I stood on the summit, my eyes were drawn to the east. Before me were the snow-capped Sierra Nevada. So clear was the air that morning, the mountains seemed so close I might touch them. Etched against the sky, they appeared chiseled upon the landscape. The great Central Valley spread from the Sierra, north and south, as far as the eye could see. The Diablo Range undulated southward, and the Coast Ranges blocked the ocean to the west. The Golden Gate, San Francisco Bay, San Pablo, and Suisun Bays spread to the north.

Through this entire landscape there was one commonality, all had the unmistakable touch of human occupation. Roads, train tracks, ships, homes, ranches, towns, and cities lay upon the land and seascapes, while the sky held airplanes. My initial thought was; I wonder what this area looked like a hundred years ago?

Riding down the mountain later that day my thoughts fell upon a more insightful cogitation. What kind of people originally inhabited the area surrounding the mountain, and what became of them? Infrequent trips to local libraries netted me little. According to the sketchy works I found, the Indians of the area were "digger" Indians, with little or

no society or culture. They did nothing to improve themselves even though they lived in a land of plenty, and they were not intelligent enough to practice agriculture. The Spanish missions came, saving the lowly Indian population from certain extinction by teaching them the wonders of agriculture and Catholicism. The Spanish eventually became the Mexican rancho owners, who did not practice commercial agriculture. With the gold-rush came the Americans, who with prudence, strong government, and agricultural expertise, took the area and transformed it into one of the great agricultural wonders of the world.

In a nut-shell, that is how the histories of and about Mount Diablo and most especially Contra Costa County read. Knowing better, when it came time to begin a master's thesis, my subject was at hand. This thesis was written in an attempt to update the history of the land beneath the shadow of Mount Diablo, to update it by rewriting the early history of the area, blending old facts with new recently published information. Much new information on the Indian populations of the area has been uncovered and put into print in the last ten to twenty years. Mission records have been re-evaluated by others and new conclusions drawn from them, and in all other accounts, the changing natural environment of the area is not taken into consideration.

It should be noted that this thesis is not about particular persons and places. It is about people and a region, changes in societies, cultures, and environment. It is written in a narrative style, primarily for the general reader, while at the same time it is referenced throughout with a large bibliography for the student or earnest historian.

As with all works of this type, there are those who need to be acknowledged.

Professor Richard J. Orsi took on the burden of pushing me through this quest. He knew when to mentor, smile, and tell me everything would be alright. At the same time, he knew exactly when I needed a good kick in the derrière, and I appreciate that honesty from him. He taught me more about writing than I ever learned from a writing class, and I will miss his tutorship in the future. Professor Dee Andrews was the second reader of this paper. My thanks to her comes from taking the time not only to read this piece, but as advisor to all graduate students, always having time for my questions, and solutions to my problems.

I could not have completed this project without the support of my good friend David Hernandez. He kept me employed over the last three years on my terms. When I needed time off to work on this paper, it was always given, no questions asked, and my job was always secure. His family took me in two nights a week treating me as one of them. Many a late night was spent in "M.V.'s study hall" above his garage where the majority of the writing of this paper was done. My mother, Jo Anne St Clair, contributed funds that enabled me to afford time off work, and tuition, which otherwise would not have enabled me to finish this project.

Of course, final thanks goes to my wife Cathy, who has suffered the burden of being a "thesis" widow for the last two years. When all things began to fall apart, physically and emotionally, she is the one who helped to put them right again. To her is owed the most thanks, of which words could never begin to express my appreciation.

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## INTRODUCTION

There was once a time when there were no human inhabitants in California, but there were two spirits, one evil, the other good; and they made war on each other, and the good spirit overcame the evil one. At that period, the entire face of the country was covered with water, except two islands, one of which was Mount Diablo, the other, Eagle point (on the north side). There was a coyote on the peak, the only living thing there. One day the coyote saw a feather floating on the water and as it reached the island, suddenly turned into an eagle, which spreading its broad pinions, flew upon the mountain. The coyote was much pleased with his new companion, and they dwelt in great harmony together, making occasional excursions to the other island, the coyote swimming while the eagle flew.

After some time they counseled together and concluded to make Indians; they did so, and as the Indians increased the water decreased, until where the lake had been became dry land.<sup>1</sup>

As such, this Indian myth of the origin of Mount Diablo is the first history of the mountain and the area surrounding it. Purported to be the creation myth of the Indians surrounding Mount Diablo, it holds the mountain sacred, here before the creation of the Indian, a point of rock above a great sea, a point from which the Indian was created and from that creation the waters receded and man came to be a part of a new environment.

Was Mount Diablo once only an island in a great sea? How did it come to be, and why would anyone consider it an important point to reflect the history of the area around it? That Mount Diablo has remained a point of elevation, a geographical location that has remained fixed over the last 10,000 and many more years, makes it a central location from which to view the environmental and cultural change in the area it overlooks. The study

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<sup>1</sup> W. A. Slocum, ed., History of Contra Costa County, California (San Francisco: W.A. Slocum and Company Publishers, 1882), 41.

area of this thesis is essentially the original Contra Costa County, which at the time of statehood included present-day Alameda County.

In aboriginal times, Mount Diablo stood as a buffer between three large Indian groups. In Spanish times, it stood in the way of missionization and exploration. With Mexican California, Mount Diablo separated ranchos and sheltered Indians who still fought for their land and way of life. In American times, the mountain remained a landmark--a buffer to agriculture, the initial point in which land surveys apportioned California, a place where mining booms came and went, and, finally, a tourist attraction for the growing urban populations of the San Francisco Bay Area.

The early history of the Mount Diablo area will be the focus of my study, from its geological beginnings, through the environmental, cultural, and social changes brought about by the people who lived beneath the shadow of the mountain. It is a history that will begin at the outer extremities of the mountain's shadow, and end atop the mountain in 1900.

## CHAPTER 1

### GEOLOGY AND EARLY INHABITANTS

Mount Diablo is located in central California, in the middle of Contra Costa County, to the east of San Francisco Bay. This places it in the central part of the Coast Ranges, at the north end of the west side of the Central Valley of California. It is semicircular and covers approximately 25 square miles, with an elevation of 3,849 feet.

Among the mountain peaks of California, Mount Diablo is not tall, yet it is the dominant topographical feature in west-Central California. The endless miles of Central Valley flatland that envelope it give the mountain its importance. Mount Diablo is flanked on three sides by areas of low relief: tidewater and delta land on the north, the San Joaquin Valley on the east, the Livermore Valley on the south. The fourth side, the area west of the mountain, is occupied by hills having an average elevation of 1,000 feet, extending from the San Ramon Valley to the southeastern side of San Francisco Bay. The Diablo Range, of which Mount Diablo is the northern extremity, runs as a low ridge of hills southeastward separating the San Joaquin Valley from the Livermore Valley.

Early residents of the Mount Diablo area believed the mountain to have once been a volcano. An early history of Contra Costa County reported that "Mount Diablo bears unmistakable evidence of having once been a volcano of some force. A portion of the crater is still well marked and can be traced without difficulty."<sup>1</sup> This is untrue.

Geologists have traced the formation of Mount Diablo back twelve million years, yet we

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<sup>1</sup> W. A. Slocum, ed., History of Contra Costa County, California (San Francisco: W. A. Slocum and Company Publishers, 1882), 48.

must step back even further, to the Miocene epoch, 28 million years ago, to truly understand the geology of Mount Diablo.

At this time the Pacific Ocean began to flood slowly across the western California coastline. The flood reached its culmination 15 or 16 million years later with the shoreline far inland, within what is now the Central Valley. During this era the Diablo range grew in size by folding and uplift, although it remained below sea level.<sup>2</sup> Within this sea there were only chains of continental islands, not unlike some that now exist about the borders of the Pacific Ocean and on the coasts of Alaska and even California.<sup>3</sup> Their modern remnants are Point Sur, the Pinnacles National Monument, and the San Francisco Peninsula.

One million years ago, at the end of the Pliocene epoch, through folding and uplift a huge plug of ancient rock broke through to the surface of this inland sea, exposing for the first time the peak of Mount Diablo. During late Pliocene the moist climate and countless streams eroded beds and carried the material of the hills down into the lowlands and eventually the sea.<sup>4</sup> The mountains were worn lower and lower until eventually the landscape was reduced to an undulating plain. The Mount Diablo dome was almost leveled, but the hard core of the mountain itself still stood above the plain. By the first

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<sup>2</sup> Arthur Davis Howard, Evolution of the Landscape of the San Francisco Bay Region (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 45.

<sup>3</sup> Frank Marion Anderson, A Further Stratigraphic Study in the Mount Diablo Range of California (San Francisco: Proceedings of the California Academy of Sciences, 1908), 6.

<sup>4</sup> Howard, Evolution of Landscape, 57.

stage of the Pleistocene era, 12,000 years ago, Mount Diablo continued to be raised vertically. By the end of the second stage of the Pleistocene, erosion by streams following the uplift enabled the streams to dissect and add detail to the mountain.<sup>5</sup>

The impact of the Pleistocene epoch in California was seen most directly in sea level fluctuations caused by glacial movements world wide. Also important, were the fairly cool-moist climates that sustained glaciers in the high country, depressed life zones and the snow line in elevation and latitude, and led to the emergence of pluvial lakes. While these conditions prevailed, California supported diverse Pleistocene age animals such as mammoths, equids, bison, mountain goats, musk and shrub oxen, antelopes, wolves and coyotes, cats, jaguars, saber tooth cats, and bears.<sup>6</sup> The emergence of pluvial lakes, and the animals they supported, created the environmental background against which the first aboriginal peoples lived.<sup>7</sup>

Research during the past few decades has shown that people lived in many parts of California between 12,000 and 8,000 years ago. The transition from Pleistocene to the present geological epoch was a time of marked environmental change in North America. Simultaneous adjustments in temperature and precipitation affected the distribution of water, flora, fauna, and the human populations dependent on them. Numerous local environmental shifts occurred during this time. Adapting to these evolving conditions,

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<sup>5</sup> Earl Haig Pampayan, Geology and Mineral Deposits of Mount Diablo, Contra Costa County, California (San Francisco: Division of Mines and Geology, 1963), 18.

<sup>6</sup> Bjorn Kurten, Before the Indians (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 127.

<sup>7</sup> Michael J. Moratto, California Archeology (San Diego: Academic Press, 1984), 37.

early human cultures became increasingly diverse and locally specialized through time.<sup>8</sup>

Between 11,000 to 8,000 B.C. cultures adapted to wetland environments emerged wherever pluvial lakes or coastal sites existed in California. The coastal sites tended to be located on estuary and bay shores, a parallel to the lakeshore and marshwide setting of the interior sites.

The Hokan language family is generally accepted as the oldest language group in California.<sup>9</sup> Big-game hunting probably did not constitute the sole economic pursuit of these Hokan-speaking peoples. The region's first inhabitants must have combined this activity with the taking of lesser mammals and waterfowl as well as with some fishing and collecting of shellfish and vegetal foods, yet the rich wild-plant resources were not heavily exploited. Dwelling places were temporary. The main trends in California's aboriginal history during the 9,000-2,000 B.C. period involved expanding utilization of the rich and varied native food sources, overall growth in population, enlargement and increasing stability of individual communities, and finally, the gradual emergence of regional cultures. The most ancient remains pertain to small, presumably roving, bands whose life revolved around the pursuit and killing of game animals. Their campsites are distinguished by projectile points and other items consistent with a hunting economy. The discoveries

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<sup>8</sup> Moratto, California Archeology, 76-78.

<sup>9</sup> Jeff Fentress, "Prehistoric Rock Art of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," in Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, eds., The Ohlone: Past And Present (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1994), 65-68.

suggest infiltration of the study area by groups with two separate hunting traditions around 9,000-8,000 B.C.<sup>10</sup>

After 6,000 B.C. the balance of subsistence shifted from animal to plant foods. Food remains and artifacts such as milling stones show that the food quest also embraced hunting, fishing, and shellfish collecting. The village sites began to be permanent and appear to have housed fair-sized populations.<sup>11</sup>

Archeological discoveries confirm occupation of the bay and coast areas between 5,000 and 2,000 B.C. Data from sites indicate that widespread, but relatively sparse, populations of hunter-gatherers lived in the bay and coast regions. The location of their settlements in hill country, as well as on bay and ocean shores, are marked by earth or sand deposits with significantly less shell than is found in later middens. Shellfish were collected, but it was not a major subsistence activity. All of this evidence associates these original inhabitants of the Bay Area with speakers of the Hokan languages.<sup>12</sup>

Specialized and selective exploitations of particular environments began to evolve around 3,000 B.C. In general, mortars and pestles came into use at this time, and dependence was upon a combination of hunting, fishing, and collecting, with one of the activities receiving somewhat greater emphasis.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>William J. Wallace, "Post-Pleistocene Archeology," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8, California (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 25-35.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 36.

<sup>12</sup>Moratto, California Archeology, 277.

<sup>13</sup>Wallace, "Post-Pleistocene," 37.

Archeological evidence confirms that a distinct cultural change occurred in Central California around 2,000 B.C. There were two distinct cultural patterns at this time: foragers and collectors. Foragers utilized a number of bases gathering their subsistence on a daily basis with little storage. These were possibly Hokan-speakers. Collectors, possibly proto-Ohlone, had permanent season bases, food storage patterns, food processing stations, and seasonal utilization of both hill and shore environments. By this time mortars and pestles came into full use, and shellfish collecting gained importance.

By 2,000 B.C. the early Hokan-speaking settlements were being intruded upon by bayshore and marsh adapted people who represented a new and distinct pattern. These Utian speaking groups, progenitors of the Bay Miwok and Ohlonean groups first occupied the Mount Diablo area about 2,500 to 2,000 B.C., then expanded westward to San Francisco Bay.<sup>14</sup>

By 2,000 B.C. the Ohlone had infiltrated the Bay Area, they were moving south and west from the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento River systems.<sup>15</sup> The Miwoks, following essentially the same course as the Ohlone, arrived by 1,350 B.C. The Northern Valley Yokuts were the most recent arrivals. Pressure from eastern Sierra Nevada tribes drove the Yokuts into the San Joaquin drainage some time between 1500 and 1000 B.C., extending Yokuts' territory at the expense of the Ohlone and Miwok groups.<sup>16</sup> By 500 A.D. all three groups had developed a complex "gatherer" pattern. All

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<sup>14</sup>Fentress, "Prehistoric Rock Art," 68-69.

<sup>15</sup>Richard Levy, "Costanoan," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American, 486.

three groups had patrilineal descent systems and an elite group of chiefs and religious specialists.<sup>17</sup>

By 300 to 500 A.D., a new pattern emerged among the Utian populations. Larger populations developed, including greater numbers of settlements and more evidence of status differentiation. There was a greater emphasis on gathering vegetal foods with more intensive trade and highly developed exchange systems, which featured the appearance of clamshell disk beads as a currency for exchange.<sup>18</sup>

Mount Diablo stood at the crossroads of these three Indian groups, the Yokuts to the east, Bay Miwok to the north, and Ohlone to the south and west. All were of the larger Penutian linguistic group, but because of environment each evolved a culture dependent on their location. The environment encountered by the Spanish at the end of the eighteenth century was one that had been shaped over the last 8,000 years by the Indians who inhabited the area. This was the emerging cultural pattern encountered and destroyed by the Spanish mission system and later historical developments. Between the years 500 and 1770, the area beneath the shadow of the mountain was controlled by the Ohlone, Bay Miwok, and Northern Valley Yokuts Indians. In those years they shaped and developed the cultures and environments that the Spanish encountered in 1770. Recent

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<sup>16</sup>William J. Wallace, "Northern Valley Yokuts," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American, 463.

<sup>17</sup>Fentress, "Prehistoric Rock Art," 68-69.

<sup>18</sup>Albert B. Elsasser, "Development of Regional Prehistoric Cultures," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American, 41.

research has found a wealth of information that has shed light upon the lives of the people of these three groups.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE PRE-CONTACT MIWOK, OHLONE, AND NORTHERN VALLEY YOKUTS

To understand the culture, society, and environment of the pre-contact Indians in the Mount Diablo region, it must be remembered that until contact with the Spanish, there was no written history of the people in the area. Most information is based on archeological evidence found in shellmounds along the bay, mortar stones inland, and rock art found in caves and on stones close to villages. Ethnographers have contributed to our understanding of pre-contact Indian life, and the area's description by the first explorers shed light on the environment, created in part by the Indian groups who inhabited the Mount Diablo area.

The environment of the Mount Diablo region must have been nearly ideal from the Indian perspective. Local topography presented few monumental barriers to overland travel, except Mount Diablo, and few places were unsuited for habitation. Of the three Indian groups within the scope of this study, the Miwok and Ohlone shared a similar environment, while that of the Northern Valley Yokuts differed substantially from the others. Yet, all three had shared characteristics. Like most California Indians they were intimately familiar with the habitats and characteristic behavior patterns of game animals, the distribution of useful plants, and the sources of valuable rocks and minerals in their areas. They knew about microclimates and how to site villages in dry sheltered places selected for optimum solar gain and minimum cold-air accumulation. Nonetheless, these

Indians depended upon the natural bounty of their areas, and their cultures were influenced strongly by the uncertainties of nature.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time they did try to control their natural environment. They changed and shaped the environment they lived in, suiting it to their needs. The extremely rich, diverse, and apparently wild landscape that so impressed the Spanish at the time of contact<sup>2</sup> and which traditionally has been viewed as a natural, untrampled, untrammelled wilderness ever since, was to considerable extent actually a product of (and, more importantly, dependent upon) deliberate human intervention. In other words, particular habitats, in a number of important respects, had been domesticated.<sup>3</sup> Native peoples did not simply exercise a certain degree of control over specific resources or modify the ecology of particular biological communities. Instead, the domesticative process here seems to have reached the point where important features of major ecosystems had developed as a result of human intervention, and many habitats (e.g., coastal prairies, black oak savannas, and dry montane meadows) were deliberately maintained by, and essentially dependent upon, ongoing human activities of various kinds.<sup>4</sup> The principal tool

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<sup>1</sup> Michael J. Moratto, California Archeology (San Diego: Academic Press, 1984), 7.

<sup>2</sup> Juan Crespi, Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774, ed. Hubert Eugene Bolton (1927; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971); and Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., Font's Complete Diary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson, "Managing the Domesticated Environment," in Thomas C. Blackburn and Kat Anderson, eds., Before the Wilderness (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1993), 18.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 19.

was fire, and by burning selected areas in their localities, the Indians gave the face of their landscape an apparently cyclic, unchanging look. It was a culture that hunter-gatherers could live, survive, and thrive in without practicing agriculture.

The Indians of the Mount Diablo area were hunter-gatherers; they were not agriculturalists. Because they did not practice extensive agriculture, they have been looked upon as a backward, unintelligent people. "Diggers"<sup>5</sup> was the term applied to them by early American settlers. Recent research has found an explanation for the Indians' non-use of agriculture. Burning, coupled with hunting and gathering, may have made agriculture unnecessary for them.<sup>6</sup>

The area surrounding Mount Diablo was part of the "acorn belt," and acorns were a staple of the diet. To the Indians, the environment they knew prevented agriculture because the cycle of winter rain made it impossible to grow maize, squash, and beans or other typical North American Indian crops.<sup>7</sup> Because northern California was isolated from the rest of the world at the time, the Bay Area's vegetation had evolved on its own without the intervention of crops from outside the area. Yet, the natural food resources of California were bountiful.<sup>8</sup> If one supply failed, there were hundreds of others to fall back

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<sup>5</sup> Harold E. Davis, A Short History of Contra Costa County (Danville, California: San Ramon Unified School District, 1965), 18.

<sup>6</sup> Lowell J. Bean and Harry W. Lawton, "Some Explanations for the Rise of Cultural Complexity in Native California with Comments on Proto-Agriculture and Agriculture," in Henry T. Lewis, Patterns of Indian Burning in California: Ecology and Ethnohistory (Ramona, California: Ballena Press, 1973), v.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, viii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ix.

on. The diverse distribution of available foods in California, and the working out of corresponding means of reclaiming them, prevented one crop-failure from producing starvation.<sup>9</sup> These peoples were peculiarly complex hunter-gatherers who managed their environment and whose social systems were similar to those of agriculturalists.<sup>10</sup>

The Indians especially managed their environment through the controlled burning of vegetation. Fire was a means of enhancing both plant and animal resources. The landscapes were products of plants and animals adjusting to reasonably stable physical environments and each other. Deliberate, extensive burning by the Indians had been a continuing feature of the environment, not only for hunting, but to maintain desirable plant associations. Systematic burning was the single-most important environmental modification by the California Indians, allowing them to control plant successions and, locally, to maintain biotic communities such as grasslands and oak savannas.<sup>11</sup>

Bean and Lawton suggest grasslands were fired to improve seed yields, encouraging grasses and flowering annuals, which provided supplementary foods for the Indians as well as browse to keep deer, antelope, and rabbit populations at a high level. Burning the woodlands grassbelt, particularly in areas near villages, would have concentrated game in specific locations for ready accessibility in hunting, since burned-

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<sup>9</sup> Alfred L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California reprint ed., (Berkeley: California Book Company Inc., 1970), 524.

<sup>10</sup>Lowell J. Bean, "Social Organization in Native California," in Lowell J. Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, eds., Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective (Ramona: Ballena Press, 1976), 99.

<sup>11</sup>Bean and Lawton, "Some Explanations," xxiii.

over areas would have been richer. Thus, it is suggested, burning may have also constituted a form of game management or developing herding.<sup>12</sup>

When shrublands are burned in late autumn, the seasonal pattern of succession begins with grasses followed by legumes and other forbs through winter spring and early summer. The pattern of succession lasts several years until a chaparral stage is reached, because burning of the first stage of succession (grasses) is repeated.<sup>13</sup> Without the introduction of seeds, the Indians created a series of successions of resources. The first stage, the most important, was the native grasses. Grassland in aboriginal times were stocked with native bunchgrasses. They provided seed crops for the Indians in addition to grazing grounds for pronghorn and deer during parts of the year.<sup>14</sup> Regular burning by the Indians may have exercised a selective influence on the genotypic strains of native grasses. Grass seeds were an extremely significant staple for pinole and atole, which were made from the native grasses, available in large surplus.<sup>15</sup> Pinole and atole were offered as trade items to the early Spanish explorers of the Mount Diablo area.<sup>16</sup>

The Indian practice of burning contributed to a dynamic equilibrium with respect

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., xxix.

<sup>13</sup>Lewis, Patterns of Indian Burning in California, 13.

<sup>14</sup>Martin A. Baumhoff, "Environmental Background," in Robert F. Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8, California (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 18.

<sup>15</sup>Bean and Lawton, "Some Explanations," xxxv.

<sup>16</sup>Vincente Santa María, The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay, 1775, John Galvin, ed., (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1971); Crespi, Missionary Explorer; Bolton, Font's Complete.

to trees, grasses, and shrubs that resulted in open parkland productive of acorns, grass seeds, and winter feed for deer and other grazers.<sup>17</sup> The Indians harvested resources in such a way that the plants continually thrived in the same locations. Wild plant populations at these locations persisted and flourished as a result of human manipulation, technology, labor requirements, and indigenous conservation rules, rather than purely as a result of natural processes.<sup>18</sup> An indication that burning practices were used is contained in the descriptions of the landscape in the journals of Father Juan Crespi and Father Pedro Font, diarists of the first two land expeditions beneath the shadow of the mountain. Neither diarist gave a hint of the heavy infiltration of shrubby vegetation such as poison oak, or other chaparral species, which now extend down the hills throughout the area.<sup>19</sup>

Another shared trait between Miwok, Ohlone, and Yokuts was social organization. Kroeber conceptualized this type of social organization as the "tribelet." The tribelet was a group of people who shared a language, culture, history, and philosophical concepts. It was the basic land-owning group, and usually the largest group over which any one person had recognized authority and that was self-governing and independent.<sup>20</sup> The tribelet concept differs from the "tribe," or tribal, concept in that most California Indians were divided into relatively small groups, each politically independent of the other. The Ohlone,

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<sup>17</sup>Baumhoff, "Environmental Background," 23.

<sup>18</sup>Kat Anderson, "Native Californians as Ancient and Contemporary Cultivators," in Blackburn and Anderson, eds., Before the Wilderness, 155.

<sup>19</sup>Sherbourne F. Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," Anthropological Records 16 (1962): 134.

<sup>20</sup>Kroeber, Handbook, 474.

for instance, shared a common language stock, and linguistically their territory was quite large, yet each tribelet acted independently of each other. At no time did tribelets join to form a large confederation or tribe under the jurisdiction of one leader or leadership group.

