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The geographical settlement of California 1848 to 1860

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA

1848 to 1860

by

A. C. S. Hearty

A thesis submitted to

San Jose State University

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of**

MASTERS OF ARTS

in

Geography

May 2000

Dr. Bill Takizawa, Thesis Committee Chair

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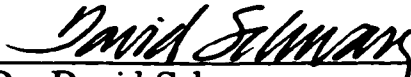
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THE GEOGRAPHICAL SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA 1848 to 1860

**A thesis by
A. C. S. Hearty**

ABSTRACT

Purpose of the Study:

The appearance of settlements induced by the Gold Rush created a permanent change in the geographic landscape of California. The purpose of this study is to explain the pattern of established settlements from the Bear Flag Revolt of 1846 to the decennial census figures of 1860.

Procedure:

A community was defined as any settlement that recorded the presence of both a post office and a school between the years 1848 and 1860 inclusive. Primary and secondary sources were examined to determine when communities were created, their sites and situations, population estimates, and the effect of the Gold Rush on each entry.

Findings:

A total of 59 settlements were identified as meeting the criteria necessary for inclusion in this study. These communities separate the state into four regions: Bay Area, Central Valley, Sierra, and Southern California. Within each region, cities are grouped by three eras: Pre-1848, Gold Rush, and 1853-1860.

Conclusions:

Of the 59 study settlements, only 13 were classified as gold strikes. The sites and situations of these communities demonstrate that the most important factor in all categories was a city's proximity to raw materials, finished goods, and population through water access. This network of supply communities enumerated a collective count for the census of 1860 that was greater than any state-wide count during the Gold Rush.

PREFACE

As with most academic works at the master's level, this study is a small portion of the analysis I desired to conduct on the settlement of California. I hope this work proves useful as a stepping stone for a more stubborn and grand scholar to create an authoritative and exhaustive volume on the subject. I am indebted to the fine collection of books housed in the forgotten Wahlquist Library at the corner of 4th and San Fernando; to the gentle and patient high standard of my forgiving Chair, Dr. Bill Takizawa; and the charming support, unique cartographic talents, and alarmingly narrow musical taste of my dear husband, Michael.

“And the moral of this story
Is I guess it's easier said than done
To look at what you've been through
And to see what you've become.”

--Lyle Lovett,

“Private Conversation”

The Road To Ensenada, 1996.

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CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

Geographic changes, especially in the landscape, are most often incremental and gradual. Population migration patterns are a flow, sometimes a trickle, and after some time, the geographic distribution reflects change. An exception to this geographic gradualism are those infrequent "boom-times" when the possibilities of acquiring riches suddenly alter the geographic landscape. The promise of untold wealth leads to a surge of in-migration and frenzied activities, and when riches are exhausted, the population disperses almost as quickly. The visible products of this period of feverish optimism and subsequent collapse are ghost-towns.

Ghost-towns dot the American West. Some have been revived as tourist centers with a boutique aura (Telluride, Colorado) and others have been preserved as historical reminders (Bodie, California). These are symbols of a dynamic and dramatic period, much like spring blooms in the desert which explode, then wither. But unlike desert flowers, mining settlements may have had a lasting effect outside of their immediate region.

Mining camps are so focused on one goal, to produce riches, that they ignore other necessities, such as food, clothing, tools, and equipment. For these things, prospecting points are dependent on other communities outside the mining region. These latter settlements came into existence because of the boom, and although their functional relations were mostly with the mining district, they were not exclusively so. What was provided by these settlements, goods or services, could be furnished to places other

than the mining camps. When the camps disappeared with the collapse of mining, many settlements providing goods or services survived.

As important, these non-mining communities began the development or exploitation of resources (farmlands, forests), initiated the integration of transportation by linking overland routes with waterways, and began to process and produce goods for an expanding population. No longer bound to mining camps, these communities were now connected economically to one another and entered what is referred to in the economic development literature as self-sustained growth. California before the Gold Rush was a remote and somnolent corner of the world, first for the Spanish, next the Mexicans, and then the Americans. California was jolted into wakefulness by the Gold Rush, but its transformation into a wholly different dynamic society lay not in the mining districts and with the mining camps, but with places outside the mining zone and with settlements only indirectly tied to mining.