It was originally thought that the tribelet expanded in its territory to the extent that food resources and cohesiveness would permit. The more modern model attributes the equilibrium between resources and population to a complex system of socio-economic checks and balances. This has been termed "crosstribelet interfacing."<sup>21</sup> This interfacing involved different tribelets within a radius of 50 to 75 miles interacting with each other in trade feasts and mourning ceremony rituals. These rituals would bring from several hundred to several thousand people together, serving as centers for intense socio-political and economic interaction.<sup>22</sup> Lowell Bean has found,

The economic equilibrium maintained through the network involved as many as a dozen or so villages or tribelets, two or more nationalities, and several ecological zones (e.g., coast, foothill, riverine-mountain.) These partners in social interaction, along with the well-developed money systems in Native California, were the most important social devices for exploiting economic resources in the area, since they expanded the amount and diversity of energy potential of every tribelet to include part of the resources of most of their neighbors.<sup>23</sup>

One of these ritual centers, the Vasco Caves, have been located in the Livermore Valley near the Altamont Pass. Located in the border zone between Miwok, Ohlone, and

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<sup>21</sup>Bean, "Social Organization," 101-102.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 104.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 105.

Yokuts territory, the Altamont Pass was part of one the most prominent trade routes in pre-contact California.<sup>24</sup> The pictographs in the caves are of Miwok or Yokuts origin, and there are more pictographs at this location than at any others in the area.<sup>25</sup> With a spectacular setting, huge rock formations, a spring, and panoramic views of the Delta, Mount Diablo, and the Sierra, it was a convenient spot for trade and social interaction.

Another binding mechanism that held tribelet relations together was marriage. Each person born into a tribelet was born into a society where patrilineal descent dictated familial relations. Not only was patrilineal descent important, each child by adulthood became a member of a moiety, picking an animal totem as his or her moiety. In general each tribelet had a three to five-generation taboo on marriage within the same family or moiety.<sup>26</sup>

With this marriage taboo, the average tribelet was virtually without potential spouses for its own members. This required marriage between neighboring tribelets, and established affinal relationships across group boundaries. This tribelet interaction caused by marriage obligations created an exchange of economic goods ordered by kinship

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<sup>24</sup>James T. Davis, "Trade Routes and Economic Exchange Among the Indians of California," University of California Archeological Survey 54 (1961): 19.

<sup>25</sup>Jeff Fentress, "Prehistoric Rock Art of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," in Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, eds., The Ohlone: Past and Present (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1994), 68.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 107.

obligations. In war and peace, marriages influenced who would be attacked, the relative intensity of combat, and the political orientation of each tribelet.<sup>27</sup>

One of the most important areas of crosstribelet interfacing was the Indian's notions of death, or more importantly, the great Mourning Ceremony. The mourning ceremony brought together tribelets at the end of each harvest season. All mourning for the dead was saved for the annual ceremony. This interaction, due to moiety and familial ties, brought trade and social interaction between tribelets once each year, at spots like the Vasco Caves.

One area of mutual benefit to all tribelets was the simple act of trade. Tribelets from different ecological zones traded for foods and wares not available in their areas. Trade was a means of acquiring what different tribelets could not procure in their own territories, and it also relieved them of surplus from their own ecosystems in return for goods or monies. Trade was common by late prehistoric times.<sup>28</sup> The Miwok, Ohlone, and Yokuts traded acorns, salt, fish, shell artifacts, clothing, bows and arrows, baskets, and dogs, over a network of trails in the area.<sup>29</sup> Three types of money were used by the Indians in trading -- white shell buttons pierced at the center and strung together, periwinkles, and fancy marine shells.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>S.A. Barrett and E.W. Gifford, "Miwok Material Culture," Bulletin of the Milwaukee Public Museum 2 (March 1933): 215.

<sup>29</sup>Davis, "Trade Routes," 3.

<sup>30</sup>Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), 352.

Another area of cross-tribelet interfacing overlooked until recently is the area of leadership within the tribelet. Each tribelet had a chief. Through the role of the chief, formal and informal trade feasts were set up between groups in different ecological areas. The chief was for all intents and purposes a master of ceremonies. He suggested the best times to move from one village area to another, and because he was a man of wealth, he was consulted first in matters of trade. He entertained traders from other areas and had first pick of trade items. When he was through, the rest of the tribe then traded their items for those needed.<sup>31</sup> The chiefs were people of wealth and personality who knew their territory, or ecosystem, better than most. A chief of personality and judgment, supported by wealth, would command attention and respect among his neighbors, but it appears there were none who ever headed a formal league of tribes.<sup>32</sup>

Another commonality of the Indians in the Mount Diablo area was the way they viewed the world around them. Their ideas of creation and how they fit into the world were contained in their myths. Time was divided into two parts. The pre-human, or remote past, and the human, or recent times. In pre-human times, Eagle, with his bird and animal assistants, created and occupied the world, and held super-animal and super-human powers. With Eagle in charge, they created the institution of certain cultural, social, and physical features of man and his way of life. The prehistoric era ended with the creation of mankind by Eagle. The "super" animals were transformed into their present forms, thus

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<sup>31</sup>Malcolm Margolin, The Ohlone Way (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1978), 104.

<sup>32</sup>Kroeber, Handbook, 496.

the past continued into the present through the immediate existence of the animals themselves.<sup>33</sup>

In essence, man and animals changed places when man was created. The Indians' myths projected backwards the social system of the present, yet brought forward and attributed to animals the power they had in the past, presenting a social model. This mythic interest and importance was spread among several species of birds and animals. A few were important yet there was no single hero or trickster. The creation myth expressed an unconscious or unvoiced attitude of equivalence as living creatures in one small world.<sup>34</sup>

This Indian view of the world around them, their part in it, and their link to the cycle of nature, and their relationship with the animals that surrounded them is best presented by Anna H. Gayton.

By the time a youth has reached the verge of adulthood, the annual cycle of cultural events moving with the environmental cycle of weather, floral and faunal changes, has been repeated fifteen times. By this time too, the symbolic meaning of certain animals for his individual person--as primordial activators of his way of life, as tabu foods or as legal kill, as patrilineal totem, as source of supernatural powers--have been established, and he bears a personal relation to various animals, manifest in respectful actions. These actions were constantly evoked by the immediate presence of these creatures in his daily, common living as a Yokuts.<sup>35</sup>

The Indians of the Mount Diablo area followed the ways of their ancestors and, in

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<sup>33</sup>Anna H. Gayton, "Culture-Environment Integration: External References in Yokuts Life," in Lowell John Bean and Thomas C. Blackburn, eds., Native Californians: A Theoretical Retrospective (Ramona, California: Ballena Press, 1976), 89.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 90.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 95.

return, they survived. For them, acting in history meant the repetition of these ancient ways. Repeating their ceremonial dances connected their bodies to these historical cycles and to their ancestors. Time existed as a line on a cylinder in which they emphasized that which could and should be repeated for the world to continue.<sup>36</sup> Their myths told them how to be. In this way they practiced the cylindrical recurrence of what had been before, an integral part of the world surrounding them. Their ability to work within what their environment gave them, while at the same time shaping their environment to work for them, helped create the distinctions between these Indians.

What were the localities in which the Miwok, Yokuts, and Ohlones lived? They exhibited an ability to claim and hold territories over large areas for a long period of time. At the time of Spanish contact these territories were well defined and stable.

The Miwok occupied the southern shore of Suisun Bay, the area north of the Sacramento River near Rio Vista, and the interior valleys from the Oakland hills to the foothills of Mount Diablo. In relation to Mount Diablo, their area extended northwest to northeast from the mountain and included the mountain itself. The Miwok lived in large multiple family villages situated on elevated landforms near streams. Most settlements were inhabited permanently, except for a period of several weeks each year during the fall acorn harvest. This is known because bedrock milling stations (used to process acorns) have been found in Miwok territory at the Castle Rocks, and Rock City, on Mount Diablo, and along Marsh Creek.<sup>37</sup> Acorns were a staple food, augmented by various seeds, nuts,

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<sup>36</sup>Douglas Monroy, Thrown Among Strangers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 17.

roots, berries, and greens.<sup>38</sup> Being a land-based group, the Miwok hunted deer and other small game. They did not develop fishing to a great degree, but instead traded for fish.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to the Miwok, the Northern Valley Yokuts claimed nearly all of the northern San Joaquin Valley. In relation to Mount Diablo their area extended to the southeast. The Yokuts lived in permanent villages on high ground near watercourses and subsisted by fishing, hunting, fowling, and collecting. Although large communal residences sheltering ten or more families were built in some places, most Yokuts houses were circular or oval single family dwellings of tule mats over pole frames.

The Yokuts were particularly adapted to a lake-marsh-prairie environment, with access to salmon and acorns in riverine and oak savanna environments.<sup>40</sup> Apart from the wetlands to the east of Mount Diablo, which were heavily overgrown with tules and marsh grass, the natural vegetation of the valley floor tended to be sparse. In its original condition the plain formed a grassland, enlivened in the spring with many flowering herbs. Stands of trees remained restricted to narrow ribbons of sycamores, cottonwoods, and willows along stream courses and to groves of valley oaks in well-watered localities with rich soil. In contrast to the rather limited plant growth, there was abundant animal life—fish, mussels, pond turtles, migratory waterfowl, and immense herds of tule elk and

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<sup>37</sup>Charles A. Bohakel, The Indians of Contra Costa County California (Amarillo, Texas: P. & H. Publishers, 1977), 3.

<sup>38</sup>Powers, Tribes, 351.

<sup>39</sup>Barrett and Gifford, "Miwok," 143.

<sup>40</sup>Moratto, California Archeology, 173.

pronghorn.<sup>41</sup> Fishing was the most important subsistence activity. It included the taking of salmon, white sturgeon, river perch, western suckers, and Sacramento pike. These Yokuts tended toward a sedentary life; the only disruption of community life occurred seasonally when the local group broke up into smaller units for the harvesting of wild plant products.<sup>42</sup>

The pre-contact Ohlone population occupied the territory west and south of Mount Diablo, extending to the coast as far south as Monterey, although for the purposes of this study the Ohlone territory is important only as far south as present-day Fremont. The Ohlone environment differed from the Miwok and Yokuts in that it featured a mosaic of plant communities ranging from saltmarsh, around San Francisco Bay, to redwood forest, grassland, and mixed-evergreen woodland.<sup>43</sup>

The most obvious difference between the Ohlone and the other two Indian groups was that principal villages were established at ecotones, at the junctures of two or more biotic communities such as oak woodland and bayshore marsh. Each community sustained a peculiar array of animals, and game was generally abundant. The Ohlone and Miwok were similiar because both utilized bedrock milling stations. These stations are defined as locations at which vegetable foods

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<sup>41</sup>William J. Wallace, "Northern Valley Yokuts," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 8 California (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 462.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 466.

<sup>43</sup>Richard Levy, "Costanoan," in Heizer, ed., Handbook of North American, 487.

were ground by the use of mortars or metates located in bedrock outcroppings. Much of the labor associated with the processing of the vegetable crops took place at these sites.<sup>44</sup>

The bedrock milling stations reflect the seasonality of Ohlone life. Most stations were utilized by small collecting units. The Ohlone spent their winters in large permanent village sites located near the shore of the San Francisco Bay. At this time shellfish were collected and consumed and were the major food item at this season. Migratory waterfowl, fish, acorns, and seeds supplemented the shellfish. This season saw the use of portable stone mortars and milling stones used to grind acorns and grass seeds. The winter season was also the scene of intense ceremonial activity.<sup>45</sup>

During the spring and summer the Ohlone village fragmented into communal base camps occupied by the members of an extended family, or a moiety, for the purpose of collecting ripening plant foods such as bulbs, greens, and hard grass seeds. Individual family units formed separate collecting units, and collecting areas were dispersed across the plains.<sup>46</sup>

Bedrock milling stations were established by these collecting units. A constant flow of traffic united the milling stations with the base camps and the

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<sup>44</sup>E. Breck Parkman, "The Bedrock Milling Station," in Bean and Vane, eds., The Ohlone: Past And Present, 44.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 49.

main camp. Food was transported for storage at this time, and deer were hunted. These base camps were made at the interface of the bay plains and the bay hills. Some villagers remained in the winter camp to continue shellfish collection and waterfowl hunting, along with craft specialists, the young, and infirm.

In the fall some base camps moved into the bay hills for acorn collection. Acorns were sent to the winter village. Because multiple collecting units would harvest a single grove, bedrock milling stations were sometimes communal, rather than single-family work-sites at oak groves. After the harvest season, the groups reassembled at the winter camp.<sup>47</sup>

The Ohlone, like other Indians in the Mount Diablo area, took an active role in managing the oaks in their territories. Climbing the oaks and knocking the crop from the tree reduced the serious competition for acorns from birds and animals and additionally may have encouraged maximum future crop production for selected species by acting as a pruning technique. Burning has been shown to promote and maintain an optimal environment for oaks by reducing the number of such competitors as conifers, thus altering the structure and composition of the ecological community and increasing the distribution of such preferred oak species as black oak. Fire reduced the fuel load in the forest, diminishing the probability that severe damage by fire would occur, and increased the available water supply

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 51.

for wanted oaks. It restricted major pests and established an uncluttered ground surface which facilitated the gathering process.<sup>48</sup>

In summary it should be noted that trade and ritual alliances were seen throughout the Mount Diablo area. They combined rather neatly around ecological parameters. These tribelets allied for mutual exchange and protection around the ecological barriers within the naturally imposed limits of the areas they lived in. The society that developed in this area was not just a consequence of a fortunate environment, it was also a consequence of specific social institutions that served to increase productive resources and redistribute goods in such a way that their society and culture was similar to that usually found in horticultural and agricultural societies.

Primarily through the work of archaeologists, this mosaic of pre-contact Indian society and culture has been painted in broad strokes. The Miwok, Ohlone, and Yokuts Indians in this area lived a structured and balanced life, one dependent on the seasons, in an environment they shaped to bring the optimum to those living in it. The Indians living in it were hard-working and industrious from today's understanding of their society and culture.

Yet, in 1770, the written account of the history of the area began, and with it came the prejudice and misconceptions of a foreign culture. Moving northward, the Spanish colonizers were coming, and with them came a new set of standards and changes that would dismantle the pre-contact Indian civilization.

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<sup>48</sup>Helen McCarthy, "Managing Oaks and the Acorn Crop," in Blackburn and Anderson, eds., Before The Wilderness, 227.

## CHAPTER THREE

### SPANISH PERIOD

The year 1768 is important not only in California history, but in the history of the Mount Diablo area. In that year Don José de Gálvez, the visitador-general of New Spain, decided to begin the colonization of Alta California. The first objective of this colonization was to establish a mission and presidio at the bay of San Diego, which would remain a way-station for the primary objective, the founding of a mission and presidio at Monterey Bay, noted by Sebastián Vizcaíno on a exploratory voyage up the California coast in 1602 as the best harbor on the California coast.

In July 1769, Mission San Diego was founded by Father Junípero Serra, and a presidio was established to protect the mission. From the new mission, Captain Gaspar de Portolá and a small force of men set off northward to find a land route to the bay of Monterey. Eventually the expedition reached the shore of the bay, but Portolá refused to believe it was the fine harbor that Vizcaíno had described 167 years before.

The party continued northward along the coast. By the end of October they reached Point San Pedro and realized they were north of Monterey Bay. Believing he had passed Monterey without finding it, and being short of supplies, Portolá sent Sergeant José Ortega and a party of scouts out northward to search for a ship that Indians had told him was anchored in a bay. On November 1, Ortega and his party were the first Spanish explorers to see San Francisco Bay. Finding their northern advance blocked by the bay, Portolá's expedition attempted to find a route around the bay. Unable to do so, the expedition retraced its steps back to San Diego.

Resupplied and rested in San Diego, Portolá realized he had found Monterey Bay. In the spring of 1770, he sent Serra and Lieutenant Pedro Fages by sea to Monterey, while he led twelve soldiers overland to the same destination. On June 3, the Monterey Presidio and Mission San Carlos Borromeo were established. With the establishment of the mission and presidio, Portolá sailed for Mexico, leaving Fages in charge of the government of the new province of Alta California.

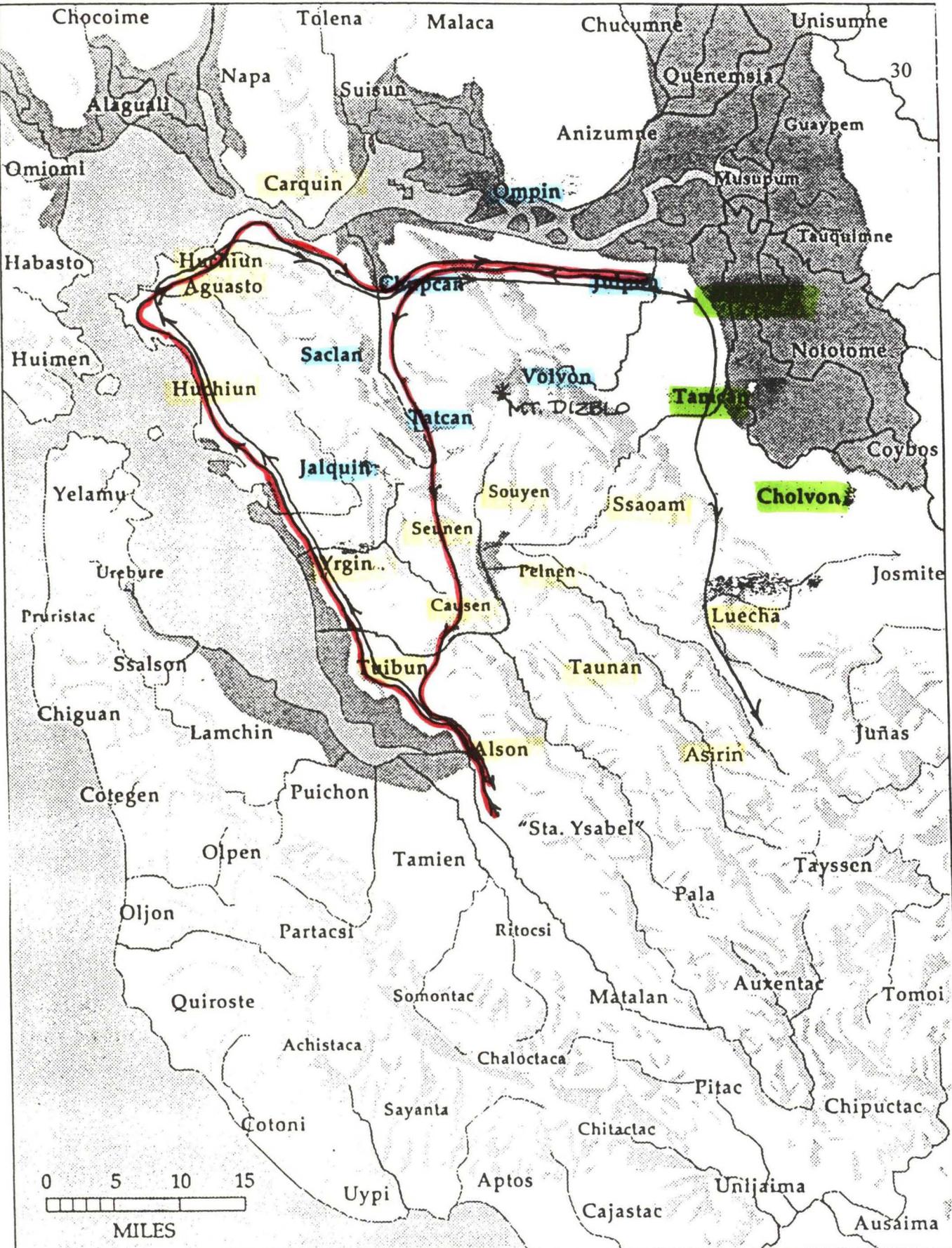
The founding of Mission San Carlos Borromeo and the presidio of Monterey is important historically to the Mount Diablo area. The mission became the point of departure of all expeditions into the Mount Diablo area from 1772 to 1777. The purpose of these expeditions was to reconnoiter the area and the peoples in the San Francisco Bay Area, in an effort to find suitable mission sites and to explore the bay and the area surrounding it.

In 1770, Fages made his first expedition out of Monterey. He explored primarily the San Francisco peninsula. In 1772, Fages made a second expedition out of Monterey. It became the first Spanish visit to the area surrounding Mount Diablo. Through the diaries and reports of Fages and Father Juan Crespi are left the first written accounts of the Indians and environment of the area surrounding Mount Diablo. Through the work of Randal Milliken,<sup>1</sup> furthermore, the Indian triblets can be placed, and to a small degree described before they were disrupted by missionization.

The Fages expedition of 1772 left Monterey, traveled through the Santa Clara

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<sup>1</sup> Randall Milliken, A Time of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810 (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995)



- OHLONE TRIBELETS
- MIWOK TRIBELETS
- YOKUTS TRIBELETS
- ROUTE OF 1772 EXPEDITION
- ROUTE OF 1776 EXPEDITION

Valley, headed north. By March 24, they passed through the present-day Fremont area. The first Indian group encountered within the scope of this study was an Ohlone group, the Tuibun. They were located at the mouth of Alameda Creek in the Coyote Hills area. The area was described as "level, black, and very well covered with good grass, mallows, and other herbs...although it has not a single tree or any firewood, except what is in the beds of the arroyos."<sup>2</sup>

The next day, continuing along the bay shore, the expedition traversed through another Ohlone territory, that of the Yrgin. Here Crespi reported seeing "many deer, and the tracks of elk." The Oakland-Alameda estuary was reported as covered with oaks. The morning of March 27th, they saw to the west the Golden Gate, and attempted to map it.<sup>3</sup> No Indians were seen during this two-day march. By the 28th, the expedition had reached the Pinole-Wildcat Creek area. Here, they encountered the first large village of Indians.

This was the territory of the Huchuin, also Ohlone. Their lands extended from Temescal Creek north, to the lower San Pablo and Wildcat Creek drainage. North of Wildcat Creek was the territory of the Huchuin-Aquasto. Also an Ohlone group, they held the lands on the southeast shores of San Pablo Bay. This, the Wildcat Creek area, may have been a heavily populated area. Crespi recounted finding "a good village of heathen, very fair and bearded, who did not know what to do, they were so happy to see

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<sup>2</sup> Juan Crespi, Fray Juan Crespi, Missionary Explorer on the Pacific Coast, 1769-1774, edited by, Herbert Eugene Bolton, (1927; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1971), 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 289.

us in their village."<sup>4</sup> A large amount of archeological evidence has been found throughout the years in this area. Evidence indicates shellfish collecting and the use of mortars and pestles.<sup>5</sup> Here the Spaniards traded beads for stuffed geese decoys, and some of the Indians went with the expedition to another village, where the expedition first saw San Pablo Bay, in which Crespi noted seeing "four young whales blowing."

By the 29th, the expedition traversed the Carquinez Strait area. Here, they passed through the present-day Port Costa-Martinez area, the home of another Ohlone group, the Carquin. According to Crespi's diary, they tried to round San Pablo Bay with the intent of reaching Point Reyes on the north side of the Golden Gate. Instead, they ran into the Carquinez Strait. Following the banks of the strait, in the direction of present-day Martinez, Crespi described the area as such, "in the whole distance we traveled on these hills there was not a single tree. The bed of the estuary is very deep and its shores precipitous; on its banks we did not see so much as a bush; and the water was so still it seemed to have no current."<sup>6</sup> The expedition encountered Indians from the other side of the strait who crossed over the by tule raft and gave the group some food. Later in the

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 291.

<sup>5</sup> Jeff Fentress, "Prehistoric Rock Art of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," in Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, eds., The Ohlone: Past and Present (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1994), 65-85.

<sup>6</sup> Crespi, Missionary Explorer, 292-93.

day they encountered five large villages of Indians, who were friendly, brought them into their village, and also fed them.<sup>7</sup>

By the 30th of March, the expedition passed over Pacheco Creek, noted as being "deep with much running water." The Spaniards then traveled over the plain between present-day Walnut Creek and Concord, described by Crespi as being "a beautiful plain or valley, about three leagues in extent in all directions, of level ground, black loose soil well covered with grass, and grown with oaks and live oaks. In this valley, which reaches the estuary, we saw some lagoons."<sup>8</sup> This was the territory of a Miwok group, the Chupcan. They held the lower Diablo Valley, their main village being located on Pacheco Creek at the present-day city of Concord. On this plain, the expedition encountered "four Indians who shouted at them to receive a bow, pelt, and arrows." The Spaniards traded beads for these articles, then passed by two villages, where they again traded with the same four Indians, beads for seeds.<sup>9</sup> The expedition then moved over the hills toward the present-day Pittsburg-Antioch area, where they were the first Europeans to see the vast Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. They camped the night of the 30th near the present-day Pittsburg-Antioch area. This put them within the territory of another Miwok group, the Julpun. Julpun territory encompassed the lower valleys to the east of Mount Diablo.

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<sup>7</sup> Sherburne Friend Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," *Anthropological Records* 16 (1957): 131.

<sup>8</sup> Crespi, *Missionary Explorer*, 294-95.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 296.

Seeing no way to cross the Delta and find a way to reach Point Reyes, the expedition decided to return to Monterey.

On the 31st, they retraced their steps back to the Walnut Creek area, headed south down the Diablo Valley, camping in the present-day Danville area. Here, the expedition passed through the territory of the Tatcan, another Miwok group, which held the San Ramon Creek drainage, just west of Mount Diablo. The Diablo and San Ramon valleys were described by Crespi as "of considerable width and good level land, well covered with grass, with good arroyos well grown with alders, cottonwood, laurels, roses, and other trees not known to us. The valley and the greater part of its sides are covered in the same manner with those trees." While in route, the Spaniards encountered three villages "with some little grass houses. As soon as the heathen caught sight of us they ran away, shouting and panic stricken without knowing what happened."<sup>10</sup>

By April 1, the expedition passed through the San Ramon Valley into the present-day Pleasanton area. Here, they re-entered Ohlone territory, passed through Seunen lands at the northwest side of the Livermore Valley. This group's area encompassed the present-day towns of San Ramon and Dublin. Another Ohlone group, the Souyen, held the north side of the marsh that once existed in the western Livermore Valley, as well as the area northward up the Tassajara Creek drainage into the southern foothills of Mount Diablo. Here, the land was described as the same as the previous day's march, "with

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 299.

numerous villages of very gentle and peaceful heathen, many of them of fair complexion." Crespi notes that this would be a good area for a mission, "having good lands, much water, firewood and many heathen."<sup>11</sup>

Leaving Pleasanton, the Spaniards entered the territory of the Pelenen, an Ohlone tribelet who held the Pleasanton area south to the canyon leading to Sunol Valley. The explorers crossed the Sunol Valley and traveled through the territory of the Causen, another Ohlone group. Here, Crespi noted, "it is evident that the land is not so good now, but it all continues full of oaks and live oaks."<sup>12</sup> The Spaniards arrived back in Tuibun territory on the second of April. From here they retraced their steps to Monterey.

The circuitous route of this first expedition to pass through the Mount Diablo area entered the territories of most Indian groups within the range of Mount Diablo. Yet, it completely circumnavigated one very important group. The expedition completely circled, but did not enter, the East Bay Hills-Lafayette area, the home of the Saclan, a Miwok group that became one of the most feared and resistant of the Indians to the Spanish mission system.

In June 1775, Lieutenant Juan Manuel de Ayala sailed from Monterey in the brig San Carlos, entered San Francisco Bay, and stayed over a month. This was the first known European vessel to enter the bay. On board was Father Vicente Santa María, chaplain of the ship. From his journal more information is found concerning the Indians living in the area. The mission of the San Carlos was to enter, sound and map the bay, and

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

supply the expedition of Juan Bautista de Anza. Anza's expedition was to establish a new mission and presidio on San Francisco Bay.

The San Carlos entered the bay on August 5, after sailing master José Cañizares had earlier entered in a longboat. They anchored opposite Angel Island. On the 6th, they sighted Indians to the northwest, who appeared friendly, or at least curious. The Indians made two attempts to get the Spanish ashore, but unsure of native intentions, the Spanish remained aboard ship. Later in the day, the Indians left gifts on the shore. Ayala investigated and left earrings and glass beads in place of the gifts. In the evening the Indians returned and found the gifts. Again they tried to get the visitors to come ashore. This time, Vincente and three others obliged them. Vincente's comment about going to meet the Indians carried a promise of future colonial intentions in the area. "I went...to communicate at close quarters with those poor unfortunates who so persistently desired us to do so, and by easy steps to bring them into close terms with us and make them the readier when the time should come for attracting them to our Holy Faith."<sup>13</sup> Vincente found these Indians quite regimented. He was met by nine males, three old and six young; one old man was in charge. The Indians gave no sign of surprise or curiosity, and the young men were completely obedient to the older men. This social arrangement indicated an ordered and established society. Vincente tried to get them to come on board, but with long speeches they declined. On the morning of the 8th, Vincente made another visit to the Indians on shore, but they still refused come on board. Late on that same day,

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<sup>13</sup>Vincente Santa María, The First Spanish Entry into San Francisco Bay, 1775, John Galvin, ed., (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1971), 27.

Vincente decided that if the Indians would not come to him, he would go to the Indian ranchería (Indian settlement). When the explorers arrived unexpectedly, the men of the ranchería came forward, protecting their women and children, who stayed in the rear. Although he was treated respectfully and fed, the women and children never came near Vincente and his companions. After eating, he went back to the San Carlos, still unable to get the Indians to come on board.<sup>14</sup>

On August 15th, Cañizares was mapping the bay in the Carquinez Strait area when he came in contact with a ranchería on the Contra Costa side. Although Cañizares estimated the population of this ranchería at close to 400, he noted that only one person was in charge. That the Spanish expected this area and its peoples to come under its domain can be found in this note from Vincente's journal. "The Indians of this ranchería, unlike those of the earlier one visited, did not keep their women out of view. No sooner were signs made to the women to approach than many of them ran up, and a large number of their small children, conducting themselves toward all with the diffidence the occasion demanded. Our men stayed longer with the little Indians than with the women, feeling great commiseration for these innocents whom they could not readily help under the many difficulties that would come with the carrying out of a new and far reaching extension of Spanish authority."<sup>15</sup> These were probably Carquinez Indians, for Vincente also notes that "the sight of Spaniards was not a marvel, for they explained by signs that on another occasion they had seen similar men, even on horseback, and not an unjustified inference

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 45.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 53.

was that it was the expedition of Pedro Fages, which Father Crespí, who was with him, gave much information about." These Indians wanted the Spanish to stay for a longer period of time, but they could not.<sup>16</sup>

By the 23rd, Indians from the first ranchería decided to board Vincente's ship, and they marvelled at the rigging and bell. On the 24th, other Indians began to appear. It is important to note the role of the chief, and the structured level of Indian society, for Vincente noted that the chief appeared to be a powerful force among the Indians. He first sought out the Spanish captain, introduced the other Indians in their order of importance, then got all the explorers to sit and receive gifts from the Indians. The gifts were given to the captain for distribution to the others, and the captain was required to be the first to taste the gift of pinole.<sup>17</sup> These explorers reported that the natives had no societal structure or government. The Spanish attempted to write out the Indian language at this time. Vincente was learning Indian words, but the Spanish continued to write out every term the Indians would explain to them while they were on board the ship. Vincente noted that the first time two different tribes boarded the ship at the same time, the Indians appeared unfriendly to each other, but when the Spaniards treated them equally, both groups settled down and became friendly to each other. It was noted that most Bay Area Indians treated the Spanish as equals at this time. The former behavior indicated competition between tribelets, while the latter a stable and self-assured Indian society. Vincente ended his journal with these remarks. "This is the manner in which these

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 55.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 61.

unfortunates have behaved towards us. What is certain is that they themselves seem to be asking a start at entering within the fold of our Catholic religion. Not to avail them of this opportunity would be a lamentable misfortune. To succeed as planned would be the best fortune of all."<sup>18</sup>

Two entries quoting Juan Manuel de Ayala, the captain of the San Carlos, are also important to the future of the Indians and Spanish authority. "From that day and our first contact with them the Indians certainly seemed friendly and wanting our men to visit their rancherías, urging them even to sleep and eat there...The short time that our men were with them, it was noticed that the Indians repeated very readily all our Spanish words." Also, "To these many good things is added the best of all. The heathen all around this harbor are always so friendly and so docile that I had Indians aboard several times with great pleasure, and the crew as often visited them on land. In fact, from the first day to the last they were so constant in their behavior that it behove me to make presents, which they learned to ask for in our own language."<sup>19</sup>

These thoughts carried with them the promise of what would come to the Indians in the area. Vincente described the Indians as "unfortunates," yet ignored the structure of Indian society, i.e., territoriality, chieftainship, societal gradations, and sufficient food reserves. Ayala wrote the Indians in the area "are always so friendly and so docile." He ignored the fact that in Vincente's first visit to a ranchería the Indian's came forward to protect their women and children. Ayala also wrote, "it behove me to make presents." He

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., 73.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 82-91.

did not mention these Indians traded for these items. Neither man wrote the exact truth. Instead, the Spanish wrote down in their journals what they wanted and the government needed to see, a whole area and peoples simply waiting, and wanting, and to a degree needing, to become a part of Spanish society.

The Anza Expedition of 1776, which began in Sonora, Mexico, was the first to establish a overland route into Alta California. When it arrived in Monterey with families and livestock, this expedition proved that a secure overland means of communication and supply could replace the inefficient sea route, which was the only means of support for the missions. Anza had brought settlers and livestock to Monterey, but his goal was the founding of a settlement north of Monterey, on the San Francisco Peninsula.

Leaving the colonists recuperating and waiting at Monterey, Anza went north to reconnoiter the proposed new colony on the bay. After picking the preliminary spot for the San Francisco presidio and mission, Anza then continued to complete his orders, which included exploring the bay and finding other new sites for settlements. Heading southeasterly, Anza followed the earlier Fages route into the East Bay.

By March 31, 1776, they were in the Alameda Creek area. It is interesting to note that this expedition was the first to recognize language differences. Father Pedro Font, missionary and diarist for the expedition, notes in his diary that on or near Alameda Creek, they met "about thirty Indians," who greeted them peaceably. Font noted that "their language is distinct from all those we had formally heard and is very ugly; and with the

gobbling which they made, all speaking together it was very disagreeable to the ears."<sup>20</sup>

This must have been a dialect change. The expedition had traveled through Ohlone territory for many days. The Alameda Creek area was occupied by Tuibuns, also Ohlone. The dialect change occurred after rounding the southern end of the bay.

On April 1st, the expedition crossed San Leandro Creek and continued north until at the Wildcat Creek area they "saw an Indian in the plain, who, as soon as he saw us, was so frightened that he ran up a hill and hid behind some rocks."<sup>21</sup> They passed an abandoned village on the banks of Wildcat Creek, but encountered a fair-sized village at San Pablo Creek, "whose Indians, both men and women, were very happy to see us and very obliging." The Spaniards continued on, spending the night in the Rodeo Creek area. Font noted a second time "that the language is different from that on the other side of the southern estuary."<sup>22</sup>

On the 2nd, the expedition passed through a village where they were welcomed by an estimated 400 persons. There they traded clothing and cloth for fish. These Indians, in the present-day Crockett area, were no longer interested in glass beads. The Spaniards passed through the Port Costa area, dropped down into the Martinez Valley, and camped close to Pacheco on Walnut Creek. The camp was interrupted by a visit of Indians from a neighboring village, who came to trade for clothing and cloth. When the Spaniards

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<sup>20</sup>Herbert Eugene Bolton, Font's Complete Diary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1933), 357.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 363.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 365.

refused to trade the cloth, the Indians began to steal the clothing. The Indians became such a nuisance that Anza ordered them out of camp, but they refused to leave. Finally, Anza took a stick from an Indian and hit him with it, then threw it away. The Indians left, only to return later to the Spaniard's camp armed with bows and arrows, again trying to trade, and still stealing clothing.<sup>23</sup>

On April 3, the expedition passed through the Concord Valley, traveled over Willow Pass into the Antioch area. Font notes "we came to a good sized village, whose Indians,...welcomed us as friends although timidly. The village is situated in the plain a little before the sierra toward which we were going, and so close to the water that from it to the huts it could not have been a dozen steps. We stopped for a while at this village, whose huts were not of grass and dilapidated like those we had seen during this journey, but rather, large, round, and well made, like those of the Channel, and made of tule mats with a framework of slender poles inside, and with doors."<sup>24</sup> This is one of the earliest and better descriptions of a Northern Valley Yokuts village. The expedition had entered Jalalon territory. The women and children of this village hid themselves, while the men remained outside talking rapidly, but remained unarmed.

On the 4th, the expedition attempted to cross the Delta. They wanted to find a way around the bay. From the Antioch area they traveled to Oakley, almost to Knightson. Unable to cross the Delta, they headed south to Patterson Pass and crossed to the edge of the Livermore Valley. By the 5th, they had traveled behind the Mount Hamilton range

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<sup>23</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 135.

<sup>24</sup>Bolton, Font's, 383.

and crossed beyond the range or Mount Diablo. One last quote from Font was a description of the San Joaquin Valley as he saw it: "Tis true, the prospect seen at a distance from a height appears to be somewhat wonderful, with the level country, the vast reach of the eye, and a horizon so expansive that, the sky touching the earth, objects disappear in the distance and one cannot distinguish whether beyond it is land or water. Yet in reality it is an arid, salty land, all water and mud flats, without anything which pleased me to be valuable except the large deer which apparently have their haunts there."<sup>25</sup>

The Spanish diaries, journals, and, later, mission records launched the written history of the Mount Diablo area. No longer was the area a land without time, changing very slowly, with little notion of progress. Indeed, with these expeditions the seeds of change were planted among the Indians. They saw for the first time horses, ships, and technology (knives and muskets) unknown to them. The Indians traded for beads and cloth, which left behind the expeditions a reminder of who had passed. These reminders initiated environmental and social change. The Indians were to live no more in a land without time, a living part of the environment. Instead, they were soon to learn the concept of time and the European idea of controlling, to a greater extent than the Indians, the natural environment.

The question is always asked, how could such a few Spanish have taken control over such a large area and population of Indians? Initially, the answer lies within the differing world view of the Indians and the Spanish. Warfare in the Indian sense was

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<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 421.

protection of a tribelet's territory. It was a strategy based on defense. It included a total absence, unlike the Spanish, of the concept of conquering or exploiting other people. Also, the Indians generally tolerated differing approaches to religion and purely individual behavior.<sup>26</sup> There was a disparity in technology.

The Spanish, on the other hand, possessed the world view of being citizens of an authoritarian state, with a legacy of religious intolerance and conformity, formed by centuries of almost constant warfare involving fanaticism, conquest, and duplicity. More importantly, the Spanish knew exactly what their ultimate purpose was at first contact, while the Indians could only suppose that the Spanish intended to leave after a time, and that they intended only to befriend the Indians as Spanish propaganda asserted.<sup>27</sup>

The tribal peoples of the Mount Diablo area encountered in the Spanish a people who were not only interested in taking their land and its resources, but in totally restructuring their lives. The Spanish Empire's main agency for social control in California was the Franciscan mission system. The missionary representatives of the church actively searched for converts among tribal peoples, using highly effective techniques that were designed to instill the contemporary cultural values of the empire's homeland.<sup>28</sup>

Spain's plan of settlement for California was essentially a plan tested and proved effective on Spain's frontier in Mexico. It rested on three legs, each with its own special

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<sup>26</sup>Jack D. Forbes, Native Americans of California and Nevada (Healdsburg: Naturegraph Publishers, 1969), 27.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 28.

<sup>28</sup>Douglas Monroy, Thrown Among Strangers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 24-26.

function. The presidio was the military leg and comprised the fort or garrison. Its function was to defend California against external aggression, to quell Indian uprisings, and to suppress civil insurrections should they occur. The mission was the religious leg of the tripod of settlement. Its functions were to convert the heathen Indians and train them in useful skills. The missions also became the grainery of the province, thus freeing the presidio forces for their primary defense functions, which included protecting the missions and enforcing discipline in cases that the religious leaders could not handle. The pueblo was the civil leg of the tripod, designed to attract civilian colonists. Each pueblo was granted four square leagues of land, about 17,600 acres, from which it was to provide its residents with homes, garden plots, and common grazing grounds.<sup>29</sup>

The mission was the most effective and certainly the most important segment of Spanish civilization in the area during the Spanish regime, 1769-1821. The mission complex not only became the grainery of the province but served as the educational center, the religious center, and the cultural center. The mission chain became the main arm of Spanish expansion in California. It should be remembered that while Father Serra arrived in Alta California as part of a military expedition, the Portolá expedition's main purpose was to establish ports and presidios that would enhance Spain's claims to territory in Alta California, and stop the threat of Russian expansion in the area. None the less, the missions were an integral part of the Spanish plan. Not having the manpower to militarily

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<sup>29</sup>William H. Hutchinson, California: Two Centuries of Man, Land, and Growth in the Golden State (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1969), 56.

conquer and hold the area, the mission was to convert, civilize, and bring into the Spanish empire new citizens who would be laborers and tribute payers.<sup>30</sup>

It was important to the Spanish government, as well as the church, to perceive the Indians to be without civilization or social structure.<sup>31</sup> In this way the missionaries could conquer the Indians through conversion to the Catholic faith. This notion of seeing the peoples they wanted and needed to see, and not the people and cultures that were there, can be seen in the statements presented earlier by Father Vincente, Captain Juan Ayala, Father Crespi, and Father Font.

In order to effect the Spanish plan of conquest, the missions needed two things. First, each mission needed enough military personnel close by to protect it and intimidate the Indians surrounding it. A symbiotic relationship developed between the missions and the presidios. The missions were responsible for supplying food and labor to the military, while the military punished, restrained, incarcerated, and recaptured Indians.<sup>32</sup> Second, the missionaries needed a controlled community in which to create social change among the Indian population. This was attained through conversion. Indians living around the missions, once converted and baptized, were relocated within the mission compound.

Once inside the compound, the breakdown of Indian society and culture began.

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<sup>30</sup>Robert H. Jackson, "The Development of San José Mission, 1797-1840," in Bean and Vane, eds., The Ohlone Past And Present, 229.

<sup>31</sup>James A. Lewis, "Preconception and Reality," in Rupert and Jeannette Costo, eds., The Missions of California: A Legacy of Genocide (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1987), 83.

<sup>32</sup>George E. Tinker, Missionary Conquest (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 46-47.

Converts were permanently forbidden from rethinking their conversion and from returning home.<sup>33</sup> This process isolated converts from their home communities and relatives. The missionaries attempted the replacement of the Indian languages with Spanish. This was difficult, as the padres from missions San José and Santa Clara complained in 1815 that although nearly all Indians in the missions understood and spoke Spanish, when among themselves they displayed the utmost repugnance when forced to give up their own tongue.<sup>34</sup> The Indian style of dress, or lack of, the length and shape of their hair, even the construction of their homes was new. Indian agricultural methods were replaced with the Spanish concept of agriculture. Within the mission compound the Indians were forced to give up all aspects of self government; instead Indians were under the complete control of the mission fathers.<sup>35</sup> These fathers slowly began to dismantle what the Spanish perceived as the backward traditional social structure and values of the Indian peoples.

Conversion became linked to learning new crafts, trades, and Spanish agriculture. Converts were forced to work for the mission and ate only after the daily recitation of Christian doctrine, and the food served was the minimum required in order to accumulate

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<sup>33</sup>James J. Rawls, Indians Of California: The Changing Image (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 103.

<sup>34</sup>Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., As The Padres Saw Them: California Indian Life and Customs As Reported By The Franciscan Missionaries 1813-1815 (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archive Library, 1976), 21, 115.

<sup>35</sup>Francis Guest, "An Examination of the Thesis of S.F. Cook on the Forced Conversion of Indians in the California Missions," Southern California Quarterly 61 (1979): 5.

a surplus for the mission to sell, which enabled the mission to buy more livestock, tools, blankets, and cloth, which enhanced the mission capital.<sup>36</sup>

With this appreciation of the Spanish strategy of colonization, these dates are important in understanding what happened to the Indians of the Mount Diablo area. June 1776 saw the founding of Mission San Francisco and presidio, and the importation of the first cattle in the bay area. January 1777 saw the founding of Mission Santa Clara and the introduction of 117 head of cattle, which were set out to graze on the fields that had supplied the local tribes with greens, root crops, and their seed harvest. In November 1777, fourteen families of Spanish citizens from Mexico established the colonial pueblo of San José. They used the lands for herds and crops without regard for the wild native crops that they destroyed in the process. San José also became an alternative source of Spanish material goods and foods for Indians not converted.<sup>37</sup> With the establishment of these two missions on the extreme outer limits of the shadow of Mount Diablo, the mission's presence would initiate the downfall of Indian culture throughout the Bay Area. The establishment of missions San Francisco and Santa Clara quickly brought some Ohlone groups under mission control, but by 1792 new elements were introduced into the lives of Bay Area Indian people. Infant mortality rates rose alarmingly in both mission populations, and probably in nearby non-Christian villages as well. Environmental degradation intensified as a result of livestock grazing and the suppression of controlled burning. People of the region discovered that neophytes who quit their mission were

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<sup>36</sup>Tinker, Missionary, 48.

<sup>37</sup>Milliken, A Time of Little Choice, 65-71.

considered escapees, who were hunted down and captured by colonial soldiers. Despite the negative aspects of mission life, the seed of change had been planted and was growing. Trading networks and feud alliances were being disrupted by the disappearance of groups from the landscape. Traditional rituals did not prevent the increased deaths, the military defeats, or crop losses, nor did they bring the skills and goods associated with Spanish culture. Native peoples scrambled to find stable reference points, but the world no longer fit within their complex pre-colonial culture. They were left in a state of disorganization and confusion.<sup>38</sup>

At Mission Santa Clara the missionaries complained about environmental deterioration. Late in 1787, the cattle and plantings of the settlers of San José were destroying the food that the Santa Clara Valley Indians were accustomed to eating. During the middle and late 1790s, Indians continued to have problems with the citizens of San José regarding fields and livestock in the Santa Clara Valley. In a report in August 1796, the governor stated that overgrazing, in the context of three straight years of drought, was destroying pasture lands (and therefore Indian seed harvest lands and wild animal grazing lands). He admitted that it was these conditions that forced Indians to rob cattle and grain fields.<sup>39</sup>

In 1794, the colonials began to have trouble with the natives of the Contra Costa. In the extreme north, toward San Pablo and Suisun Bays, a group of Miwok Indians, the Saclan, named after one of the principle villages in that area, began a history of resistance

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<sup>38</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 139.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 98, 148.

to Spanish encroachment.<sup>40</sup> The cause of this resistance appeared to be the zeal of the missionaries from Mission San Francisco to push conversion into the area. At this time, these missionaries requested additional men for a guard to go to the other shore to "make conquests of the heathen."<sup>41</sup> The request was denied by Governor Borica for three reasons that shed light on Spanish strength at the time, and the status of the East Bay Indians. First, Borica stated, it was almost unknown territory, and there were indications that the natives were uncooperative. Second, it was felt that a priest, two or three soldiers, and some Christian Indians did not constitute a party strong enough to cross and camp overnight in that territory. Third, Borica stated, "he (Borica) does not have the means at his disposal for expeditions of this type."<sup>42</sup>

The first serious resistance to the Spanish in the bay region was provided by the Saclan and their allies, the Cuchillones. In April 1795, a group of Saclan neophytes left San Francisco mission on a pass to their homeland and failed to return. They first went to the Saclan area, then headed north across the Carquinez Strait and eventually ended up in the Napa area with the Chimenes Indians. Fourteen Christian Indians were sent to recover them. The native groups defeated this party of San Francisco neophytes, killing seven of them.<sup>43</sup> The Spanish military did not attack the Saclans because they did not have enough

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<sup>40</sup>Alfred A. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California (Berkeley: California Book Company, Inc, 1970), 463.

<sup>41</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 139.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 139.

<sup>43</sup>Forbes, Native Americans, 34.

manpower during summer of 1795. When word of the killings reached Mission San Francisco, 280 Indian people fled the mission. The Chimenes' battle was a catalyst for the mass flight of the population of frightened new neophytes. It also ignited a serious threat to Spanish hegemony over the many Bay Area tribes and kindled a wave of opposition to the Spanish presence that lasted until 1801.<sup>44</sup> It was reported that the Indians of this area were "of a rough and valiant nature, at continual war with the neighboring villages, particularly with the Tegunes."<sup>45</sup>

In October 1795, Father Antonio Danti reconnoitered the area around the future Mission San José. He set up a cross for the future mission, noting "the unconverted heathen are fairly numerous, according to the numerous trails which are to be seen. In the same plain there are three moderate sized rancherías."<sup>46</sup> This was on present day Mission Creek. Crespi had reported in 1772 that there were five villages between Milpitas and San Lorenzo. Anza, in 1776, found six. Now, Dante located only three. Obviously, during the intervening twenty years the native population had been seriously depleted, because of the conversion and relocation of some local residents to missions Santa Clara and San Francisco, a disturbance of the native ecology and economy, the introduction of European diseases, and the migration of some natives to locales farther from the Spanish settlements.

The Saclans and Huchiuns refused to capitulate to Spanish encroachment into the East Bay area, however, and they were constantly accepting Christianized Indians from

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<sup>44</sup>Milliken, A Time of Little Choice, 142-46.