The heart of this thesis is the permanent change in the geographic landscape, namely the appearance of settlements, induced by the Gold Rush. Settlement or camps in the mining area were ephemeral. Those outside were long-lasting and had a more profound effect on the future of the state. These communities will be located in both space and time to show their connection to the quest for gold. Primary and secondary sources were examined to explain the pattern of established communities from the Bear Flag Revolt of 1846 to the decennial census figures of 1860. The data collected and conclusions derived by this analysis will provide an accurate description of early California settlement, which will be an

original and important contribution to the historical geography of the West.

CHAPTER II RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Constructing a methodology to properly identify the settlements is a tricky matter. What criteria determine a legitimate community in early California? What identifiable factors denote population and permanency in a time of limited data collection? The standard devised for selecting and excluding early California communities for this study reflects the following parameters. First, the study was designed to be as inclusive as possible and did not restrict consideration of such settlements as groupings, gold camps, agricultural communities, military stations, or religious colonies. The methodology ignored secondary factors such as climate, terrain conditions, and density of settlement (Thompson 1955, 12). Data were collected to isolate and quantify the distribution and dispersion of California population from 1846 to 1860 to reveal trends and patterns at the regional and state-wide level.

After careful consideration, the appearance of two social institutions, schools and post offices, within a community during the time period of the study appear to meet such requirements. The existence of both factors was determined to infer the stature and relative permanence of communities and they were selected for two reasons. First, social institutions come into being only after a population threshold is surpassed. Below that level, there are too few people to create and operate such organizations. Second, these institutions are likely to be supported by most of the population because they derive benefits from them. As such, they will be noted in official records and will provide these communities with an identity, a name, a place on the map.

The milestone of a group of children under the tutelage of one or more regular teachers, where a child is regularly sent to concentrate on studies for a portion of the day (or even separated from the family as a boarder), is a significant benchmark in the development of a California settlement. A school identifies a city with numerous families, suggests increased stability, a higher level of civic and cultural development, and a larger population base than communities with no school. Post offices respond to population numbers in an area (both growth and decline). Data on the establishment and dissolution dates from 1848 to 1860 are very complete. The petition process for receiving a post office in California was 18 months or more, denoting some degree of measurable permanence.

Each settlement known to have existed in California was then assembled in a matrix and scrutinized to see if it met the following parameters:

1. It existed within the years inclusive of 1846 to 1860. The year 1846 was chosen because it was the beginning of an American political presence in California, with the Bear Flag Revolt in Sonoma in June of that year (Beck and Haase 1985, 46).
The year 1860 was chosen as the end of the early American period because it was the first census year after the Gold Rush with reasonably accurate data.
2. Each community contains at least one data reference to a school (S) and one data reference to a post office (P). All communities proven to exist between 1846 and 1860 with a

school and a post office are listed alphabetically (see Appendix C), by county (see Appendix D) and by date of establishment (see Appendix E). An asterisk (*) represents the mention on a map or in a book or journal of a community within the marked year. Each mention of the founding of a different school is noted if it occurs in a year not already occupied by a "S." Post offices are only marked "P" in the year of their founding. "Q" indicates the date a post office was discontinued in that location. It is assumed that a post office continues for each year until there is a "Q."

3. Each entry is listed within present county boundaries as of 2000.
4. Each town is listed by the name used in the year 1860. If the settlement was known by more than one name during the study period, the previous name follows in parentheses and the date of the name change is represented by "N."
5. Founding dates are determined by the first dated mention of the first non-dwelling structure erected in the settlement.
6. Numbers within the matrix refer to population data cited for the community within the marked year. "k" indicates thousands of people.