<sup>45</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 139.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 140.

Mission San Francisco back into their tribes. By June 29, 1797, rumors spread among the work crews at the Mission San José site that the Saclans were about attack. On July 3, word came to Mission San José that tribal people from the northeast, the Livermore Valley, were also poised to attack.<sup>47</sup> At this same time, Raymundo, a Christian Indian in command of other Christian Indians, was sent from Mission San Francisco to return runaways from the Saclan area. While returning to the mission, his group was attacked.<sup>48</sup>

It became obvious to the Spanish that something needed to be done about the Saclans. The Chimenes affair had gone without retaliation, but with the Raymundo affair the East Bay Indians were becoming bolder. Pedro Amador reported in July 1797 that two heathen Indians were trying to stir up a revolt among the Christian Indians of San José. "These two gentiles are from the rancherías of the Sacalanes, from those which committed the offenses against the Christians of San Francisco."<sup>49</sup> Amador was ordered to capture both chiefs and all fugitive Christians. This was the first punitive expedition against the East Bay Indians. It was directed in retaliation for the Raymundo incident, and to alleviate the fears of Christian Indians working at the San José Mission site.

At dawn on July 15, 1797, twenty armed Spanish horsemen under Amador's leadership struck the first of three Saclan villages, Jussent, located in the present Moraga or Lafayette area of east-central Contra Costa County. The Saclans had prepared ditches beforehand to keep the soldiers from charging through the village on horseback. As the

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<sup>47</sup>Milliken, A Time of Little Choice, 155.

<sup>48</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 141.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 142.

mounted Spanish approached them, the men began to fire arrows and refused to lay down their weapons upon Amador's demand. After much resistance they were finally brought under control by the Spanish.<sup>50</sup> The second and third villages surrendered, giving to Amador their Christian runaways. These three villages were located in the present day Moraga-Lafayette area. Amador then headed towards the Pinole-Rodeo area and attacked four villages of Juchillones. The first three villages resisted, while the fourth surrendered. Again, these Indians gave up their runaways and the Christian Indians were taken to Mission Santa Clara. The native Indians were left at their villages.

Mission San José was dedicated with elaborate ceremony on June 9, 1797. The site that was chosen was only thirteen miles north of Mission Santa Clara. The new mission would have been built further inland, in the Livermore or Diablo valleys, except for Spanish concern about the hostile Saclans.<sup>51</sup> Very few Bay Area native peoples moved to the missions during the five-year period between the 1795 Chimenes affair and the autumn of 1800.

As the eighteenth century closed, opposition factions in tribal villages continued to resist Spanish intrusions into the East Bay hills. Among them were escaped Christian and non-Christian Saclans, allied with some Jalquins. But neither they nor any other group caused the Spanish the kind of fear that they had felt in the months immediately following the Chimenes incident. Amador's victory against the Saclans in July of 1797, combined with Luis Peralta's punitive expedition in 1798 against the Taunans, a Livermore Valley

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 141.

<sup>51</sup>Forbes, *Native Americans*, 34.

group who had killed two mares, built Spanish confidence. Frontier tribes had learned that small groups of forty or fifty warriors, armed only with bows, lacked the power to protect their borders against Spanish invaders. When the Spanish soldiers did move against non-Christian Indians, they did so with such brutal force that respected male leaders in the villages were humiliated, weakening their authority in the face of the successful Spanish military efforts at regional social control. Even those leaders who cooperated with the Spanish by accepting payments and favors to return runaways or supply laborers to the colonists were acknowledging the power and prestige of the presidio, pueblo, and the missions. The Spanish realized that they did not need to directly punish everyone involved in potential resistance, only those who were held in the highest esteem within the native community.<sup>52</sup>

In May 1800, Amadór was again fighting the Saclans. This time he had orders to investigate the murders of two Christian Indians at Mission San José. As Amadór advanced on the Saclans, they fled toward Mount Diablo in a state of disorganization. Amadór drove them into the hills, where they scattered. The Spaniards penetrated as far north as present-day Walnut Creek and swept down to the Livermore area. The Saclans had taken up arms, but did not fight.<sup>53</sup> Amadór rounded up Christian Indians he found, and left the rest, taking the runaways to Mission San José.

The last concentrated information about the Saclans comes through the Luís Peralta expeditions of 1804. In 1803, a group of Saclans attacked twenty Christian

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<sup>52</sup>Milliken, A Time of Little Choice, 166-83.

<sup>53</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 143.

Indians from Mission Santa Clara and killed their leader. In connection with this murder, and the continued rumored plot to destroy Mission San José, Peralta was sent out in September 1804 to catch the murderers.<sup>54</sup> The expedition approached the Chupcan village on Pacheco Slough, which harbored runaway neophytes, and pinned its inhabitants down from the landward side. The villagers slipped out of their village in tule boats during the night and crossed Suisun Bay to find refuge among the Suisuns, with whom they had intermarried. The Peralta party, which lacked guides familiar with the Chupcans' capabilities, was surprised to find the village empty the following morning. They renamed the village site "Monte Del Diablo," or "Thicket of the Devil," since they believed that it could only have been the latter's intervention that had made it possible for the Chupcans to escape. The place-name is said to have later been applied by American settlers to Mount Diablo.<sup>55</sup> This first expedition failed, and Peralta was sent out a second time in October to the "Sierra de San José" (the coast range behind the East Bay). He did not catch the Indians who attacked the missionaries, but did catch eleven Christians and thirty-two "renegade" Indians, whom he returned to the missions.<sup>56</sup> After this expedition of 1804, all mention of the Saclan ceases.

During the 1800-1805 period, the East Bay emptied of people, as villagers succumbed to disease, moved to the three Franciscan missions in existence at that time, or

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 145.

<sup>55</sup>Bev Ortiz, "Sacalanes," American Indian Quarterly 13 (1989): 457-90.

<sup>56</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 144.

found refuge with relatives in other tribelets.<sup>57</sup> Continual migration over those years erased a score of tiny sovereign groups from the face of the earth. No one could stay where they were and remain unaffected by the Spanish presence. Everyone along the mission-tribal frontier faced the urgency to modify their way of life in a rapidly changing world.

With the Saclan scattered, disorganized, and no longer a threat, the Spanish found a new problem area much closer to Mission San José. In 1805, Father Pedro Cuevas took a personal guard and went to visit a Christian Indian ranchería to take confessions of invalids. Leaving Mission San José they headed east. Cuevas arrived at the ranchería, but did not find the invalids. He then moved on to another ranchería in search of the invalids and was attacked and badly mauled by Luecha Indians, hill people south of the Livermore Valley. Cuevas was wounded, and the mission mayordomo and three Christian Indians were killed. This was a dramatic event, the first time a Franciscan priest had been wounded by tribal people in the San Francisco Bay Area.<sup>58</sup> Peralta was immediately dispatched to quell the insurrection. When Peralta's force found the Luecha ranchería, the Indians began hostilities. Peralta then attacked, killing five. The Indians retreated to a wooded area, and Peralta attacked again, killing another five and capturing twenty-five, all women and children. Peralta then returned to Mission San José with the women and children.

In response to the Luecha insurgency, the government sent out a party of twenty-

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<sup>57</sup>Milliken, A Time of Little Choice, 191.

<sup>58</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 144.

two soldiers under Luis Argüello in May 1805. The party departed Mission San José, stayed out for an entire month, swept through every valley and flatland area in the interior Coast Ranges from Mount Diablo on the north to Pacheco Pass in the south.<sup>59</sup> The Spanish counter-attack against the Luecha's resistance was the last punitive expedition against Bay Area Indians during the Spanish era.

By the end of 1805, most Indians within the shadow of the mountain had either moved to one of the three missions or had moved northeasterly, out of the mission-tribal frontier. The Carquins and the Chupcans were the only East Bay groups that were still intact at the end of 1805. They and the remaining non-Christian Huchium-Aguastos had withdrawn to the north side of the Carquinez Strait by the end of 1805.<sup>60</sup> During the period between 1806-1810, all the familiar processes that had led the inner Bay Area people to join the missions were being experienced once again by others further from the missions. The period began with the most terrible epidemic ever experienced, an outbreak of measles that in 1806 killed one quarter of the Bay Area mission population, including nearly all of the children, and unknown numbers of people in tribal areas.

By 1810, Father Fray José Viader led an expedition through present-day Contra Costa County, and noted in his diary only the fine country he traveled through and the hunting of bears, deer, and antelope.<sup>61</sup> He made no mention of Indians or any fear of

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<sup>59</sup>Milliken, A Time of Little Choice, 189.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 191.

<sup>61</sup>Cook, "Aboriginal Population," 145.

them. What had happened to the Indians of the area was the total disintegration of their society through the effects of missionization.

Why did Indians in the area leave their homelands and move to the mission communities? There were a multitude of reasons. Some lost faith in their ability to continue their traditional ways within the context of a new reality. This reality was forced upon them by the actions of the Spanish colonial empire. The deterioration of their natural environment caused a significant loss of food resources through overgrazing of Spanish livestock and the cessation of native fire management practices, banned by the Spanish in order to protect their livestock. Some Indians made the decision to move to the missions because of the steady deterioration of their physical, social, and psychological environment.

As the tribal village populations declined due to new diseases and migrations to the missions, the people remaining in those villages became vulnerable to attacks from stronger groups. Population losses also disrupted trade and festival networks, and destroyed regional social cohesion. Once the tribes in the core areas around the missions were removed from their villages, regional trading networks linking the surrounding tribes were weakened.

Tribal groups in the Mount Diablo area never forged enduring regional military alliances to oppose the Spanish precisely because they did not consider themselves to be a single people. Even when they did begin to establish alliances with one another in the 1820s after many years of constant Spanish pressure, they had little access to the kinds of weaponry that might have given parity with the Spanish soldiers.

Such was the state of affairs in the Mount Diablo area prior to the Mexican Revolution. Although the revolution was thousands of miles away from the area, its repercussions would include a new set of standards according to which the Indians, Spanish, and missionaries would have to live.

## CHAPTER 4

### MEXICAN PERIOD

The Mexican period beneath the shadow of the mountain was a time of significant change. When Mexico won its independence from Spain, the policies Mexico extended to its territories were quite different from those of Spain. Changes in land ownership policy, trade with foreign nations, and missionization allowed the area to begin to be settled by Mexicans and foreigners. Indian culture and society, already decimated by the Spanish missions, was rendered nearly extinct because of disease.

The year 1810 marks an important watershed in mission Indian recruitment and conversion. Previous to the Mexican war for independence, the role of the missions as related to the Indians was to convert and prepare the Indians for their role in the new colonial order as laborers and tribute-payers.<sup>1</sup> The missions prospered under the strict hands of the padres and the labor of the Indians.<sup>2</sup> The failure to establish a social order based on individual enterprise, with contractual obligations supported by law, spelled the ultimate failure not only of Spain but of Mexico in California, and by not allowing Indians this opportunity colonial California never did develop a genuine civil society free from direct control by Catholic Church or military officials.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert H. Jackson, "The Development of San José Mission, 1797-1840," in Lowell John Bean and Sylvia Brakke Vane, eds., The Ohlone: Past and Present (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1994), 229.

<sup>2</sup> Woodrow James Hansen, The Search for Authority in California (Oakland: Biobooks, 1960), 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

The start of the Mexican revolution in 1810 caused such chaos in the government that few or no supplies made their way north to the presidios, and the Spanish Pious Fund for the Californias no longer delivered the annual four hundred pesos to each missionary to help support the missionaries' work. This meant that after 1810 the presidios had to depend solely on the missions for food and supplies, and the missions needed to make money from the presidios.<sup>4</sup>

The change in politics in Mexico after 1810 modified the Mission San José economy. Mission San José began providing larger quantities of grain, clothing, and leather goods to the garrisons. The mission especially increased its production of wheat. The dependence of the presidios on supplies from the mission placed pressure on the mission to maintain its labor supply.<sup>5</sup> Also, foreign ships were now allowed to trade through government officials.<sup>6</sup> The mission began exporting a variety of agricultural products such as flour, tallow, lard, soap, pork, corn, peas, wheat, barley, limes, hides, beaver skins, olive oil, beans, honey, dried figs, wool, cotton, and tobacco. At the same time they received from foreign ships coffee, sugars, spices, raisins, molasses, hardware, crockery, tinware, cutlery, clothing, shoes, and furniture through officials at San Francisco Presidio.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Douglas Monroy, Thrown Among Strangers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 69.

<sup>5</sup> Jackson, "Mission San José," 237.

<sup>6</sup> Hansen, The Search For, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Francis Florence McCarthy, The History of Mission San José, California (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1958), 155.

The mission Indian labor supply diminished due to a high death rate from disease, forcing the priests to repopulate the mission by resettling Indians, often using force to bring the Indians to live at the mission. As Father Viader noted in his journal, by 1810 the western and southern area around Mount Diablo had been cleared of Indians.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, after 1810, there began a push to resettle Indians from the Central Valley.<sup>9</sup> By 1821 the character of penetration into the interior had changed. There was no longer much more than a pretense of conversion or exploration. Expeditions into the Central Valley were now strictly military expeditions to punish and collect Indians to replenish the diminishing labor supply in the mission complex.<sup>10</sup>

Indians actively resisted the mission system by running away, stealing horses and cattle, and by resisting military excursions in search of fugitives and new converts.<sup>11</sup> Runaways from Mission San José usually fled into the Central Valley to live with relatives. These runaways, through their mission experience, had gained a knowledge of Spanish and Mexican psychology and technical skills. Unconquered in the Central Valley, by the 1820s they had acquired the horse. As a result, they now had greater mobility and could resist offensively by stealing cattle and horses. The Central Valley Indians built a hard core of resistance, and began to mount small counteroffensives against the property and

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<sup>8</sup> Sherburne Friend Cook, "The Aboriginal Population of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties," Anthropological Records 16 (1957): 145.

<sup>9</sup> Jackson, "Mission San José," 239.

<sup>10</sup> Robert H. Jackson, "The Changing Economic Structure of the Alta California Missions-A Reinterpretation," Pacific Historical Review 61 (August 1992): 392-400.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 392.

lives of settlers in the Mount Diablo area. The Central Valley became the grounds for real Indian battles.<sup>12</sup>

As early as 1819, there were reports of 100 horses from the Mission San José herd being held by Mokolumne Indians and members of neighboring rancherías. These Indians were beginning to acquire skill as equestrians, and began to wage war, and hunt, on horseback. This became a danger to Mission San José. Father Durán, in charge of the mission, feared if the horses were not taken back, that "California might in time become the theater of a second band of Apaches."<sup>13</sup> As a result Sergeant José Sánchez was dispatched on a punitive expedition against the Mokolumne Indians to recover stolen horses and demonstrate that harboring runaways and horse thefts would not be tolerated by the fathers at Mission San José. When Sánchez approached the village, it was openly defiant. The villagers fought Sánchez's troops but lost.<sup>14</sup> Sánchez returned with the horses, but no runaways. The horses were enough for Father Duran, who concluded that "the entire frontier of the Mission remains in perfect submission and tranquility, and I hope to the Lord that there will be nothing more of this nature to engage us for a long time to come."<sup>15</sup>

Yet, in November of 1823, Sánchez left Mission San José on another punitive

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<sup>12</sup>Sherbourne Friend Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior of California, Central Valley, 1820-1840," in Anthropological Records 20 (1962): 165.

<sup>13</sup>McCarthy, The History of Mission San José, 145.

<sup>14</sup>Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior," 166.

<sup>15</sup>McCarthy, The History of Mission San José, 146.

expedition, this time against the Cosumnes Indians. The Cosumnes had attacked Christianized Indians from the mission who were visiting relatives in the Central Valley. Sánchez defeated the Cosumnes, bringing forty-four women and children back with him to the mission.<sup>16</sup> The mission padre's concerns about the Cosumnes were two-fold. First, the deaths from the Cosumnes' attack had reduced their work force, and second, they were worried the Indians, if left unpunished, might gain confidence and become more aggressive.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps the most celebrated of Indian resisters during this time was Estanislao. Born, raised, and educated at Mission San José, by 1827 he was chosen to be an alcalde by his fellow Indians at the mission. As leader he led a revolt against the mission during the winter of 1828-1829.<sup>18</sup> Unhappy with the high death rate and treatment of Indians at the mission, he left the mission, taking many of the mission Indians with him including some from missions San Juan Bautista, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz. Estanislao moved his group into the Central Valley and set up camp on the Stanislaus River, where he began organizing other Indians in the area against the Mexicans.<sup>19</sup>

What is important to note about Estanislao is that he was able to organize and execute an effective, long-term resistance to the Mexican mission and military

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<sup>16</sup>Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior," 167.

<sup>17</sup>McCarthy, History of Mission San José, 202.

<sup>18</sup>Jack Holterman, "The Revolt of Estanislao," The Indian Historian 3 (Winter 1970): 43-55.

<sup>19</sup>McCarthy, History of Mission San José, 203.

authorities.<sup>20</sup> During the winter of 1828-1829, his group descended into the settled regions of the Mount Diablo area and made off with horses and cattle, forcing many to move from their lands to the safety of Mission San José. At the same time, he publicly denounced Mexican authority, forcing the Mexican government to put together the largest military force ever to fight against Indian resistance in the Diablo area.<sup>21</sup>

The first attack against Estanislao's forces came in the winter of 1828-1829. Sergeant Antonio Soto was dispatched with fifteen men from the San Francisco Presidio to Mission San José. They were then sent on to the Stanislaus River to attack Estanislao and return him and his forces to the mission. When Soto encountered Estanislao and his forces, they were entrenched in a willow thicket within a swamp. The Indians had learned their arrows and darts would not penetrate the thick leather jackets of the Mexican soldiers. Instead, they waited for the soldiers to come within short range. While entrenched behind the thickets, they aimed at the heads of the soldiers, inflicting many wounds and forcing Soto's expedition to return to Mission San José defeated. Soto himself died of an arrow wound days later at the mission.<sup>22</sup>

The second expedition against Estanislao was led by Alférez José Antonio Sánchez. He was sent, this time with a force of forty men, to capture and return Estanislao and his forces to the mission. Sánchez found and attacked Estanislao, but found the thicket now reinforced with stockades and trenches. Estanislao's forces easily

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<sup>20</sup>Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior," 168.

<sup>21</sup>Holterman, "Estanislao," 43-55.

<sup>22</sup>Cook, "Expeditions to the Interior," 169.

defended their ground, and Sánchez was forced to return to Mission San José, again leaving Estanislao undefeated.<sup>23</sup>

Because of Sánchez's report of the new defenses built by Estanislao, the commanders of the Monterey and San Francisco presidios put together the largest force ever to combat Indian hostilities in the area surrounding Mount Diablo. The garrisons of the two presidios joined forces at Mission San José under the command of Ensign Guadalupe Vallejo. The force comprised cavalry, artillery, infantry, volunteers from San José, and auxiliary Indians who were enemies of Estanislao's village; they numbered about 250 total.<sup>24</sup>

The expedition moved to the Stanislaus River, where Estanislao's forces were waiting. The Indians were prepared, and they expected to obtain good results from their method of fortification, which consisted of primary, secondary, and tertiary stockades quite well designed to protect them from the carbine fire of the cavalry. The Mexican forces attacked and dislodged the Indians from the first stockades, but at a heavy cost in lives. Finally a cannon was brought to bear on the stockades. Estanislao's forces were unprepared for the results of the cannon fire, which tore holes through the stockades, killing and wounding more Indians than the carbine fire. The attack failed at the first wall. Under the cover of darkness Estanislao's forces retreated ten miles south to another fortress along the Tuolumne River. Vallejo's forces followed, setting the woods surrounding the Indian stronghold on fire, and again attacked the Indians. The Mexican

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 169.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 170.

attack was again stalled, this time for lack of ammunition and the fact the fire was creating as much havoc for the Mexican forces as it was the Indians. Estanislao's forces again escaped the Mexicans under the cover of darkness, moving farther east, taking their horses and most of their dead. Indian losses were unknown.<sup>25</sup>

Estanislao's revolt and resistance in the Central Valley appeared to have set a precedent for the Indian population. Although his forces lost the battle, it was proven that the Indian could resist. They resisted by stealing horses and cattle. By 1829, it was noted at Mission San José "that there is not a village [among the Indians] that does not have horses."<sup>26</sup> The acquisition of the horse by the Central Valley Indians allowed them the mobility to successfully steal cattle and horses. The horse also made the Indian mobile enough to leave the mission, attack and run, and continue to allude mission and presidio authority.

By the late 1820s the horse became more than a necessity to the Indians; it became a trade item. As British and American trappers began working the Central Valley rivers, they influenced the Indians to steal horses, for which they would trade.<sup>27</sup> In the 1830s through the 1840s, Indian attacks in the Mount Diablo area were constant and threatening to the Mexican and mission populations trying to inhabit the area. In 1837, horses were stolen from the San Pablo Rancho, and in that same year, 100 horses, which had been

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<sup>25</sup>Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, The Elusive Eden (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 57.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., 187.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 193.

stolen from the Peraltas and the Mission San José herd, were found unattended in the Cañada del Hambre. In 1838, various rancheros in the area tried to mount an offensive against the Indians, but a large force could not be brought together because some of the people living on the ranchos replied "they could not go because they were alone at their ranches and the horse thieves molest them a great deal." One account noted that personnel from the Columbia River Company sold forty horses to Captain John Sutter. The horses were from the Mission San José area.<sup>28</sup>

In 1839 José Castro wrote to M.G. Vallejo that "the heathen Indians are preparing to carry out the attacks to which they are accustomed against the ranches and missions, robbing, killing, and doing damage which cannot be tolerated." Also in 1839 it was reported at Mission San José that the Indians "fell upon the wheat harvest, killing one and wounding three."<sup>29</sup> These statements show the tenacity of the Indians living within the interior valley against the ranchos and missions, and the fact that Indian encroachment had by this time become a part of life on the ranchos and Mission San José.

During this period it appeared it was the rancho owners, not the weak military forces, that tried to punish Indian attacks. The owners, mostly ex-military men, would come together after Indian attacks, to try to punish the Indian raiders and retrieve stolen horses and cattle. The Briones, Amadors, Castros, Galindos, Higuerras, and Robert Livermore, all participated in reprisal attacks against bands of raiders, but never attacked in military fashion against the Indian stronghold located on the Mokelumne and Stanislaus

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 190.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 191.

rivers of the Central Valley.<sup>30</sup> This would indicate the Mexican military presence in the area was now gone, and the Indian presence in the Central Valley, due to the acquisition of the horse, had grown to a defensible position, creating a line of resistance laid down at the start of the Central Valley. Within this struggle for domination of territory began the story of the short-lived rancho era.

The wedge that opened the land beneath the shadow of the mountain to non-Indian habitation was cattle, and cattle ranching. In Spanish and Mexican times Mount Diablo was known as La Sierra de los Bolbones. The Mexican land grant system opened the doors of the Mount Diablo area to settlement by offering large tracts of land to settlers who would stock the land with cattle and settle on it

Under Spanish rule, no missions or land grants were established in the immediate Mount Diablo area. Grants could not encroach on Indian rancherías or mission grants, and had to be four leagues or more from any presidio or pueblo, and the applicant was not supposed to live on the rancho, but in the nearest pueblo or presidio town. Title of all land was vested in the crown of Spain, and church, mission, or private ownership was not permitted. A grantee was permitted only the use of the lands. The Spanish government recognized only the rights of the native Indians to ownership of all the land that was needed for their subsistence, yet it was the charge of the padres to gather them about the

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<sup>30</sup>Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 53.

missions, educate them in religion, and prepare them to assume citizenship so that ultimately they might acquire title to lands in the vicinities of the missions as individuals.<sup>31</sup>

Mexico gained its independence from Spain in September 1821. The most important change concerning the development of California was effected by the Mexican laws relating to land.<sup>32</sup> The Mexican laws for colonization and granting of lands were more liberal.<sup>33</sup> The governors of the territories were authorized to grant vacant land to contractors, families, or private persons, both Mexican and foreigners, who asked for them, for the purpose of cultivating or inhabiting them. These grants, unlike Spanish ones, were title to the land, meaning the grantee would own the land. Before being granted land, however, a grantee had to first petition the governor of the territory, stating name, age, country and vocation, the quantity of land desired, and, as nearly as possible, the description of the land. The petition was accompanied by the diseno, a map of the area in question. The petition was then sent to a local official who would examine the land requested and report whether it could be granted without injury to another person or the public. On the basis of the report, the petition was granted or denied. If granted, the petition, report, and copy of the grant then became the expediente. The expediente was then forwarded to the territorial deputation of the departmental assembly for approval.

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<sup>31</sup> Robert G. Cowan, Ranchos of California (Fresno, California: Academy Library Guild, 1956), 2-4.

<sup>32</sup> Rose Hollenbaugh Avina, "Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California" (M.A. thesis., University of California, Berkeley, 1932), 29.

<sup>33</sup> Ivy Belle Ross, "The Confirmation of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in California" (M.A. thesis., University of California, Berkeley, 1928), 32.

On approval, the expediente was filed in the archives, and the petitioner received the original of the grant, which constituted title to the land.<sup>34</sup>

The ranchos have been pictured as a picturesque and dominating feature of Mexican California. The early years under the Mexican republic saw the beginning of the decline of the mission gardens and herds, while the increased demand for tallow and hides began to make the ranchos the new economic centers of California. The rancheros (rancho grantees) were important political figures, for every Contra Costan of importance had a rancho, where vegetables, fruit, and grain enough to support the inhabitants were grown. The rancheros have been pictured as having led a simple life, indulging but seldom in hard work. Yet, it has been shown the rancheros lived in a frontier environment, constantly fighting Indians with little or no government support. The men devoted their energies to caring for the livestock, which increased so rapidly that it was allowed to run wild, except during the yearly rodeo and division of branded animals. Because of cattle, Californios became famous for their horsemanship and lassoing, while the practice of marking cattle with branding irons came to be associated with the rancho grants. Apart from their political, social, and economic importance, the ranchos were also important as centers of colonization. A large percent of these rancheros were retired soldiers who had more success in getting land grants than getting their salaries.<sup>35</sup> Between 1833 and 1844, a handful of rancho grants were established in the Mount Diablo area.

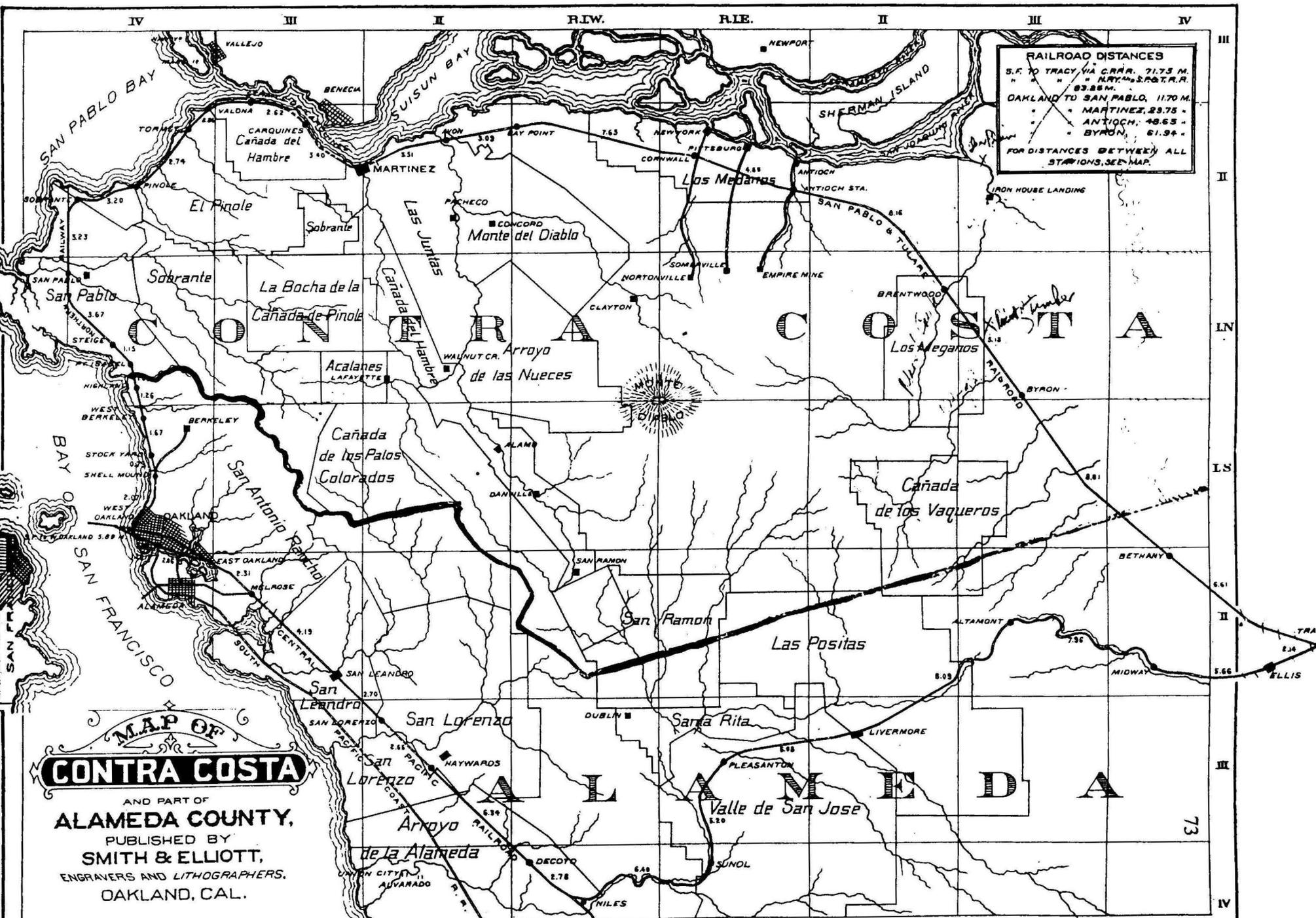
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<sup>34</sup>George C. Collier, A Narrative History of Contra Costa County (El Cerrito, California: Super Print, 1983), 18.

<sup>35</sup>Avina, "Spanish and Mexican Land Grants," 33.

Between 1833 and 1835, three separate grants were confirmed under the name of San Ramon Rancho. No one knows why the same name was given to three separate land grants in the same general area. The first grantee of San Ramon was Doña Rafaela Soto de Pacheco, who received the first Rancho San Ramon grant in 1833. Her land covered two square leagues of the fertile San Ramon Valley. Also in 1833, Bartolo Pacheco and Mariano Castro together were granted two more leagues of land in the San Ramon Valley. Pacheco was awarded his share of the land because of his services as an Indian fighter. José María Amador, another Indian fighter, received the largest portion of the San Ramon Valley, when he was given one square league in 1834 and four square leagues in 1835. Before receiving the grant, Amador had served for seventeen years in the army and had fought alongside Moraga in many Indian battles. Amador Valley is named after him and some claim that it was he who named Mount Diablo.

Other grants followed. The Rancho Acalanes was granted to Candelario Valencia in 1834. A grant of one square league in the Lafayette area was awarded Valencia for services as a soldier from 1823 to 1833. Rancho Monte del Diablo, a grant of four leagues (17,922 acres), was given to Don Salvio Pacheco in 1834. Pacheco was a native Californian who spent years as a soldier; he was a captain at the time of the grant. The grant surrounded present-day Concord. Rancho Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones, located in the present-day Walnut Creek area, was granted to Doña Juana Sanchez de Pacheco in 1834. It consisted of four square leagues. Not only was the rancho near Mount Diablo, but much of its acreage spread over the western slopes of the mountain and the nearby foothills. Rancho Los Meganos, located in the Brentwood area, was



**RAILROAD DISTANCES**

S.F. TO TRACY VIA C.P.R.R.	71.75 M.
" " N.P. & S.F. & T.R.R.	83.88 M.
OAKLAND TO SAN PABLO	11.70 M.
" " MARTINEZ	23.75 "
" " ANTIOCH	48.65 "
" " BYRON	61.94 "

FOR DISTANCES BETWEEN ALL STATIONS, SEE MAP.

**MAP OF  
CONTRA COSTA**

AND PART OF  
**ALAMEDA COUNTY,**  
PUBLISHED BY  
**SMITH & ELLIOTT,**  
ENGRAVERS AND LITHOGRAPHERS,  
OAKLAND, CAL.

granted to Don José Noriega in 1835. Because Noriega had trouble controlling the Indians on this remote rancho, he sold it to John Marsh in 1837.<sup>36</sup> Rancho Los Medanos, located in the present-day Pittsburg area, comprised two leagues of land, which were granted to José and Antonio Mesa in 1839. Rancho Las Juntas, located in the Martinez-Walnut Creek area, was granted to William Welch, a Scotch sailor. After receiving the grant in 1844, he lived most of the time in San José, and in later years, near Walnut Creek. He spent very little time on the rancho because he was disturbed by Indian raids; he left the running of the rancho to his vaqueros. In the Moraga area, Joaquin Moraga and Juan Bernal were granted the Rancho Laguna de los Palos Colorados in 1841, and in the Livermore Valley, Robert Livermore was granted the Rancho Las Positas in 1835.

With the land granted, to meet the requirements of validating a grant, a grantee was required to stock the land with 500 head of cattle, to occupy the land, and to build a house suitable to the needs of the rancho.<sup>37</sup> Meeting the requirements of validation was not always an easy task. Because of the dangers from Indians, no one was able to live at the Rancho Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones, Rancho Las Juntas, or Rancho Los Meganos on a daily basis. Ignacio Valley was notorious as a hideout for Indian horse thieves at this time.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Harold E. Davis, A Short History of Contra Costa County (San Ramon: San Ramon School District, 1965), 18.

<sup>37</sup>Collier, A Narrative History, 18.

<sup>38</sup>Leonora Galindo Fink, "Ignacio Valley and Rancho San Miquel" (Paper contributed to the Contra Costa County Historical Society, Pleasant Hill, California, 1961), vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California.

As stated previously the Mexican government paid some of its debt to its soldiers by making them grants of land. So it was that in 1834 Doña Juana Sanchez de Pacheco, a widowed mother of twelve, applied for title to Rancho Arroyo de Las Nueces Y Bolbones. While the name still appears on official documents, she renamed her grant Rancho San Miguel to honor her husband. It was unusual for a widow to apply for a grant. But Doña Juana had lived for some time at Monterey and knew then Governor Figueroa well. He approved her application, and the preamble to the title of her grant read in part, "in recognition for the bravery shown by her husband in the march with Anza."<sup>39</sup>

Doña Juana Sanchez de Pacheco lived at Pueblo San José with her unmarried children. Late in the 1830s, she employed her son-in-law, Francisco García, to oversee Rancho San Miguel. He was the first non-Indian resident on the twenty-seven-square-mile grant. He had little to do. There were no fences to repair; all-year springs, along with the grasses of the valley, supplied all the cattle's needs. At roundup and at slaughtering time, he did ride at the head of the family group of nephews, the Sotos and Sibrians. Francisco built his adobe near the grant's southwest corner. The family's cattle multiplied to several thousand head and moved down from the hills to encroach on the feeding grounds of the deer herds under the oaks on the floor of Ygnacio Valley. The deer drew back into the hills. The Indians, whenever short of venison, hunted cattle. Tension with the natives increased to the point that one night the Indians torched Francisco's roof and burned him out. As a safety measure, the governor ordered Doña Juana to keep her family at the

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<sup>39</sup>George Emanuels, Ygnacio Valley, 1834-1970 (Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1982), 3.

Pueblo San José. In time, after a change of governors in the late 1840s, the lady employed her grandson, Ygnacio Sibrian (from whom the valley later received its name) as her mayordomo (superintendent).<sup>40</sup>

Doña Juana Sanchez de Pacheco, a woman, Robert Livermore, an English sailor, and John Marsh, an American, illustrate the problems Mexico had colonizing its northernmost territory. Livermore was granted the Las Positas rancho in 1835. The land was located in present-day Livermore Valley, known in Mexican times as the "Valle de San José," which was considered part of recently secularized Mission San José, since it was used by the mission for cattle and horse pasturage.<sup>41</sup> Among the Diablo region's ranches, his was the closest to Indian raiders in the Central Valley. When he expected a raid, he would send his family to the Amador rancho, which being closer to the mission, was safer.<sup>42</sup> John Bidwell noted in 1841 that "Livermore's was the frontier ranch, and more exposed than any other to the ravages of the horse-thief Indians of the Sierra Nevada. That valley was full of wild cattle--thousands of them--and they were more dangerous to one on foot, as I was, than grizzly bears."<sup>43</sup> Like all the rancho owners, Livermore brought Indians from Mission San José to work as vaqueros, herdsmen, and servants.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>41</sup>Merilyn Calhoun, Early Days in the Livermore-Amador Valley (Hayward: Alameda County School Department, 1973), 15.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 23.

<sup>43</sup>John Bidwell, "Life in California Before the Gold Rush," The Century Magazine (December 1890 and February 1891): (reprint, Palo Alto: Lewis Osborne, 1966), 18.

<sup>44</sup>Calhoun, Early Days, 19.

John Marsh bought the Rancho Los Meganos in 1837. Unlike the other ranchers he found Indians living on his rancho, whom he named the Pulpones. Historian Randall Milliken felt they were Julpun Indians who had returned to their native area after secularization of the missions. Marsh was able to befriend this group and soon had a willing and able labor force for his rancho, previously trained at Mission San José.<sup>45</sup> Also, unlike many of his fellow rancheros, Marsh, with the help of his Indian laborers, planted an extensive vegetable garden and from cuttings from Mission San José planted an orchard of apples, plums, pears, figs, almonds, and olives. An extensive vineyard was laid out, and a huge field of wheat was cultivated.<sup>46</sup> Marsh shared a common problem with his fellow rancheros--Indian horse thieves. In a letter to the editor of the California Star, dated April 10, 1847, he described the history of Indian depredations:

Now that the war with the Mexicans is ended as far as we are immediately concerned, it is to be hoped the attention of the authorities of the country will be directed at this great and increasing evil. During the Spanish regime, such a thing as a horse thief was unknown in the country, but as soon as the Mexicans took possession, their characteristic anarchy began to prevail, and the Indian to desert from the missions.... The mission of Santa Clara has been from that time to the present day, the greatest nursery for horse thieves as the Stanislaus river has been, and is their principle rendezvous.... Within the last ten days, numerous parties of them have been committing depredations on many of the farms of the Contra Costa.<sup>47</sup>

With the opening of the California coast to foreign merchants by Mexico in 1822,

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<sup>45</sup>Randal Milliken, A Time of Little Choice (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995), 246.

<sup>46</sup>Karen E. Hurwitz, The History of Rancho de Los Meganos and John Marsh with Relation to Their Importance in the History of California and Contra Costa County (Martinez: Morning News-Gazette Commercial Printing, 1972), 8.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 10.

there began the short-lived first era of cattle raising in the Mount Diablo area, known as the Mexican rancho, or Californio, period that lasted until the American intrusion into California. The romanticized "Californio" period lasted a very short time in the Mount Diablo area, from the time of the secularization of the missions in 1834, until the breakup of the ranchos under American rule in the 1850s.

Rancho life was centered around the home. Rancho homes were almost always adobes. They were long low buildings with walls of adobe brick two to three feet thick. The walls were defense against heat, cold, earthquakes, and Indians. The houses were usually built on three sides of an open court with a low corridor running around the outer side. The roofs were of earth or tar, when available, and the floors were earthen. Light and air were admitted by the doors opening onto the court and corridor.<sup>48</sup> The houses were usually built on raised ground with no trees, to guard against Indian raids.<sup>49</sup>

Every rancho used Indian labor as servants, cooks, field workers, and vaqueros, the original California cowboys.<sup>50</sup> When these Indians became attached, either voluntarily or involuntarily, to a rancho, they worked in return for food and shelter and essentially became a part of a system of peonage.<sup>51</sup> The vaquero was the single most important

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<sup>48</sup>Mae Fisher Purcell, History of Contra Costa County (Oakland: The Gillick Press, 1940), 163.

<sup>49</sup>Hansen, The Search For, 22.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 21.

<sup>51</sup>Robert Fleming Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 15.

aspect of rancho life. Since the main business of the ranchos in the Mount Diablo area was cattle, it was the Indian vaquero, not the Mexican ranchero, who handled the daily chores of tending cattle.<sup>52</sup>

It appears the missionaries were responsible for the training and emergence of the Indian vaqueros.<sup>53</sup> As early as 1783, in Monterey, several Indians had developed into first-rate vaqueros, much to the disgust of Pedro Fages. It was feared by the Spanish they might become warriors like the Apaches.<sup>54</sup> Despite the Law of the Indies, which forbade the training of Indians in the use of the horse, the mission fathers had no Spanish vaqueros to work the ever-growing mission herds, so the law had to be ignored to permit mission Indians to work cattle on horseback. The mission Indians quickly became skilled in all aspects of ranch work. By the time of secularization in 1834, these mission vaqueros provided a skilled labor force for rancheros and later American settlers who replaced the Franciscans as vital forces in the livestock industry.<sup>55</sup>

Every rancho had its vaqueros. When not on the range, the vaqueros spent much of their time about the ranchos of their masters. In the corrals always stood horses ready for the vaquero's immediate use. A vaquero on foot was said to be a lazy individual, but

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<sup>52</sup>Calhoun, Early Days, 19.

<sup>53</sup>Jo Mora, Californios (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1949), 52.

<sup>54</sup>Arnold R. Rojas, Last of the Vaqueros (Fresno: Academy Library Guild, 1960), 14.

<sup>55</sup>Richard W. Slatta, Cowboys of the Americas (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 22.

like his later American counterpart, the cowboy, once on horseback he was transformed into a highly specialized and industrious working machine.

The short-lived Californio lifestyle is perhaps best described by Horace Allen.

The life of the landscape, was the cattle upon a thousand hills. Myriads of cattle, bovine cattle, spotted cattle were feeding and roaming all over the land, over the sides of the summits of hills and over the valleys and plains. All around was cattle, cattle. No prim, prudish, artificial fences or unsightly posts and boards disfigured the landscape, but there was the dashing picturesque vaquero with his swinging lariat making his oft-repeated charges around wild herds, arousing headlong stampedes around them. Whole herds of these wild cattle would come charging down the hills to escape the fierce pursuit of a dozen vaqueros. Over the land no vandal plow scarred and mutilated the face of nature. Cattle, cattle, cattle and the vaqueros were the pageant of the times and the fortune of the Dons.<sup>56</sup>

This description of the native cattle is given by Professor William. H. Hutchinson.

The native Hispanic cattle, introduced to California with the Portola expedition, were inbred descendants of the original importations from Spain, the first of which reached Mexico in 1520. Long of horn and multi-colored, they were cat-hammed, wasp-gutted, and deer-legged, with a shoulder that could split a hailstone. They also managed, even as their Texas counterparts, to walk incredible distances to market; and they were fierce enough to contend against varmints on the unfenced range, be they coyote or mountain lion or grizzly bear.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Horace Allen, "Twenty-one Years Ago," *Memoirs*, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1873.

<sup>57</sup>William H. Hutchinson, California, Two Centuries of Man, Land, and Growth (Palo Alto: American West Publishing Company, 1969), 199.

As such, these original cattle fared quite well in the unpopulated, unfenced, unprotected lands of the rancho era.

It was the custom of the times to hold yearly rodeos, or cattle roundups. Indeed the town of Rodeo was named because the land the town occupies today was the scene of many of these yearly rodeos of the Californio period. All the people within a radius of fifty miles would attend, as it was the social event of the year. The vaqueros would drive all stock into the rodeo grounds each spring and the claiming of stock and branding would begin and last a week or two. A juez de campo (judge of the plains) would be appointed to arbitrate between the owners in all disputes that might arise as to ownership of cattle.<sup>58</sup> After the rodeo season, about the middle of May, the killing season, known as the matanza, began. From the matanza came the hides, tallow, and from the fattest parts of meat, soap. These were the products of the ranchos, traded to foreign ships for articles needed in everyday life.

As to everyday life on the rancho, this interesting and enlightening article is presented in whole and uncut. Written in 1890, it is the reminiscences of a woman who as a child lived on a rancho in the Pinole area.

In the autumn of 1840 my father lived near what is now called Pinole Point, in Contra Costa County, California. I was then about twelve years old, and I remember the time because it was then that we saw the first American vessel that traded along the shores of San Pablo Bay. One afternoon a horseman from the Peraltas, where Oakland now stands, came to our ranch, and told my father that a great ship, a ship with two sticks in the center, was about to sail from Yerba Buena into San Pablo and Suisun, to buy hides and tallow.

The next morning my father gave orders, and my brothers, with the

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<sup>58</sup>Purcell, History of Contra, 204.

peons, went on horseback into the mountains and smaller valleys to round up all the best cattle. They drove them to the beach, killed them there, and salted the hides. They dried out the tallow in some iron kettles that my father had bought from one of the Vallejos, but as we did not have any barrels, we followed the common plan in those days. We cast the tallow in round pits about the size of a cheese, dug in the black adobe and plastered smooth with clay. Before the melted tallow was poured into the pit an oaken staff was thrust down in the center, so that by the two ends of it the heavy cake could be carried more easily. By working very hard we had a large number of hides and many pounds of tallow ready on the beach when the ship appeared far out in the bay and cast anchor near another point two or three miles away. The Captain looked over the hides, and then asked my father to get into the boat and go to the vessel. Mother was much afraid to let him go, as we all thought the Americans were not to be trusted unless we knew them well. We feared they would carry my father off and keep him prisoner. Father said, however, that it was all right: he went and put on his best clothes, gay with silver and braid, and we all cried, and kissed him good-by, while mother clung about his neck and said we might never see him again. The Captain told her, "If you are afraid, I will have the sailors take him to the vessel, while I stay here until he comes back. He ought to see all the goods I have, or he will not know what to buy." After a little my mother let him go with the Captain, and we all stood on the beach to see them off. Mother then came back, and had us all kneel down and pray for father's safe return. Then we felt safe.

He came back the next day, bringing four boat-loads of cloth, axes, shoes, fish-lines, and many new things. There were two grindstones and some cheap jewelry. My brother had traded some deerskins for a gun and four tooth-brushes, the first ones I had ever seen. I remember that we children rubbed them on our teeth till the blood came, and then concluded that after all we liked best the bits of pounded willow root that we had used for brushes before. After the captain had carried all the hides and tallow to his ship he came back, very much pleased with his bargain, and gave my father, as a present, a little keg of what he called Boston rum. We put it away for sick people.

After the ship sailed my mother and sisters began to cut out new dresses, which the Indian women sewed. On one of mine mother put some big brass buttons about an inch across, with eagles on them. How proud I was! I used to rub them hard every day to make them shine, using the tooth-brush and some of the pounded egg-shell that my sisters and all the Spanish ladies kept in a box to put on their faces on great occasions. Then our neighbors, who were ten or fifteen miles away, came to see all the things we had bought. One of the Moragas heard that we had grindstones, and sent and bought them with two fine horses.

Soon after this I went to school, in an adobe, near where the town of San Pablo now stands. A Spanish gentleman was the teacher, and he told us many new things, for which we remember him with great respect. But when he said the earth was round we all laughed out loud, and were much ashamed. That was the first day, and when he wrote down my name he told me that I was certainly "La Cantinera, the daughter of the regiment." Afterward I found out it was because of my brass buttons. One girl offered me a beautiful black colt she owned for six of the buttons, but I continued for a long time to think more of those buttons than of anything else I possessed.<sup>59</sup>

It is important to note that in the Californio period the government did not assess taxes on land. Taxes were collected on livestock. A minuscule tax on each head of livestock slaughtered was the only internal revenue measure, and the lack of real property taxes was most appealing to the earliest emigrants from the United States. The relaxing of the trade restrictions enabled the rancheros to dispose of their principal commercial product, hides and tallow.<sup>60</sup> The taxing of only the property a ranchero slaughtered, and not his real estate, was to be one of the main contributing factors to the downfall of the rancho system in the American period.

While Mount Diablo's environment had begun to change during the Spanish era, due to the cessation of Indian burning practices, and the introduction of domesticated animals, the rancho system changed the face of the landscape quickly and drastically, as herds of cattle and sheep were released into the environment surrounding Mount Diablo, reshaping the Mount Diablo landscape for years to come.

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<sup>59</sup>Prudencia Higuera, "Trading With the Americans," Century Magazine (Dec. 1890): 192-93, copy of original in vault at Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California.

<sup>60</sup>Hutchinson, California, 168.

Even before cattle and sheep arrived, the land beneath the shadow of the mountain was a grazing land. Pronghorn, elk, and deer, lived and fed on the vegetation and grasslands. These species had evolved with the grasslands and other range habitats without causing major changes in vegetation type.<sup>61</sup> This would indicate that the Mount Diablo region's environment was a diversity of climax vegetation. Climax vegetation is a final stage of succession dictated by the prevailing climate and other biological and physical factors.<sup>62</sup> This environment, physically isolated from the rest of the world by mountains, deserts, and the Pacific Ocean was kept free from most outside physical changes.