Since the time period of the study is quite recent in terms of historical epochs and California captured the imagination of the world from 1849 to the end of the Gold Rush, it would follow that settlements during this period would be extensively documented. Information that could be located

for this study revealed huge holes in the chronicling of the California Gold Rush. An unusually varied collection of sources were consulted for settlement information and areas well covered in some regions were completely lacking for others. For a general overview of what communities existed during the study, maps of the period were consulted. Especially useful were Sage (1846), Derby (1849 and 1850), Tassin (1851), Trask (1853), Eddy (1854), Williamson (1855), and Vincent (1860). Ristow's claim that "the events of 1848, the ending of the Mexican War that brought California and New Mexico into the United States, the California Gold Rush, and the proclaiming of Oregon as a territory, all contributed to the increasing number of maps published on the West" and helps to explain why so many accurate maps exist for the researcher today (Ristow 1985, 452).

Next, major secondary works were consulted for a listing of California settlements by date. Since no comprehensive list of communities established in California between 1846 and 1860 could be located, the focus of the study shifted to assembling a matrix of all known communities in California through 1860. The interest in creating up-to-date immigrant guides to sell to the influx of miners and the unusual number of people who kept detailed journals meant that a great deal of primary source material was available for this study (Ristow 1985, 22 and Bingham 1959, intro). Some of the better sources for settlement information were Bigler's *Chronicle of the West*, Derby's *The Topographical Reports of Lieutenant George H. Derby*, Peabody's *The Early Days and Rapid Growth of California*, Heckendorn and Wilson's *Miners and Business Men's Directory*, Hutton's *Glances at California*, Larkin's

First and Last Consul, Royce's *California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco*, Zieber's *California and Her Gold Regions*, and Marryat's *Mountain and Molehills: Recollections of a Burnt Journal*.

Secondary sources that helped to give the best encyclopedic information were Rensch's *Historic Spots in California*, Cross's *The Early Inns of California*, Gudde's *California Gold Camps and California Place Names*, The California Historical Survey Commission's *California County Boundaries*, Hanna's *Dictionary of California Land Names*, Donley's *Atlas of California*, Hornbeck's *California Patterns*, and Beck and Haase's *Historical Atlas of California*. These materials confirmed town names, dates of establishment, and present county boundaries of communities referenced from primary sources.

Works that best told the story of early California and helped to provide an understanding of the geography and the culture were Bingham's *California Gold*, Winther's *Express and Stagecoach Days in California*, Rush's *Historical Sketches of the Californias*, Cleland's *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills*, Hansen's *Wild Oats in Eden*, Kinnaird's *History of the Greater San Francisco Bay Region*, Scott's *The San Francisco Bay Area - A Metropolis in Perspective*, and the Works Progress Administration's *California, San Francisco*, and *Southern California* editions.

Unique resources for western settlement are Reps' *The Forgotten Frontier* and *Cities of the American West*, and Ristow's *American Maps and Mapmakers*, which are histories of urban planning. These works provided excellent demographic data, as did Loosley's *Foreign Born*

Population of California, Thompson's *Growth and Changes in California's Population*, and the California State Department of Finance Historical Census website.

Once this information was assembled, each settlement was researched to determine the presence of a post office and school created within the years covering the study. Post office information for the cities listed on the matrix was extracted in large part from Frickstad's *A Century of California Post Offices*. School data was found in Ferrier's *Ninety Years of Education in California*, Cloud's *Education in California*, and to a lesser degree, Falk's *The Development and Organization of Education in California*.

With the matrix ready for testing, primary and secondary source books were reviewed for statements describing the settlement of early California. Information describing each community's connection with the Gold Rush, an accurate illustration of the development of the towns, and any analysis concerning the pattern of settlement at the regional and state-wide level was isolated. The results from the literature and map review were then compared to the trends shown by the matrix to determine if the methodology accurately represented the settlement patterns within California from 1846 to 1860. Each city was similarly compared to the site and situation definitions in Jordan's *The Human Mosaic* to classify each community within geographic settlement terminology. These definitions were then compared within regions to reconstruct the pre-Rush, Rush, and post-Rush influences that resulted in a permanent change of the California landscape.