California's climate is and was contingent on the rain and snowfalls of winter and the succeeding dry months of summer. In pristine pre-cattle days, the soils of the grasslands were permeable, allowing water from rainfall to be absorbed readily into the ground, creating a high water table. As the dry summer months approached, water would be released from these soils, and creeks and rivers would continue to flow year round. The snow melt during the summer months would also contribute to year-round water in the creeks and rivers.

Mount Diablo's environment, then, was balanced in a climax vegetational state. The animal, human, and vegetational communities coexisted, taking neither too much nor too little from each other to change the balance. The balance became disrupted in 1777,

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<sup>61</sup>Stephen W. Edwards, "Observations on the Prehistory and Ecology of Grazing in California," *Fremontia* 20 (January 1992): 3.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, 3.

when the San José pueblo and Mission Santa Clara were established, with settlers and cattle to colonize the Santa Clara Valley.

With the mission and pueblo came Spanish cattle and sheep, with an appetite for the original plant cover of California. Livestock are highly selective in their grazing habits. Because of these grazing habits the more palatable native perennial grasses diminished rapidly. In this way space was provided for a rapid increase in the native annual grasses, because they were adapted to respond to such situations. Because these annuals were not as palatable to the cattle and sheep as the perennial grasses, they were left to grow as long as perennials could be found.<sup>63</sup> In this way, for a short time, the native annuals became the dominant group.

Accompanied with these Mexican settlers, and their cattle, however, was an invasion of non-native annual grasses and plants. Even less palatable to cattle than the native annuals, these non-natives were fast-growing, aggressively reproducing plants, with natural provisions by which the seed was self-planted or protected. Whether having hooks, or a protective covering, these annual plant seeds could be transported to new areas either in animal coats, or through digestive tracts, and dropped in a situation favorable for germination and growth.<sup>64</sup> As rancho lands were granted after secularization of the missions in 1834, cattle were released into the Diablo area's environment on a large scale, completely upsetting the balanced climax vegetal state.

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<sup>63</sup> L.T. Burcham, California Range Lands (San Francisco: Division of Forestry, State of California, 1957), 189.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., 190.

As cattle grazed on the perennial bunch grasses, the spaces between bunch grass clumps widened. While cattle grazed, the annual seeds would fall into these areas, or be left in feces. In this way cattle initiated the rapid replacement of native perennial grasses with native and European annual grasses.<sup>65</sup>

As if the simple grazing of the native perennial bunch grasses were not damaging enough, the constant trampling and compaction of the ground they grew in also tended to eliminate them. Many types of small plants and seedlings were easily destroyed by trampling and ground compaction, most especially perennial grasses, which were extremely sensitive due to their root system. Once the root system was injured, the above-ground portion of the plant was unable to get sufficient nutrients or water to maintain growth, and eventually died, or persisted in a weakened condition.<sup>66</sup>

Trampling and soil compaction change soil texture and reduce aeration by closing air spaces between soil particles. Once the texture of the soil had been altered, the infiltration of rain and snow melt was diminished, and the soil was unable to retain, hold, or store water. Once the impact of grazing and trampling had significantly disrupted soils throughout a watershed, other major changes began to occur. As water failed to percolate into the soil, rainfall ran off faster, causing soil and stream erosion and stream cutting, the water table dropped, and streams ceased flowing in the dry season.<sup>67</sup> Vegetation on the

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<sup>65</sup>William L. Preston, Vanishing Landscapes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 23.

<sup>66</sup>Denzel and Nancy Ferguson, Sacred Cows at the Public Trough (Bend, Oregon: Maverick Publications, 1983), 61.

<sup>67</sup>Ferguson, Sacred, 68.

stream banks and throughout the watershed declined, and excavation of the stream banks become more rapid during winter storms.

Unlike the native grazers--the pronghorn, elk, and deer--cattle and sheep do not move about randomly, but follow well-established trails, which eventually become compacted, also promoting erosion and annual weed growth. On over-grazed hillsides, this compaction can be seen as an intricate network of interlaced terraces, preparing the way for hillside erosion. Water supplies for cattle, be they dam, pond, or lake, very quickly become severely trampled and devoid of any type of forage. Because cattle are hesitant to leave water, foraging decreases as the distance from the water becomes greater.

Riparian zones can be severely damaged by cattle. As herds of cattle walk along stream banks, cross streams, or wade into streams to drink, their hooves cause the disintegration and collapse of banks, exposing them to erosion. As the banks recede, the stream becomes wider and shallower with more water surface exposed to the sun.<sup>68</sup> At streamside, excessive grazing diminishes the vital filtering action of the riparian zone, allowing sediments from surrounding areas to wash over the land and into the water. Removal of vegetation exposes moist soil to the baking action of the sun. Although cattle have been responsible for drastic reductions in water quality, their most severe harm has been to the quantity of water.<sup>69</sup>

The effects of cattle on the early California native environment can be readily seen.

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<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 74.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 81.

To this add the grazing practices of all settlers of the Mount Diablo area in the nineteenth century, particularly leaving their stock untended and unfenced. This enabled cattle to congregate unmolested in choice areas, instead of being distributed equally over a given range. In this way large numbers of cattle would concentrate in lush forage areas, not only grazing them heavily, but damaging both plants, soils, and watercourses by trampling. Because of these conditions, large populations of aggressive, weedy, annual plants spread over Mount Diablo's range lands. The final blow struck at the once abundant perennial grasses and forage came in the late 1850s to early 1860s. At this time the cattle boom created by the gold rush was beginning to ebb. Cattlemen were still selling cattle by the head, not the pound, therefore the ranges were overstocked, and the too numerous cattle even further weakened the natural grass cover.<sup>70</sup> A ten-year drouth occurred simultaneously. Wide reaches of range became utterly devoid of vegetation, with only the closely gnawed root crowns of the perennial grasses to be seen. When the rains did return after 1865, the seeds of the annuals produced a complete plant covering in a short time. Deprived of soil moisture, and with food reserves exhausted, perennial grasses and similar plants of the climax cover could not compete effectively with the annuals, and they rapidly passed out of the range flora.

With the passing of the native bunchgrass range lands, by 1870, the pronghorn and elk also passed from Mount Diablo's ranges. The native deer were able to persevere, change habitats, and remain even today. The Indians, who lived with nature in California's pristine state, found that when the balance of nature in a climax state was disrupted, their

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<sup>70</sup>Burcham, Range Lands, 199.

natural environment was broken also. As the land was changed so were they. The land suffered the invasion of exotic weeds; they suffered the invasion of exotic diseases. The Indians suffered the same fate as the pronghorn and elk; they were effectively removed from the land beneath the shadow of the mountain.

For a short time, during the rancho period, the Indians adapted to the new order by supplying the labor needed to operate ranchos. The coming of the Americans removed the Indians as a force in the area by the 1850s. The elk, pronghorn, and grizzly bear were hunted to extinction by the Americans, and soon the face of the land itself began to change. Another new order was on the way; the pastoral, unfenced, free range--the Californio period--was to be lost much easier than the Indian tradition. It was to be plowed under by wheat and agriculture and the coming of foreign gold-seekers.

## CHAPTER 5

### AMERICAN PERIOD

The area beneath the shadow of the mountain fell under the control of the American government almost from the start of the Mexican War in 1846. Many Californios in the area, tired of ineffectual Mexican government, looked to the occupation with optimism. From the outbreak of the war until the ratification of the peace treaty, California was governed under the customs of international law, which provided that in conquered territory under military occupation, the previous system of local law remain in effect with such modifications as the military commander considered necessary.<sup>1</sup>

The Mexican alcalde system remained in effect during the occupation, while American military governors assumed that the ultimate annexation of the area was a forgone conclusion. In March of 1847, an occupation force led by Col. J.D. Stevenson, the New York Volunteers, arrived. This force was recruited with the understanding that at the end of the war they would be disbanded in the Bay Area. This would generate a garrison during the war and provide permanent American settlers after the war.

Military government continued after ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in May 1848, because the U.S. Congress, deadlocked over the question of slavery, provided no legal form of government for California. Life might have continued under the military government, with the Mexican form of law and land ownership, had it not been for the discovery of gold in the Sierra foothills in January of 1848.

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<sup>1</sup> James J. Rawls and Walton Bean, California: An Interpretive History (San Francisco: McGraw-Hill Inc., 1993), 96.

Because of the subsequent gold rush, California experienced a population explosion the military government was not prepared to handle. The military governor at the time, General Bennett Riley, issued a call for delegates to meet in Monterey for the purpose of organizing a territorial government, or drawing up a state constitution for submission to Congress. In December 1849, Riley announced that the new state constitution and government were in effect. California began to govern itself even before it was admitted to the Union as a state. California was not admitted into the Union until Congress settled the slavery question by passing the Compromise of 1850. California was then admitted as a state on September 9, 1850, and much of the area beneath the shadow of Mount Diablo was soon incorporated as Contra Costa County.

The gold rush and population explosion created an unprecedented need for beef and agricultural products. The Mexican rancho system may have remained an institution in the area had it not been for the influx of Americans who, not finding wealth in the gold-mining areas, began to find wealth in the area's soil, through agriculture. The influx of new immigrants effectively removed the Indians from the Mount Diablo region.

The most obvious difference in reference to the Indians of the area during the American period was the way American settlers perceived Indians. The Spanish and Mexican governments sought to integrate and build a mixed-blood population to replace the Indian population. Both governments, however, viewed the Indians as a work force.<sup>2</sup> Pre-gold rush Americans perceived the Indians to be a ready and willing work force

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<sup>2</sup> Douglas Monroy, Thrown Among Strangers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 184.

through the writings of people like Frémont, Marsh, and Hastings. Their writings served to emphasize a point, that the Indian majority was not a barrier to settlement, as it was seen in the rest of the American westward movement; rather, these native people were willing workers who could help to make California's resources useful to whites.<sup>3</sup> The post-gold rush American settlers, to the contrary, sought to segregate and destroy any Indian recalcitrants.

Indian cattle and horse raiding remained the biggest complaint during, and immediately following, the Mexican war. The military administration of Indian affairs during the war supported the customary framework of Indian-white relations. Indians could expect protection only if they remained passive and useful to the area's non-Indian citizens. All the while, the continuing destruction of their traditional culture and productive ways, not to mention destruction of their native environment, left them no choice but to try to attach themselves to someone else for their subsistence.<sup>4</sup> Indians sought survival through raiding, labor, and trading, while whites wanted to suppress the former as they gained advantage from the latter.<sup>5</sup>

Not only did the assumption about who should work remain unaltered from the Mexican days, but after United States annexation, new ways of attaining Indian workers developed.<sup>6</sup> Beneath the shadow of the mountain, however, the advent of market

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<sup>3</sup> Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival On The California Frontier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 76.

<sup>4</sup> Monroy, Thrown, 185.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 89-93.

agriculture did not push Indians aside, but drew them in as farm workers. In the 1840s, Indians remained the sole source of agricultural labor, and whites used every possible means to obtain their services.<sup>7</sup>

Labor, coerced or free, did not prove to be the salvation of California Indians, for white racial attitudes as well as changing economic circumstances in the 1850s limited Indian chances for survival.<sup>8</sup> The state government implemented Indian policies that stemmed from the Indians' longstanding role in the agricultural economy. In April 1850, the California legislature passed "An Act for the Government and Protection of the Indians," which gave rancheros several new tools to bind Indian workers to the newly prosperous cattle ranches. Indians were no longer allowed to give testimony against white persons, closing many legal resources to Indians. Indians convicted of a crime punishable by a fine could have the fine paid by a white person. Indians would then be compelled to work for the white person until the fine was repaid. Indians found loitering, frequenting public places where liquor was sold, or begging or living an immoral life, could be arrested on the complaint of any resident citizen. Once satisfied the Indians were vagrants, a court could hire them out to the highest bidder for any term not exceeding four months. These laws illustrate the condition of the Indians at the time, and were designed to assist whites in gaining access to Indian labor.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 180.

<sup>7</sup> Hurtado, Indian Survival, 211.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 212.

<sup>9</sup> Monroy, Thrown, 185-86.

Whereas the mission system had relied as often as not on force, the Indians attached themselves to the ranchos more freely. They could leave at any time. The old rancho system gave the immediate, concrete, and comprehensible rewards of commodities and a measure of protection and stability. On the old ranchos no new social system or worldview had to be forced on the Indians and internalized. This system was easier for the Indians than what had come before in the missions. The proof lies in the fact that keeping them on the ranchos required neither a military guard, nor an "Act for the Government and Protection of the Indians."<sup>10</sup>

While the priests had the devil to blame for the Indians' failure to grasp European civilization, after 1846 Americans relied on racist conceptions of Indian inferiority to account for the obstinacy of Indian ways in the face of progress.<sup>11</sup> With the notable exception of the skilled vaqueros, the American ranchers generally regarded the Indian as miserably indolent, tediously inefficient, and frustratingly unreliable.<sup>12</sup>

The Indian reservation, a key aspect of government policy and strategy, came to the Pacific Coast with the formal transfer of California to United States jurisdiction. There was no farther west available for Indian removal, and the only policy alternatives were extermination or domestication. Officials favored domestication, not only for humanitarian reasons, but because it would secure to the people of the state an element

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 187.

<sup>11</sup>Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and The United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 26.

<sup>12</sup>Monroy, Thrown, 194.

greatly needed in the development of its resources, cheap labor.<sup>13</sup> With the reservation, the Indians' territory would be reduced, thus giving more land over to settlers; the provisioning of Indians with food and clothing would expand the market for white settlers' products; and the natives supposedly would be trained in sedentary farming and handicrafts.<sup>14</sup>

The federal government established the reservation system, believing Indians could be self sustaining if they were in a mission-like institution.<sup>15</sup> The segregated reservation only accustomed the Indians to dependency, while the federal government found it cheaper to feed the Indians for a year than fight them for a week.<sup>16</sup> With the natives resigned to reservation life, or life as a laborer off the reservation, by 1853 Indian raiding had come to a halt.<sup>17</sup> Although no reservations were established in the Mount Diablo area, the Indians, caught between the reservation and the rancho, found their numbers declining in the 1850s. By 1880, ranches and farms relied on Chinese and Mexican labor.<sup>18</sup>

The Indians were an integral part of the mission and rancho era, and for a short time the labor force for the agricultural boom that would sweep through the Mount Diablo area in the 1860s and 1870s. As long as the rancho system remained, the Indians had a

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<sup>13</sup>Hurtado, Indian Survival, 135.

<sup>14</sup>Monroy, Thrown, 195.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 212.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 195.

<sup>17</sup>Hurtado, Indian Survival, 117.

<sup>18</sup>Monroy, Thrown, 252.

place in the social order of the area, yet with the breakup of the ranchos in the 1850s and 1860s, fewer Indians remained in the area. It was written in 1882 that "of all these tribes there are scarcely fifty Indians left in the entire county now, and an Indian is rarely seen."<sup>19</sup>

The dismantling of the rancho system brought major social upheaval to the area. It displaced Indians as the work force, upsetting the social hierarchy. Along with the breakup of the ranchos came the disintegration of the leading Californio families and their institutions.

Essential to understanding the ranchos' quick dismantling were the political backdrop of the times and the implications of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War. The backdrop was Manifest Destiny, the American dream of conquest and expansion to the Pacific Coast. United States leaders assumed an attitude of moral superiority in their treaty negotiations, viewing the forcible incorporation of almost one-half of Mexico's national territory as an event fore-ordained by Providence, and spreading the benefits of democracy to the lesser peoples of the continent.<sup>20</sup>

With the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans living in the ceded areas were no longer under the protection of the Mexican government. Mexicans were given one year to claim and become American citizens, or move to Mexican soil. Therefore, at first, neither the mass of Americans nor the Mexican government considered the Californios citizens; they were without the jurisdictional protection of either nation.

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<sup>19</sup>W. A. Slocum, ed., History of Contra Costa County (San Francisco: W. A. Slocum and Company, 1882; reprint, Oakland: Brooks-Sterling Company, 1974), 3.

<sup>20</sup> Richard Griswold Del Castillo, The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 4.

Under the Mexican Constitution of 1824, Indians were considered full Mexican citizens. Upon the transfer of territory to the U.S. government, however, the Indians received neither U.S. citizenship nor the protections of the treaty as Mexican citizens.<sup>21</sup>

In the Mount Diablo area, as in the rest of California, gold-rush migrants encroached on the Californio land grants and demanded that something be done to "liberate" the land. The result was the passage in Congress of the Land Act of 1851. This law established a board of California Land Commissioners, whose job it would be to adjudicate the validity of Mexican land grants in California. Every grantee was required to present evidence supporting title within two years, or their property would pass into the public domain. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was supposed to protect the land rights of Mexicans living in the ceded areas. The United States did not intend to annul the grants of land made by Spain and Mexico, but the action placed the burden of proof of ownership and legal title on the grantee.<sup>22</sup> Confirmation of a grant did not ultimately protect the majority of Mexican landholders. On the contrary, most Californio landholders lost their lands because of the tremendous expense of litigation and legal fees, and the new system of taxation based on real property. After statehood, taxes came due and lawyers demanded fees to defend titles. Californios had never dealt with courts before. Judges allowed fees not on the ability to pay out of income, as Mexico did, but by the ability to raise money by borrowing against crops or selling land. To pay for the legal defense of

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 68-69.

<sup>22</sup>George C. Collier, Laguna De Los Palos Colorados (Albany: George C. Collier, 1976), 18, 27.

their lands, the Californios were forced to mortgage their ranchos. Even if some landholders were able to fulfill the terms of the 1851 land law, they soon encountered tremendous pressure from squatters to vacate their rights.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, no surveys were made by the Spanish or Mexican Governments. The rancheros recognized mutual boundaries by natural landmarks that only vaguely defined the limits of their ranchos. The new settlers did not know what was privately owned and what was government land, and rancho owners could not legally claim their lands until their grants were confirmed.<sup>24</sup>

Squatterism was an American frontier institution. It began its westward movement at the close of the Revolutionary War. George Washington, in 1784, made entries in his diary about his experiences with squatters on land he owned west of the Alleghenies.<sup>25</sup> As the squatter movement followed the frontier westward, it influenced the land policies of the government, most notable to this study, the Pre-emption Act of 1841 and the Townsite Act of 1844. When California became a part of the United States, Congress applied these acts to the new territories. The Pre-emption Act stipulated a person could settle on public land without the consent of the government and become a "preferred buyer." As government caught up to the frontier, the squatter, by right of occupation of

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<sup>23</sup>Griswold Del Castillo, Guadalupe Hidalgo, 73-74.

<sup>24</sup>Leonora Galindo Fink, "William Welch and Rancho Las Juntas" (Manuscript of speech presented to Contra Costa Historical Society, vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California, 1961), 8.

<sup>25</sup>William Wilcox Robinson, Land in California (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948), 111.

the property, had the right to buy the land at the minimum price without competition. The Townsite Act granted pre-emption rights to towns in similar fashion to individual pre-emption rights.

One of the first Californio families besieged by squatters in the Mount Diablo region were the Peraltas. By 1853, squatters had fenced the family off part of their Rancho San Antonio lands. Horace Carpentier led a group of squatters who settled upon, laid out, and established the town of Oakland, and Carpentier became the first mayor. Concurrently he acted as the Peralta's "benefactor," representing the family before the Land Commission in their land grant case. When the grant was confirmed, Carpentier claimed the Peraltas offered him land in lieu of legal fees. The court agreed, and he eventually took part of their land as payment.<sup>26</sup>

Carpentier represented other rancho owners, charging in lieu of fees a percentage of their confirmed rancho lands. He soon owned one-eighth of Rancho el Sobrante, and by 1859, three-quarters of Mariano Castro's Rancho San Ramon. At the time, Castro's rancho had over 65 squatters living on it. After the government survey in 1865, Carpentier picked the three-quarters the squatters lived on as his share. Since he held title to the land, he charged the squatters a total of \$90,000 over four years to buy the land they had squatted on.<sup>27</sup> The squatters had gambled on the land being judged public land and paying the minimum price.

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<sup>26</sup>Leonard Pitt, The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish Speaking Californians (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 84.

<sup>27</sup>Dorothy G. Mutnick, "Horace Carpentier: A Man of His Times," unpublished manuscript, vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California, 1977, 22.

It should be noted the problem most rancho owners had in confirming their title, was a title confirmed by a patent, did not necessarily vest title to the patentee. If the claimant had mortgaged, sold, bargained, or in any way encumbered his interest in the land prior to the date of patent, the title reverted to the interest or interests of other parties.<sup>28</sup>

Carpentier had represented the interests of Moraga and Bernal in their Rancho Laguna do los Palos Colorados grant conformation. During the appeal of the conformation, Carpentier entered a claim against the rancho for a full one-half interest in the grant. He claimed the Moragas and Bernals had no money to pay his fees for defending the rancho case before the courts, and they had agreed to give him the one half interest. The court agreed and added his name to the list of claimants against the rancho.<sup>29</sup> To enforce his claim, Carpentier hired Isaac Yokum and a band of men to squat nearby the Moraga home. They built a barricade, and had a gun battle at one point, generally harassing the Moraga family until Carpentier gained title to one-half of the rancho. Eventually Carpentier gained possession of most of the rancho through mortgage foreclosures and sheriff's sales.<sup>30</sup>

Land was cheap because land titles were uncertain. Not understanding Mexican land laws, or that the untended, unused land was even owned, the new immigrants found that most of the best land in the Mount Diablo area had been included in enormous land grants made by the Mexican government. The newcomers brought with them the notion

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<sup>28</sup>Collier, Palos Colorados, 27.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., 28.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 29.

that the territory obtained from Mexico was public land and they had the right to settle on it as freely as they had been doing upon parts of the public domain in other states and territories. The squatter problem of the 1850s through 1870s can be blamed on the fact that many land titles had not been confirmed by the Land Commission, or if confirmed, were still in the courts on appeal, or were waiting government survey before a patent could be issued.<sup>31</sup>

As an example of how a rancho grant was broken up, and the Californios displaced from their land, the Rancho San Miguel (Arroyo de las Nueces y Bolbones) is well documented. Located in the Walnut Creek area, it was slowly bought and sold off in small portions until by 1877, it no longer existed. Its story is one common to all the ranchos.

By the 1850s, Doña Juana Sanchez de Pacheco's children and grandchildren found her income from the rancho insufficient to support them in their accustomed fashion. Like many other Californios, they vied socially with the Americans. In increasing numbers settlers came, all bringing social habits different from the Californios. They lived in houses with wooden floors and carried modern firearms. Their women rode in carriages, seldom on horseback, and never in lumbering, wooden-wheeled ox carts. The Californios needed money to keep up with the newcomers, to maintain their positions as owners of large ranchos and to be hospitable. To get money they mortgaged their crops and ultimately

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<sup>31</sup>Collier, Palos Colorados, 27.

their land.<sup>32</sup> In 1850, Juana Pacheco sold a full league, about 1,500 acres, to Major Robert Allen to meet expenses.

Juana Pacheco died in 1853, but by then nearly a score of squatters farmed parcels of her property. She left nine heirs 500 acres of valley land, one-ninth of her hill land each, fifty head of cattle each, with the remainder to be divided equally among them. Still, squatters and buyers squabbled over titles to lands they felt entitled to, and they sometimes defeated Juana Pacheco's heirs in court. By no means did the heirs to Rancho San Miguel lose their lands overnight, although they slowly sold some of it to the first immigrants, and lost use of more to squatters. Year by year they sold parcels here and there until by 1870 only a few hundred acres remained in their hands.

Illustrating the problems of squatters, in 1852, two brothers-in-law, George Potwin and Hiram Penniman, came to Ygnacio Valley. They squatted on some of the farm land owned by Encarnación Pacheco. By the time Encarnación decided to rid herself of the two squatters, she found each had already built a home. She had only two choices. One was to hire a lawyer and have the two adjudged trespassers, which, with the inevitable appeals, would be costly. The other was to arrive at a price agreeable to both sides and sell. She chose the latter option, avoiding attorney's fees and county taxes, consummating the sale on October 16, 1860.<sup>33</sup>

Ygnacio Sibrian, grandson of Juana Pacheco, was a little better off than his

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<sup>32</sup>Harold E. Davis, *A Short History of Contra Costa County* (San Ramon: San Ramon School District, 1965), 17.

<sup>33</sup>George Emanuels, *Ygnacio Valley 1834-1970* (Fresno: Panorama West Books, 1982), 15-17.

cousins. He owned 1,000 acres his grandmother had sold him in the 1840s, and this land he sold off, piece by piece, to meet expenses. Sibrian built his home on the east side of Shell Ridge, near the pungent spring that gave his homesite its name, Sulphur Springs Ranch. Both mineralized and fresh water bubbled up from the ground close to the summit of Ygnacio Valley Road. Sibrian raised cattle, planted several acres of grapes, and in season made wine. For a quarter of a century Ygnacio Sibrian lived quietly on his ranch, but continually found himself in need of funds to defend against claimants to his land. His source of revenue was to sell off a piece of his 1,000 acres of hill land, but never an inch of his Sulphur Springs Ranch.

When in 1875 Sibrian again found himself short of funds, he had no land left to sell except his Sulphur Springs Ranch, and this he would not sell. Instead, he borrowed from a relative, his father-in-law, Antonio Moreno. Two years went by during which time Sibrian paid no interest or principal on the money he owed. Finally, he was called on by Moreno for an accounting. Unable to meet his own obligations, his father-in-law sold the notes to a Concord man, John Denkinger. Denkinger demanded that Sibrian comply with the terms of the note. As a result, on November 9, 1877, Ygnacio Sibrian signed away the deeds to the ranch, and the last lands of Rancho San Miguel passed from its original owners.<sup>34</sup>

Rancho Laguna De Los Palos Colorados was granted to Joaquin Moraga and Juan Bernal in 1841. Like most of the rancheros, Moraga and Bernal used their grant to raise cattle. What is significant about this rancho was the palos colorados, redwood trees.

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 3-7.

Located by José Joaquin Moraga during an expedition in 1776, these redwoods, found in the present-day Canyon area, west of the town of Moraga, became the center of the first lumbering industry in the area. Timbers cut from this strand were used in the building of Mission San Jose, and by 1848 a lumber industry had begun, as shown by the election votes in 1849 returned from the redwood area (Canyon) totaling 61 votes.<sup>35</sup> Between 1849 and 1856 lumbering in the Moraga redwoods became a booming business, supplying redwood for home-building from Oakland to Concord.<sup>36</sup> By the fall of 1856, the area had been lumbered out. Because of their problems with Carpentier and the squatters, and their wish to avoid a long and costly court battle, Moraga and Bernal sold the redwoods area to Elam Brown in 1853.

Rancho Los Meganos was originally granted to Jose Noriega in 1834. He could not control the Indians in the area and was afraid to live there. Noriega's fear of Indians led him to sell his rancho to John Marsh in 1837. In 1838 Marsh occupied his rancho and began one of the most colorful of the rancho histories.

Marsh was an adventurer with a Harvard University education, and this alone set him apart from most people on the frontier. Marsh became "Doctor" John Marsh in Los Angeles. He arrived in 1836 from the Midwest, presented his Harvard Bachelor of Arts degree to the officials there, and asked to obtain a license to practice medicine. Unable to

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<sup>35</sup>Collier, Palos Colorados, 23.

<sup>36</sup>Mildred Brooke Hoover, Hero Eugene Rensch, and Ethel Grace Rensch, Historic Spots in California (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1948), 219, 236.

read Latin, the officials believed he was a doctor and granted him a license.<sup>37</sup> He became baptized as a Roman Catholic in 1837, which qualified him to own a rancho under Mexican law.

Because of his work among the Plains Indians, Marsh is credited with writing a Sioux Indian dictionary and grammar.<sup>38</sup> Marsh had a different understanding of Indians from that of most men on the frontier. He soon made friends with a group of Julpun Indians who inhabited a part of the rancho.<sup>39</sup> He treated the medical problems their medicine men could not handle, such as malaria, and became respected by the tribe.<sup>40</sup> He left their village undisturbed. The Indians, in return, helped Marsh build an adobe house on the banks of the creek opposite their village. This creek, Arroyo do los Pabladones (River of the Villages), eventually became known as Marsh Creek.<sup>41</sup>

These Indians became Marsh's labor force. With their help he developed his rancho lands. By 1844, his famous letter-writing campaign was well underway. Dissatisfied with Mexican rule, he wrote letters back East to friends urging them to come to California. Marsh was one of the first promoters of California. The first fruits of his early writing was the arrival in 1841 of the Bartleson-Bidwell party. Marsh believed that

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<sup>37</sup>Karen E. Hurwitz, The History of John Marsh and Rancho De Los Meganos (Martinez, California: Morning News-Gazette Commercial Printing, 1972), 5.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>39</sup>Randall Milliken, A Time Of Little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1810 (Menlo Park: Ballena Press, 1995), xxx.

<sup>40</sup>Hurwitz, History of John Marsh, 5.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 6.

California's future ownership would be determined by American settlers taking possession of the land and holding it.<sup>42</sup>

With the gold rush in 1849, his dreams were realized. Marsh's rancho became his gold mine. In 1849 he established a landing on the San Joaquin River known as Marsh's Landing, which became a busy riverboat stop. He built a smoke shop and slaughterhouse at the landing, which provided gold seekers with beef and agricultural products.

After the gold rush, Marsh became very wealthy, but like the Californio rancheros, he began to have troubles with squatters and thieves. Since the deeds to his rancho had been stolen, he had problems proving his claim before the Land Commission. In 1856 he was murdered while on his way home from Martinez.<sup>43</sup>

Rancho Los Medanos had been granted to Jose and Antonio Mesa in 1839. In 1848 they sold and mortgaged much of the rancho to Americans, most notably Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson and W. C. Parker. Stevenson and Parker arrived in the San Francisco Bay Area with the New York Volunteers, who were sent in 1847 to guard the conquered province. With the discovery of gold, instead of rushing off to the gold mines, Stephenson and Parker decided to promote and build a new city on the bay. After searching different areas on the shoreline, they picked the Rancho Los Medanos to build a western rival of New York City. New York of the Pacific was located sixty-five miles

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 17.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 20.

from San Francisco on the bayshore, just where the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers enter Suisun Bay.<sup>44</sup>

In 1849, Stephenson sent lumber and fixtures from San Francisco to build the first house, called New York House.<sup>45</sup> It was the first building between present-day Concord and Marsh's Landing. A second house and saloon were built. The house became Junction Post Office. The town grew very fast in 1850. Miners purchased lots to afford them stability and a place to live after the rush, and at the new settlement nearly 600 votes on shore and shipboard were cast in the first election under the new state constitution.<sup>46</sup> Stevenson offered to build the new state capital building at his new town.<sup>47</sup> He was bidding against San José and Vallejo, and was defeated. The early years of New York of the Pacific are best remembered as an example of empire building, and the grandiose dreams of Stevenson, who lived the whole time in San Francisco.

At first, sailing vessels called at New York of the Pacific to take on fresh provisions, but beginning in the 1850s, steamers began to ply the bay and river waters. Because of the steamers' greater speed, they no longer needed to stop at the city, as outfitting was done in San Francisco, Stockton, Sacramento, and Marysville. Steamers

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<sup>44</sup>Ernest A. Wiltsee, "The City of New York of the Pacific," California Historical Society Quarterly 12 (March 1933): 25-34.

<sup>45</sup>Sue Boysen, "Some Historical Highlights of the History of Pittsburg," Manuscript, p. 2, vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California, 1964.

<sup>46</sup>Wiltsee, "New York Of Pacific," 25-34.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 25-37.

put New York of the Pacific out of business overnight, leaving it deserted between 1851 and 1862.

In 1862, coal brought the area back to life. From Nortonville to the south, the construction of a narrow gauge railroad terminated at a wharf and shipping terminal, built exactly at the old "city." Renamed New York Landing, the new Post Office became known as Black Diamond. By 1885, the coal industry came to an end at Nortonville due to lawsuits and a better grade of coal from the Pacific Northwest, and New York Landing again became a ghost town. Lester L. Robinson purchased the site, extensively improved the area, building houses, orchards, fences, steamboat landings, and railroads, until his home resembled a small town.<sup>48</sup> In the early 1900s the site became the present town of Pittsburg.<sup>49</sup>

The division of public lands and confirmation of rancho grants were one of the first problems tackled by the federal government, yet as the rancho era came to a close, Mount Diablo figured prominently in the geographical transformation of the area and the state. The need to identify public lands and give title to existing land grants led to the creation of a federal survey to establish an "Initial Point," from which all control and subdivisional lines throughout the state would be run. Because of California's varied topography, more than one Initial Point needed to be established. The Mount Diablo Initial Point was

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<sup>48</sup>Davis, Short History, 18.

<sup>49</sup>Wiltsee, "New York Of Pacific," 25-37.

established in 1851. All surveys conducted in the state originated from this point, with the exception of southern California and the northern Humboldt area.<sup>50</sup>

On July 8, 1851, Samuel D. King, surveyor general of the United States for the state of California, instructed Leander Ransom to establish an east and west base and north and south Meridian line to be run and established, passing through the most prominent peak of Mount Diablo. On July 11, Ransom and three others sailed from San Francisco to Benicia. The Quartermaster's Department, stationed at Benicia, provided Ransom's group the horses, mules, and vehicles they would need to transport their provisions. Hiring two additional men, Ransom's group then crossed the bay, landing eight miles up Walnut Creek at a place called the "Embarcadero," present-day Walnut Creek. They traveled to Bishop's Ranch, on the west side of Mount Diablo, where they stored the greater portion of their provisions.

By July 16 they established a camp about one third the way up the mountain, ascending the mountain the next day on foot. On Friday, July 19, they established a flag on the highest point. This was the point through which they were to run the east and west base, and north and south meridian lines. Ransom noted the view from the top of the mountain that day:

From the top of this mountain a beautiful prospect is opened before you. Looking east and north, you trace the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers winding their way through extensive valleys skirted by "Tulan" swamps or marshes which are cut up in every imaginable form by "Arroyos" or inlet creeks. Passing the eye further north and east, from 12 to 15 miles distant, you have a full view of the junctions of those rivers and the several islands

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<sup>50</sup>Francois D. Uzes, Chaining the Land: A History of Surveying in California (Sacramento: Landmark Enterprises, 1977), 163.

interspersed, also the Suisun Bay and the lofty pointed and picturesque mountain-ranges surrounding it on the north and west. Further west you have a full view of Benecia, and the military and naval depots of Martinez, and the high lands and bay adjacent to the Capital of the State [Benecia]. Looking west you have a distant view of the beautiful Bay of San Francisco extending to the entrance at the "Golden Gate," and a little south of west the islands and shipping in that part of the bay fronting the City, some 30 miles distant. Near the foot and spurs of the mountain you see on the east the valley called Marsh's Ranch spread out before you. On the north the plain on which New York of the Pacific, and Antioch are situated. Northwest and west the Pacheco valley extending some 15 miles from north to south and form a fine plain from east to west. Portions of this plain, and in fact nearly all of it, have the appearance of being susceptible of a high state of cultivation. At a distance of seven miles west of the mountain this valley is broken by spurs of ridges, and narrowing from one and one-half to one-half mile in width, it extends in a southeast direction until it reaches Amido's Ranch, about 12 miles south of the mountain. Here the valley turns abruptly to the east and spreads out to 4 or 5 miles in width, and extends 12 to 15 miles east from Amido's house. These valleys and the ravines and hills surrounding them are mostly covered with thick set wild oats, growing from 4 inches to as many feet in height. Even Mount Diablo has a covering of wild oats extending to near its summit. These wild oats afford abundant pasturage to the extensive droves of cattle and horses that are scattered abroad over this magnificent range, and also, to herds of elk, antelope and deer that abound here. One herd of elk that we saw on the mountain numbered at least 200.<sup>51</sup>

Having established the point through which the base and meridian lines were to run, Ransome began the difficult task of extending the lines. Because of the steepness of the mountain, and the innumerable ridges and spurs extending from it, Ransome concluded the lines could not be measured accurately down the mountain, and instead the group moved down to the plain south of the mountain and began there.

Twelve miles from the summit, in the Livermore Valley, the southern line was established. From there, Ransom's party headed north and east and established the east base

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<sup>51</sup>Leander Ransom, Field Report to Samuel D. King, September 20, 1851, State Lands Office, Sacramento, California, 3.

line. From this point they proceeded west and north and established the north Meridian line. Continuing west and south, they established the west base line. Ransom's party then headed south and east returning to the original south marker, made a minor correction of the line, and returned to San Francisco on September 2. The importance of this survey was that it divided Contra Costa County into townships and ranges, allowing for accurate surveys during the Land Commission hearings on rancho litigation, which separated public land from rancho land, and opened the area to settlement and development.

The first major industry during the American period was the same industry created by the Mexican ranchos, cattle. The discovery of gold and the huge increase in population by 1850 created an enormous demand for beef. The price of cattle rose to unheard of prices. Even with the money to be made in the cattle industry at this time, the amount of land for the use of grazing was beginning to become limited. As more immigrants entered the county, however, they went into farming. More and more rangeland was fenced and put into production. The once-prominent valley oaks were cut down for firewood, homes, and wheat fields.<sup>52</sup>

With less land for cattle production, other ways needed to be found to meet the demand for beef. This led to improvement of the native stock of cattle by importing bulls from Europe and the East, resulting in greater efficiency in converting grass to meat. This improvement from native cattle to imported was introduced by the American stockmen.

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<sup>52</sup> Fink, Rancho San Miguel, 14.

This appeared to be the first indication of the use of range management policies in the county, not in the management of land, but in the management of the cattle.<sup>53</sup>

Less land for grazing was not the only problem for cattlemen during the boom years following the gold rush. There were floods and droughts in the late 1850s, and the great drought of 1862. From that year through 1864 was recorded one of the worst droughts in California history. Cattle simply starved in pasture.<sup>54</sup> In 1866, the California state legislature passed an "Act to Protect Agriculture and to Prevent the Trespassing of Animals Upon Private Property."<sup>55</sup> This required the livestock industry to fence itself in at what was a great expense. By 1866 the livestock industry was no longer the most important agricultural product of the area. One of the major factors in this decline was the development in the county of crop agriculture, which took more rangeland and continued to crowd range livestock production into lands which could not easily support agriculture.<sup>56</sup>

There was an interesting relationship between the cattle and grain industries. While the drought of 1862-64 hurt the wheat farmers, it was the beginning of the end of the cattle industry. After the drought, stock ranches began converting to wheat for large profit.<sup>57</sup> Wheat was the crop that first brought California into the world trade market. It could

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<sup>53</sup>Ted Bresnahan, "The History of Cattle Raising in Contra Costa County," Manuscript, 1966. Vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California. 33.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 48.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 69.

<sup>57</sup>Scott Rodger Akers, "A History of the Grain Industry in Contra Costa County, 1859-1910," (M.A. thesis, San Diego State College, 1971), 7.

withstand long journeys in ocean-going vessels, and was profitable when farmed on large acreage. The decades between 1870 and 1900 were known as the bonanza wheat years in Contra Costa County. California exported huge amounts of grain, particularly to England, with Contra Costa County constituting one of the prime producers.

Elam Brown is credited with growing the first grain for commercial use in Contra Costa County in 1849. Brown built a flour mill in 1849, and another in 1853 in present-day Lafayette, then known as Brown's Mills.<sup>58</sup> The only flour mill in the area before this was in San Jose, which required a week-long trip by oxen to have grain converted to flour.

Martinez was the first grain port in the area, but farmers needed a shipping port that was more centralized. Situated at the head of navigation on Pacheco Slough, Pacheco was navigable at high tide for ships up to six feet in draught. A mill was established in Pacheco in 1857, and by 1860 Pacheco had become the leading shipping port for grain leaving Contra Costa County.<sup>59</sup>

In 1861, the Pacheco Coal Mining Company was formed, and by 1862, Pacheco had a steam-powered flour mill that was fueled by coal. From Pacheco, grain was shipped to San Francisco. During low tide, Pacheco Slough was unnavigatable, and during the winter months, floods filled the slough with mud and silt. Environmental change had already effected Pacheco Creek. Crespi, during the Fages expedition of 1772, had noted that Pacheco Creek was "deep with much water," yet by the 1860s, after the advent of overgrazing and farming, Pacheco Creek became known as Pacheco Slough, an unnavigable

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<sup>58</sup>Slocum, History Contra Costa, 23.

<sup>59</sup>Akers, "Grain Industry," 27.

stream filled with mud and silt. In the winters of 1861 and 1862, flooding destroyed the warehouses and town. Floods, fires, and earthquakes in the years between 1860 and 1871 caused major damage and ruined the reputation of Pacheco. A fire in 1867 totally destroyed the Pacheco Mill, and farmers had to go to Lafayette for milling.<sup>60</sup> Pacheco was abandoned by 1871. Most of the townspeople relocated to Todos Santos (the future Concord) or Martinez. By the late 1870s, mills were operating in Martinez and Antioch. At this time grain shipping was decentralized.<sup>61</sup>

During the late 1860s and 1870s, Contra Costa County became a sea of grain. The large ranchos were split up for farming lands, and grain accounted for better than 95 percent of the cultivated land area. With the exception of the Alhambra Valley, which was planted in vineyards and fruit trees, farmers generally grew wheat, barley, hay, and oats. From 1868 to 1884, grain dominated the county.<sup>62</sup>

Contra Costa County was the home of important inventions and inventors during its grain years. John Dalton invented the gang plow, which local farmers used extensively. Philander Standish invented the steam plow in the 1860s. The first working model was the "Mayflower," designed and built by Standish in the county. The machine proved too expensive for the local farmers, however, and although he never made money, Standish opened the door to other manufacturers who copied his ideas, most notably the Caterpillar Tractor Company. John Mott, of Danville, invented the reversible side hill plow for work

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<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 33-37.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., 42-44.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 45-48.

on sloped land. Furrows could be made from both sides of the plow, and it was adapted to plowing tough adobe soils.<sup>63</sup>

Contra Costa's climate effected the production and use of agricultural implements. First, larger and better threshing machines than those used in the Midwest were used locally. The header was a harvester that cut the heads of grain and carried them along a conveyor belt to a wagon driven alongside the machine. In the Midwest, before it could be sacked, grain had to be dried after it was harvested. In Contra Costa, because of the dry summer months, grain could be immediately processed rather than being stacked and cured. The grain was immediately sent to the separator, thus in minutes two tasks were accomplished that in humid climates might have to be done a month apart. The headers were also adapted to hillside work. Because of the climate, these harvesters combined the operations of both headers and threshers. Called combined harvesters, or "combines," they had a larger cutting bar than a header and could cut a greater acreage, at the same time threshing and bagging grain.<sup>64</sup>

Farmer's associations were popular in Contra Costa County. In the 1870s, the Farmer's Clubs were replaced by the nationwide Grange Association. Traditionally, the Grange was established to fight the large-scale farming elite. It brought together the independent small farmers who wanted to lower export costs, interest rates, and tax

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., 58-75.

<sup>64</sup>C. Daniel Elliot, "Wheat Harvest," in Richard Hilkert and Oscar Lewis, eds., Breadbasket of the World: California's Great Wheat Growing Era, 1860-1890 (San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1984), 3.

inequities.<sup>65</sup> In Contra Costa County however, the Grange was originally established to stop the depredations of ground squirrels, which caused crop damage, and to establish a grain export facility. The Grangers wanted to build a wharf, warehouse, and commission business to compete with the port of San Francisco, where exorbitant tolls were charged by Isaac Friedlander and the "wheat ring." San Francisco harbor was one of the most expensive ports in the world. Office space was very expensive, and all grain up to 1875 was shipped through that port.<sup>66</sup> The first attempt to bypass San Francisco was in 1860, when grain began to be exported directly abroad from Vallejo, on the north side of Carquinez Strait. The Vallejo location was good for the growers of interior valley grain,<sup>67</sup> but the Contra Costa Grange wanted a port on the Contra Costa side of the strait, and first tried Antioch. One successful shipment left from Antioch directly for England, but lack of funds by the government or the local farmers to refurbish the Antioch wharfs ended Antioch's hopes of being a port in 1874. Antioch was to remain only a forwarding port to San Francisco.<sup>68</sup>

The Contra Costa Grange eventually established a warehouse at Port Costa. Port Costa was established on the outside bend of the Sacramento River in 1879, where the hills

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<sup>65</sup>Gerald L. Prescott, "Farm Gentry vs. the Grangers: Conflict in Rural California," California Historical Quarterly 56 (Winter 1977-78): 330.

<sup>66</sup>Dr. Albert Shumate, "Isaac Friedlander," in Hilkert and Lewis, eds., Breadbasket of the World, 5.

<sup>67</sup>Akers, "Grain Industry," 104.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 106.

come close to the shoreline.<sup>69</sup> At this point, the river runs faster and therefore scours and deepens the port. The port was opposite Vallejo on the Carquinez Strait, and it was the terminus of two railroad lines, the Stockton to Oakland and Sacramento to Oakland routes of the Southern Pacific. Cars from Vallejo passed through Port Cost via the 424-foot rail ferryboat Solano, the largest ferryboat built at the time. Port Costa quickly became the central storage and shipping location for grain on the Pacific Coast. By 1883 there were five warehouses strung along three miles of the deep water frontage. At this time, the Southern Pacific Railroad also built coal bunkers at the port. Five thousand tons of coal a day could be unloaded from boats into bunkers beneath which railroad gondolas and engine tenders could be spotted for fast and easy loading. Most was low-grade bituminous coal from the mines of Somersville and Nortonville, in the hills behind Black Diamond.<sup>70</sup> By the 1880s, Port Costa became the center for the international wheat trade, as it was the logical collecting point. Tons of grain, sacked and dry, came by rail and water from the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, and by 1887, four-fifths of northern California's wheat production was stored, processed, and shipped at Port Costa.<sup>71</sup>

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the character of California agriculture began to change, and this also affected Contra Costa. The international grain market became less profitable for California growers, while wheat yields began to diminish within

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<sup>69</sup>Dick Murdock, Port Costa 1879-1941: A Saga Of Sails, Sacks, and Rails (Port Costa: Murdock-Endom Publications, 1977), 6.

<sup>70</sup>Richard H. Dillon, "Port Costa," in Hilkert and Lewis, eds., Breadbasket of the World, 5.

<sup>71</sup>Murdock, Port Costa, 12.

the state as the land's natural fertility began to diminish after years of cropping. At the same time, prices steadily decreased after 1873 because of increased competition from Australia, Argentina, Canada, Romania, India, as well as the American Great Plains. More importantly in Contra Costa County, there was a trend away from wheat to fruits and vines, which were more profitable. Many farmers began to experiment with new crops. As irrigation developed in local areas, it became possible to grow orchard, row, and vine crops, taking advantage of the long summer days while maintaining a dependable supply of moisture. The railroad and refrigerated cars meanwhile opened up eastern markets for California-grown perishables.<sup>72</sup>

Because of the pioneering work of Dr. John Strentzel, who acquired land in the Alhambra Valley, known then as the Cañada del Hambre, in the mid 1850s, farmers in the area began to find there were greater and more stable markets in fruit and wine than in wheat. Possessing a love and knowledge of horticulture, he experimented with different varieties of fruits and grapes. By the 1870s, Strentzel's products were being shipped to western and eastern markets via the newly completed transcontinental railroad.<sup>73</sup>

Of more significance to this study than the pioneering done by Strentzel was the work of his son-in-law, John Muir. Muir met Louie Strentzel, Strentzel's daughter, in 1878, and married her in 1880. He settled down among the orchards and vineyards on the Strentzel estate. As Strentzel's health began to fail, Muir took charge of the family's land.

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<sup>72</sup>Ann Foley Sheuring, ed., California Agriculture (Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1983), 12.

<sup>73</sup>Linnie Marsh Wolfe, Son of the Wilderness (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), 230.

As with all things Muir decided to do, he jumped into the business with every bit of energy he could muster. With some misgivings over the philosophical implications, he changed the operation from a botanical hobby to a burgeoning, profit-making enterprise, devoting seven years to the farm, during which he ignored his scientific and literary pursuits.<sup>74</sup>

Muir put an end to the experimentation of Strentzel, and concentrated on the most successful and highest market value crops such as Bartlett pears, Tokay grapes, and cherries.<sup>75</sup> Constantly in search of profit, Muir replaced nature's diversity with a specialized, man-made landscape, hired poorly paid Chinese immigrants to labor on the Martinez estate, and bargained toughly with workers, buyers, shippers, and suppliers.<sup>76</sup> He became one of the leading commercial farmers in the area, proving fruits and grapes could be a more viable crop than wheat, and taking advantage of the coming of the railroad and the new markets it opened up to the area's farmers.

By 1890, farmers in the Ygnacio Valley had also switched from grain to vines and orchards. The predominant valley crop was grapes, both table and wine varieties. Grapes grown east of Oak Grove Road pressed into better than average wine. Wine was made commercially in three places in the valley. The largest was a winery built at Hookston Station, near the junction of Bancroft Road and Hookston Road. The second was the

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<sup>74</sup>Stephan Fox, John Muir and His Legacy (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1981), 72.

<sup>75</sup>Wolfe, Son of Wilderness, 230.

<sup>76</sup>Richard Orsi, "Wilderness Saint and Robber Baron: The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Company for the Preservation of Yosemite National Park," The Pacific Historian 29 (Summer/Fall 1985): 136-56.