CHAPTER III POPULATION GEOGRAPHY OF THE GOLD RUSH

One of the difficulties in designing this study was the knowledge that the insignificant amount of settlement which occurred in California before the Gold Rush continued through the time of the study and went on to provide the foundation for some of the largest settlements in the state today. As the settlement landscape of a particular period incorporates and is influenced by what preceded it, it is necessary to make a brief foray into the time prior to 1846.

The first recorded names on the land in California were bestowed by Viscaino on his exploration of the Pacific coast in 1603 (Wagner 1966). Remarkably, most of the coastal features from Monterey to San Diego still bear the names given by this Spanish expedition (Rensch 1966, ix). Spain settled this corner of its vast empire between the years 1769 and 1821. Twenty-one Franciscan missions were constructed at fairly regular intervals from San Diego to Sonoma between 1769 to 1823 (Wells 1934, 51) (see Figure 1). Military presidios were built at the strategic ports of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara and San Diego (Rensch 1966, x). Pueblos (secular and non-military, where colonists from New Spain or Mexico settled) were established at San Jose in 1777, Los Angeles in 1781 and Branciforte in 1797 (Hornbeck 1983, 50). These three different kinds of nodes were the foci of population, formed the outlines of an European social system, and constituted the settlement skeleton on which the state would build.

The Spanish confined their settlement to the coastal margins.