Brookside Vineyard, and the third was that of John Cereghino.<sup>77</sup> Vineyards in the Livermore Valley were established in the 1850s, and by the mid-1880s the Livermore Valley became known for its white wine varieties.<sup>78</sup>

Contra Costa County was not known exclusively for its cattle and agricultural industries. From 1860 to 1902, the region was the leading coal-producing county in California. The coal fields extended from Kirker Pass to the boundaries of the old Los Medanos rancho, in a six-mile long east-west belt. Of the coal available on the West Coast, Washington had the highest quality and California the lowest. However, capital to develop many of the Washington fields was not available until the late 1870s. Without this competition in the early years, Mount Diablo coal, in spite of its lower quality, became an important factor on the San Francisco market. By 1862, Mount Diablo was furnishing almost 20 percent of the coal on the San Francisco market, and this percentage rose steadily to a high of 45 percent in 1869. What this coal lacked in grade it made up for in other qualities. It was mined within just a few miles of an excellent waterway, making transportation in either direction cheap and easy. Also, it was within thirty miles of its major market, San Francisco.<sup>79</sup>

Francis Somers and James Cruickshank discovered the famous Black Diamond coal

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<sup>77</sup> Emanuels, Ygnacio Valley, 31-32.

<sup>78</sup> Julius L. Jacobs, "California's Pioneer Wine Families," California Historical Quarterly 54 (Summer 1975): 157.

<sup>79</sup> Jacqueline Byer Dial, "The Move of Coal Miners From Nortonville, California, to Black Diamond, Washington Territory, 1885" (Manuscript, vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California, 1988), 26.

mines in 1859. Their campsite grew into the town of Nortonville. A railroad was built to New York Landing, and soon Nortonville had hotels, boarding houses, stores, and a school. The other mines in Nortonville were the Cumberland and Mount Hope mines.<sup>80</sup>

In 1867, the Black Diamond Coal and Railroad Company was established to move the ever increasing volume of coal demanded by the Bay Area cities and the San Joaquin Valley. It operated by gravity, with the coal hand-braked from the mines to the wharf at New York Landing, while engines pulled the empty cars back up to the mines.<sup>81</sup> The Nortonville miners were predominantly Welsh, and one Welsh miner, John Williams, gave this description of Nortonville life in a letter home:

November 29,

1864

It has not rained for three years which has caused lifelessness throughout the whole country, especially among the farmers and goldminers, but now it has started to rain and delight is written on every face. This place is about thirty-five miles northeast of San Francisco among the mountains of Monte Diablo. They say it was a volcano, which was why the Spanish called it Mountain of the Devil. Some of the boys of Wild Wales are getting inside and bringing out treasures of every king-coal, copper, silver, and gold, but mostly coal.

There is here and in the place next to us, Cumberland, a great number of Welshmen working and we have been blessed with more religious services than almost any other part of the state because it is here that the Reverend John H. Powell preaches to us in Welsh every Sunday. We also have a very flourishing English Sunday School, and, considering that it is such a small place, it has a very good library connected with it. There are about sixty children here and we spend two hours happily every Sunday morning, with an English sermon in the afternoon and a Welsh one in the evening. An Evangelist church was started a year ago with eleven members which no doubt will open the eyes of many. Remember, my countrymen, that this is California and you are in Wales, and that it is

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<sup>80</sup>Davis, Short History, 53.

<sup>81</sup>B. H. Ward, Mount Diablo Coal Mine Railroads (San Mateo: The Western Railroader, 1970), 11-17.

difficult to found a cause for Jesus Christ in this country because almost everyone thinks about nothing but making money and then going home to the land of their birth to enjoy it for the rest of their lives. That is the main obstacle to religion throughout the country generally.

The noise of the election has finished once again and thank heavens for that, because I never heard such boasting and fuss in one place. The Dems were puffing and blowing like frogs and threatening and yelling with all their strength for "Little Mac, the military quack" as he is called. But on the eighth of this month, Uncle Abe gave them a couple of pills and there is great silence in their camp and they are feeling pretty sick. I am glad to say that the Welshmen made themselves very well known in this state during the last election because they voted for Lincoln without exception.

There are thousands of Welsh in this country and only two ministers to preach the Gospel in Welsh while the Catholic have from fifty to sixty priests here, Presbyterians from forty to forty-five, Episcopalians, Wesleyans, and Methodists sixty to seventy, Church of England twenty, the followers of Alexander Campbell twenty, all English including a few Mormons. There are as many ministers in the smallest denomination in Wales as in all of California and California is twice as large as Britain. When you remember the black men and the Indians, think of your compatriots here and in other parts of the world. It would be a good idea if you could form a plan to send missionaries to look after them instead of leaving them free to go their own way and wallow in every kind of sin, because everyone knows that if a man has nothing to raise him he will go after the things that degrade him.<sup>82</sup>

Another mining area was centered around the town of Somersville.<sup>83</sup> Somersville was the home of the Manhattan, Union, Eureka, Pittsburg, and Independent mines. At first the coal was sacked at the mine and drayed down to the landing on the San Joaquin River. The Pittsburg Railroad Company was established in 1865-66. It ran from Somersville, located six miles northeast of the summit of Mount Diablo, to the Pittsburg Landing, a distance of five and one-half miles. Somersville had an elevation of 782 feet, and the line

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<sup>82</sup> Alan Conway, The Welsh in America (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 1961), 267.

<sup>83</sup>Davis, Short History, 54.

ran downhill to the river, which was just a few feet above sea level. On this line there was a 350-foot-long tunnel and a series of trestles, one of which was 304 feet long and 60 feet high. As at Nortonville, operation of the rail line from Somersville to the landing was by gravity, the cars being hand braked to the landing.<sup>84</sup> The cars were returned up the hill by steam engines built by the Union Iron works in San Francisco.<sup>85</sup>

Another early industry in Contra Costa County was the production of cement, which began in 1850. Three times before July 1850, fires in San Francisco had burned down the frame buildings and tent houses there. To forestall more fires, San Franciscans clamored for brick and cement. Ygnacio Valley had that cement. In 1850, Frank Such discovered the rich limestone deposits on Ygnacio Valley's eastern hillside, and with W.E. Whitney he started the valley's first commercial enterprise. They built a small kiln, the first of several, a couple of hundred yards south of present-day Treat Boulevard. After burning the limestone there, they loaded the cement in barrels and hauled it to Martinez. Because of the distance to Martinez, they eventually set up a warehouse at Walnut Creek. Boats navigated the creek in the late 1850s and early 1860s and loaded as many as 3,000 barrels of cement a month.<sup>86</sup>

Another industry that began during the gold rush was the fishing industry created by Chinese immigrants who arrived during the gold rush. The first fishing village was established on the bay at Rincon Point in 1850. In the 1870s the ranks of the Chinese

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<sup>84</sup>Ward, Coal Mine Railroads, 5.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>86</sup>Emanuel, Ygnacio Valley, 11-12.

fishermen swelled as the railroads began releasing some of their Chinese laborers. By the 1880s, there were at least thirty Chinese fishing villages established along the shore of the bay and Delta. Prior to 1860 the Chinese took all types of fish, but after this date they relied primarily on shrimp, much of which was dried and exported to China. The Chinese began fishing the San Joaquin Delta around 1864, and by the 1870s had established villages throughout the Delta. By the 1900s, anti-Chinese sentiment had forced them from fishing the bay and Delta, which led to the dominance of Portuguese and Italian fisherman in the area.<sup>87</sup>

The Chinese were also active in agriculture. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, Chinese laborers began to work farms in the Mount Diablo region. They supplied a low wage, highly reliable work force for farmers such as Muir and the brothers Albert and Hubert Howe Bancroft, whose 600-acre farm in the Ignacio Valley was cleared, leveled, and planted using Chinese labor. The brothers had over 50,000 fruit trees in production in the 1890s, which were cared for and harvested by Chinese living on two separate labor camps on the property.<sup>88</sup>

Between 1890 and 1900, the Chinese population increased in only two counties in California, San Joaquin, and Contra Costa, portions of which are located in the San Joaquin Delta, an area where Chinese tenant farming thrived in the 1890s. The Chinese grew huge

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<sup>87</sup>L. Eve Armentrout-Ma, "Chinese in California's Fishing Industry, 1850-1941," *California History* 60 (Summer 1981): 142-57.

<sup>88</sup>Emanuel, *Ygnacio Valley*, 37.

crops of potatoes, beans, onions, and fruit there.<sup>89</sup> In the Antioch area the Chinese were involved in all stages of farm-making in the Delta; reclaiming the swamps, clearing the land, breaking up the sod for cultivation, leasing part of the land to grow crops, harvesting, and working for companies like the Black Diamond Packing Company.<sup>90</sup> Not only were the Chinese farming on the mainland tracts near Antioch, but Chinese tenants were farming on the Bradford, Franks, Bethel, Veal, Palm, and Byron Tracts in Contra Costa County, which were reclaimed in the 1890s and 1900s by land corporations or individual landowners who had spent veritable fortunes reclaiming these areas with dredges and modern equipment. When landlords did not specify what crops to grow, Chinese tenant farmers usually planted these newly reclaimed tracts in potatoes, beans, onions, and sometimes asparagus.<sup>91</sup>

The transformation of the Mount Diablo area from cereal crops to orchard and irrigated row crops could not have happened had it not been for the extension of the railroad into Oakland from the East. The completion on the transcontinental railroad with its terminus in Oakland opened the San Joaquin Valley, and Contra Costa County, to midwestern and eastern markets.<sup>92</sup>

Before the railroad, the waterways surrounding Mount Diablo created transportation

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<sup>89</sup>Sucheng Chan, This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 47.

<sup>90</sup>Chan, Bittersweet Soil, 162, 336.

<sup>91</sup>George Chu, "Chinatowns in the Delta: The Chinese in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta, 1870-1960," California Historical Society Quarterly 49 (March 1970): 23.

<sup>92</sup>Wm. H. Hutchinson, "Southern Pacific: Myth and Reality," California Historical Society Quarterly 48 (December 1969): 325-34.

facilities such as no other part of the state possessed. Steamboats and small sailing craft began using these waterways at the very start of the gold rush. Whereas California wheat was as near to a non-perishable product as could be found at the time, it also offered a quick monetary return with little initial investment. The missions had proved fruits and vines to be successful crops in the area. But because of the uncertainty of land titles in the 1850s and 1860s, the fact they were perishable crops, took a high initial investment, and required a three- to a five-year wait for trees and vines to mature, it took the stabilization of land titles in the 1870s, and the railroads, to change the face of agriculture in the area.<sup>93</sup>

Railroads in the area initially grew out of the Oakland area. Beginning in the 1850s, continual daily ferry service carried passengers and freight from Oakland to San Francisco. By the 1860s Oakland had become the terminus for this ferry and railroad service. One of the first railroads, the San Francisco and Alameda Railroad, extended from Oakland south into Hayward. This opened the Alameda and Hayward areas to population growth, and as ferry service to San Francisco was so reliable, many San Franciscans began to move to these areas and commute to San Francisco.<sup>94</sup>

The benchmark year for rail service was 1869. In that year, with the completion of the transcontinental railroad, the Central Pacific Railroad opened the area to the markets of the East. Through subsidiaries of the Central Pacific, train service ran as far south as Pleasanton by 1870, and by 1878 another subsidiary, the San Pablo and Tulare Railroad

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<sup>93</sup>Rodman W. Paul, "The Beginnings of Agriculture in California: Innovation vs. Continuity," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1973): 19-20.

<sup>94</sup>Robert S. Ford, *Red Trains in the East Bay* (Glendale, California: Interurbans Publications, 1977), 32.

Company, ran from Tulare in the San Joaquin valley along the northern shore of Contra Costa County into San Pablo.<sup>95</sup> By the 1880s the areas north and south of Mount Diablo had rail service, which changed agriculture in those areas and led to population growth. The large central area, the Diablo and San Ramon valleys, were left to wheat production and large farms.

Many attempts had been made to build a railroad through the Diablo and San Ramon valleys, but because of the expense and litigation over thoroughfares through private property, all attempts failed. One of the more colorful railroading stories was the attempt to build the California and Nevada Railroad. It was planned on a grandiose scale to run from Oakland, through San Pablo, to Orinda, down the San Ramon Valley, with a side track up Mount Diablo, skirting the mountain to the south through the Livermore Valley, and ending up somewhere in the Nevada mines.<sup>96</sup> This railroad never ran past Orinda, but in 1891 it extended from Oakland through San Pablo, followed the San Pablo Creek through the present-day San Pablo Reservoir, terminating in Orinda. The importance of this railroad was that it opened the area to tourism. Most money made by the railroad was through its "excursion" business, taking groups from the "city" to the country to enjoy a weekend at different camps in the area.<sup>97</sup>

The Diablo and San Ramon valleys remained without rail service through the 1870s

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<sup>95</sup>Irma McGinnis Dotson, San Ramon Branch Line of the Southern Pacific (Danville, California: Museum of the San Ramon Valley, 1991), 1.

<sup>96</sup>Erle C. Hanson, Narrow Gauge in the East Bay: The True Story of the California and Nevada Railroad (Northampton, Pennsylvania: R. & S. Printers, 1988), 26.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid., 51.

and 1880s. The valley farmers had to haul their products, primarily hay and grain with some fruit, by wagon or buggy either north or south to railway shipping centers.<sup>98</sup> In 1891 however, the railroad became a reality. In that year the San Ramon Branch Line of the Southern Pacific was completed. It ran from Avon in the north, and headed south down through both valleys into Livermore. The railroad resulted in many changes in the valleys. Again, as in other areas, there was the inevitable change from wheat, oats, and barley to fruit crops. Now that valley farmers had a quick and reliable transportation source, perishable products became the primary crops. Large tracts of land became divided as farmers found they could grow crops on smaller parcels for the same profit. With a larger population, the valley experienced the development of towns, and the subdividing of town lots. All of this led to an increase in land values, taking what was once a sleepy little valley and making it an important and integral part of the county.<sup>99</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Southern Pacific Railroad held a virtual monopoly over all major commercial and passenger rail service in the Bay Area. In 1898 Augustin S. Macdonald, a real estate promoter, approached C.P. Huntington of the Southern Pacific and proposed using the area around Point Richmond as a new freight terminus, as the new terminus site would save the Southern Pacific twelve miles on their ferry route to San Francisco. When Huntington did not act on this proposal, Macdonald then approached representatives of the Santa Fe Railroad, which at this time was trying to

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<sup>98</sup>Dotson, San Ramon Branch Line, 3-40.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 40-42.

find a route into San Francisco which would give their southern transcontinental railroad an opportunity to break the Southern Pacific monopoly.<sup>100</sup>

The representatives of the Santa Fe acted on Macdonald's proposal by getting investors to buy out the private land owners in the Point Richmond area. In 1899 Macdonald filed a "Map of the Town of Point Richmond" at the County Recorder's office in Martinez, and construction began. The line originally ran from Stockton through northern Contra Costa County, tunnelling through Franklin Ridge and the Potero hills to Ferry Point on the Richmond bayshore.<sup>101</sup>

The first train to use the new Santa Fe route entered Ferry Point on July 3, 1900. Passengers proceeded to San Francisco aboard the ferryboat Ocean Wave. This line succeeded in establishing competition to the Southern Pacific as San Francisco shippers and San Joaquin valley farmers now had another transcontinental railroad access across the nation. Completion of this railroad also established the town of Richmond as town lots were sold at auction in 1902.<sup>102</sup>

Railroads not only brought prosperity and population to the area, they also promoted tourism. Beginning with the California and Nevada Railroad, the Orinda area became a tourist spot for those living in the Oakland-Alameda area, and for those wanting to get away from San Francisco for a few days. One railroad whose primary function was

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<sup>100</sup>Mel Scott, The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 88.

<sup>101</sup>Ibid., 89.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

tourism was the Mount Diablo and San Jose Railroad. Incorporated in 1900, this narrow gauge began in Antioch using the tracks of the old Empire Coal Mine. The railroad was proposed to be a "tourist and picnic" line. Posters appeared promising train rides up Mount Diablo with picnics in cool Marsh Creek Canyon. Riders were promised views of exciting bridge work, tunnels, and cliffhanging trackwork. Newspaper articles told of fabulous views, since virtually all of the Central California could be seen from the "Scenic Railway" trains.<sup>103</sup>

By 1901 this railroad ran from Antioch into Marsh Creek Canyon, up Riggs Canyon and along Blackhawk ridge terminating in the little town of Diablo, a few miles from Danville. A branch line from Diablo to Orinda was begun. It was to meet the California and Nevada Railway at Orinda, but the California and Nevada was sold before the track was completed. By 1905, rails ran through to Livermore. The 1906 earthquake destroyed enough track to put the railroad out of business in that year, ending the dream of extending the tourist line through the Mount Hamilton slopes into Alum Rock Park and through to San Jose.<sup>104</sup>

Another tourist attraction in the Mount Diablo area was the Byron Hot Springs. The first claim to the springs was given to Orange Risdon in 1865. It was for 160 acres on which Risdon wanted to build a salt evaporation plant. The plant was not a success, and instead Risdon decided to develop the springs as a health resort. With his nephew, Lewis

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<sup>103</sup>Teodoro Gusano III, The Devil's Shortline: Mt. Diablo and San Jose Railroad, 1900-1907 (Albany, California: Ross Valley Books, 1988), 9.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., 11.

Risdon Mead, he built a bath house over the sulfur spring in 1868. By 1872 the resort was so popular that a ten-room house was built to accommodate visitors. The completion of the Central Pacific's San Pablo and Tulare Railroad in 1878 provided transportation from San Francisco, Oakland, and many places farther east; and the future of Byron Hot Springs was assured.<sup>105</sup>

Mead built "the Mead cottage" and made the resort more attractive to visitors. He filled the salt basin in with ten to twelve feet of good earth from which he developed a beautiful semi-tropical garden with evergreen trees, palms, and flowers. By 1887, he had created an oasis in the midst of an alkali desert. A hotel, post office, and cottages became established in 1889. The hot springs were popular through the turn of the century.

Mount Diablo was also a tourist attraction. Before the railroad, tourists took river boats to Benecia, then caught a ferry to Martinez. After 1878 they could ferry to Oakland then take the railroad to Martinez. Livery stables at Martinez rented them horses and carriages, and hence sightseers were able to ride through Ygnacio Valley and up the mountain; the warm sunny evenings could be a welcome change from San Francisco's foggy nights. Especially enjoyable were the sunsets and sunrises.<sup>106</sup>

In 1876, Professor George Davidson and the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey party established a signal station on the summit of Mount Diablo. It was a three-stories-high building with roof and floor surrounded on the four sides by a railing. It housed a telescope,

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<sup>105</sup>George C. Collier, A Narrative History of Contra Costa County, (G. C. Collier, 1983), 150.

<sup>106</sup>Emanuel, Ygnacio Valley, 21.

which was used in the triangulation survey of the western United States.<sup>107</sup> With the curtailment of the geological surveys in 1879, the station and telescope were left atop the mountain. The telescope drew enough people to the summit for the view that Joseph S. Hall, a former manager of a resort hotel in New Hampshire, decided to build a resort hotel, the Mountain House. To attain easier access to the proposed hotel a road was needed. He was able to find investors and on November 11, 1873, incorporated the Mount Diablo Summit Road Company.<sup>108</sup> This road originated in Walnut Creek and followed Pine Canyon up to the hotel. The idea of the hotel and the potential market led a group from Danville to form and incorporate the Green Valley and Mount Diablo Summit Road Company on February 18, 1874.<sup>109</sup> This road left Danville and followed Green Valley up to an intersection with the first road about a mile from the summit. The grand opening of the sixteen-room Mountain House was on March 30, 1874. On that day, Seely J. Bennet commemorated the opening by driving a stage to the summit, the first person to do so. Since the toll roads did not go to the summit, this was quite a feat. Stages were not driven to the summit after this, and patrons of the hotel either walked, or rode horseback the last mile. Two stages ran daily to the Mountain House, one from Martinez through Walnut Creek and up Pine Canyon, the other originating in Hayward and running through Danville and up Green Valley.

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<sup>107</sup>Smith and Elliott, eds., Illustrations of Contra Costa County, California (Oakland: Smith and Elliott, 1879, facsimile reproduction, Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1979), 9.

<sup>108</sup>"Mountain House Hotel," Contra Costa Chronicles (Fall 1967): 34.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

Of prime interest to tourists in the late 1800s was the view of the sunrise from atop Mount Diablo as most of California's land mass could be seen at this time.<sup>110</sup> Visitors could ferry over to Martinez from San Francisco, take Seely Bennet's stage to the Mountain House, and spend weeks enjoying not only the view from the summit, but also Pine Canyon and the Castle Rocks. Whether they sat on the porch of the Mountain House watching eagles soar and the sun set in the Pacific, or hiked through fields of poppies, shasta lilies, baby-blue-eyes, and other flowers, a trip up to Mountain House was a nature lover's dream.<sup>111</sup>

The beauty and majesty of the mountain and the comforts of the Mountain House all blended to make the hotel a profitable venture until the early 1890s, when the tower and telescope burned and were not replaced. Without the tower and telescope the patronage of the Mountain House declined, and on March 30, 1895, the hotel closed its doors for good.

After the closing of the hotel, ranchers in the area, not wanting tourists on their grazing lands, petitioned the county to have the toll roads vacated as public roads. Although the residents of the county were still supposed to have free access to the mountain, the minute the orders vacating the roads were signed, gates were constructed and locked, and armed guards were installed to stop trespassing. Although the ranchers had slowed the tide of tourism on the mountain, many people still hiked to the Mountain House and spent time there. Visitors became such a nuisance to the ranchers that they eventually

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<sup>110</sup>Richard R. Veale, "Contra Costa County Landmarks," Manuscript, vault, Contra Costa County Main Library, Pleasant Hill, California.

<sup>111</sup>Veale, "Landmarks."

had the doors and windows removed so that no one could be prosecuted for arson. The hotel was burned to the ground in 1901.

It is fitting to end this early history of the Contra Costa at the year 1900. The latter half of the nineteenth century had brought major change to the area. The Mexican, or Californio, culture was buried beneath a wave of emigration from the East. Americans came and took the land and its resources. Agriculture pushed the cattle industry into the hills and brought major changes in the landscape. Farms, towns, railroads, and tourists followed the agricultural frontier into the region. The region became settled, following a cultural pattern established by the American westward movement spanning a hundred-year migration from its eastern shore.

The area was first settled by the Indians, whose three-hundred-year tenure changed the landscape only slightly. For seventy-five years, the Spanish and Mexican governments tried to settle the area, disrupting the Indian society, and making the first major changes to the landscape. It was left to the Americans, however, to dominate the area, consume its resources, and change the landscape forever.

## SUMMARY

The Indians of the Mount Diablo region have been perceived in the past as a primitive, uncivilized people. Yet, they occupied, and held the land beneath the shadow of the mountain for over three hundred years. Over that time they exhibited a stable society and culture, and managed a relatively stable environment. They never developed a large confederation of tribelets, primarily because in their society and culture, based on kinship, trade, marriage, and mourning ceremony rituals, there was no need for it. They were a non-agricultural society, yet they lived and prospered on the land over a long period of time. They were so much a part of the land, they left little architecturally or artistically to be remembered by.

The Spanish saw the Indians as primitive. They used this primitive analogy to justify the destruction of native society and culture, and to convert Indians to Christianity. On the other hand, the Spanish did not want to eliminate the Indians, for Spanish colonization was dependent on Indians fitting into their economic, social, and political system. The Spanish introduced agriculture, livestock, woven cloth, the use of metals, and the wheel into the area. They initiated the decline of Indian life, driving it towards virtual extinction in the area.

With Mexican independence, a new form of social control came to the area. The weak and ineffective Mexican government caused many of the elite to begin to consider themselves Californios, with loyalty to their local interests and territory. After secularization of the missions in 1834, the Californios who received land grants in the area took control of the land and Indian labor. The rancho replaced the mission as the center

of power and wealth. With the unleashing of cattle across the region, the first real change in the area's landscape began.

With the gold-rush, American settlers began to arrive in the area in large numbers. Unlike the pre-gold-rush emigrants, most were not looking for large land grants and assimilation into the Californio culture, but rather looking to establish small family farms. The Americans also resorted to the "primitive" analogy to rationalize forcing the Indians onto reservations in the interest of progress. The most significant social change during the American period was the destruction of the ranchos and the Californio elite. Yet, the Diablo region's environment was the most effected, as American progress brought with it large scale agriculture, mining, lumbering, and a further continuation of the cattle industry, all creating havoc to the region's environment.

Three different cultural patterns can be seen in the Diablo area's early history; Indian, Spanish-Mexican, and American. With these changing cultural patterns came the inevitable changes in environment, cultural world views, the virtual extinction of one race of people, and a landscape forced to change in the interest of progress.

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