California

Missions, Presidios and Pueblos

11

Spanish & Mexican
Periods

1769 - 1823

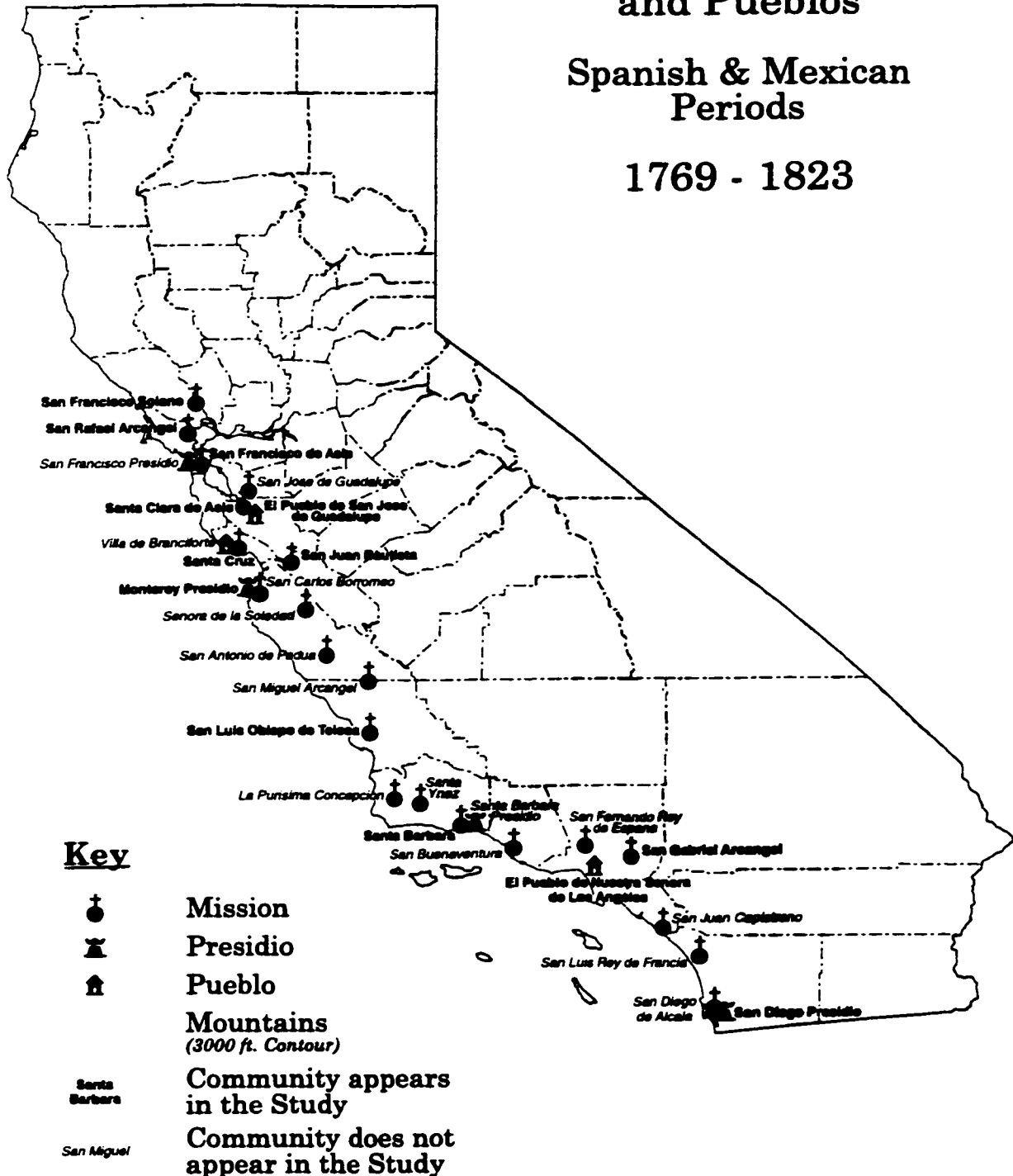


Figure 1. Spanish and Mexican Settlements 1769 - 1823

Soledad, Spain's most interior permanent settlement, was only 30 miles from the sea (Hunt 1929, 144). Hutchinson found the primary reasons the Spanish remained on the Pacific border were their total dependence on shipped supplies from Spain, the lack of colonists willing to participate in Spain's settlement of California (limiting pueblos to only three sites), and the higher concentration of Native American populations on the coast, which influenced the siting of the missions (Hutchinson 1969, 61). From 1812 to 1841, the Russians had agricultural settlements in Sonoma County to supply the members of the Russian-American Company, a major fur trader of its day (Beck and Haase 1985, 40). These Russian settlements never grew to more than 400 people and were disbanded before this study period, with Bodega being the only Russian-born community included (Beck and Haase 1985, 40).

At the end of Spanish rule in 1821, the Pacific coast was the domain of the clergy, the fur traders, and the military (Billington 1982). Observers noticed that what little population remained (2,000 non-Indians in 1845 [Watkins 1971, 25]) was clustered around the missions (Cross 1954, 3) and presidios (Winther 1936, 2). Authors of the period found California "a sparsely populated outpost on the long rim of the Mexican frontier" even 75 years after the coming of the Spaniards (Cleland 1951, 3). Rensch notes that as late as 1835, Yount's home in upper Napa county was "the only white habitation inland between Sonoma and the settlements on the Columbia River" (Rensch 1966, 239).

As the area passed to Mexican control, cattlemen shaped the settlement landscape. In 1833-34, the Mexican officials secularized the

missions, focusing on the rancho system of land grants for cattle raising (Rensch 1966, x). The rancho system created economically independent, self-sustaining communities based on huge grazing lands with a manorial estate housing several hundred people in the center (Cleland 1951, 52). With the development of the ranchos, the population nodes of the state spread out, creating a more even settlement of population along the coast, into the central valley, and along major east/west corridors of increasing overland traffic (Cleland 1951, 153). In 1847, the eastern-most outposts of northern California were the Murphy house on the Mokelumne River and the Johnson house on the Bear River (Bigler 1962, 71).

Overview of the Study Period

California was part of the region the United States acquired from Mexico as defined in the treaty of Guadalupe Hildago in 1848 (Beck and Haase 1985). The annexation by the United State had little immediate effect (Cleland 1951, 3). As Americans slowly came to occupy the land, “the missions were mostly a memory (Rush 1953, 61).” The United States government was intent on establishing a transportation system and the surveys and maps from 1848 were a remarkable resource for this study (Ristow 1985, 19). California became the 31st state of the union in 1850, keeping essentially its present boundaries (Falk 1968, 1 and California Historical Survey Commission 1973).

When the miners overran the new “Republic” between 1848 and 1852, all traditional western settlement patterns ceased to apply to the new state. Though the first trickles of the Gold Rush were felt in 1848, the true international tidal wave began in 1849, when California captured the

imagination of the world (Bowen 1978, 3). San Francisco was the premiere settlement of the Gold Rush and the center of transportation, commerce, and culture (Hutchinson 1969, 139). Small settlements proliferated because vacant land was cheap and plentiful, which caused a great rise in the founding of settlements (Reps 1979, 219). Towns were concentrated along rivers and ravines of the western watershed of the Sierra, and from 1849 to 1855, these communities swelled with transient populations (Winther 1936, 78).

Rensch describes the evolution from tents on river bars, to ranch houses on through roads, to inns, and finally centers of trade between important gold strikes (Rensch 1966, 206). These trading centers were often named in honor of the place of origin of the majority of the inhabitants (Bingham 1959, 105). The most populated waterways were the Feather, Yuba, Bear, American, and Consumnes Rivers in the north and the Mokelumne, Calaveras, Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and Merced Rivers in the south (Coburn 1984, 24).

Natural supply centers developed, with the largest communities settling in Sacramento, Marysville, and Stockton (Coburn 1984, 32). Northern supply centers were Downieville, Nevada City, Grass Valley, Coloma, and Placerville (Winther 1936, 78), with the northernmost centers served by Shasta, Yreka, and Crescent City (Coburn 1984, 33). Southern centers were Jackson, Mokelumne Hill, and Sonora (Winther 1936, 78). Weather conditions caused changes in supply center access and during high water, Oroville, Red Bluff, and Fresno replaced Sacramento, Stockton, and Marysville (Coburn 1984, 32). When long periods of drought caused

rivers to dry up, towns such as Tuolumne City and Boston ceased to exist (Reps 1979, 219). During the late 1850s, as hydraulic mining replaced individual claims and huge amounts of silt were washed downstream at record rates, towns such as Park's Bar were literally buried under debris (Gudde 1975, 259).

Reps also notes that the towns of Southern California were almost unaffected by the settlement of hundreds of thousands of argonauts, the only influence being that the land boom of 1849 "slowed and reversed the settlement of southern California" (Reps 1979, 239). Settlement patterns did not change in Southern California until bankruptcy, drought and the ruination of the cattle industry forced subdivision of rancho lands in the 1870s (Cleland 1951, 158).

Toward the end of the study period, substantially more dependable data are available for analysis regarding both population and settlement patterns. Thompson indicates that as of 1860, 20.7 percent of the population of California was classified as urban (towns of 2,500 or more) (Thompson 1955, 12). He also notes that such a number is heavily influenced by the number of people living in San Francisco, which continued to hold a high proportion of the population until 1880 (Thompson 1955, 12). Thompson states that there are four reasons why California evolved to be urban and not rural: 1) the employment of labor in agriculture was on a national decline in favor of industry and commerce; 2) mining and supply services were dominant; 3) many areas of California did not have enough water for traditional farming; and 4) trade with other Pacific countries was significant (Thompson 1955, 13). Reps writes that "miners in the tens of

thousands” returned to the east coast of the United States or pursued strikes in Nevada, Colorado, and Montana (Reps 1979, 206). He claims that “the majority of those who rushed into California probably drifted to coastal cities and resumed trades and occupations” (Reps 1979, 206).

Coburn then goes as far to say that at least half of the migrants who came to California during the Gold Rush never became miners, but settled where earlier Franciscan missions had developed agriculture (Coburn 1984, 27). The mining towns that wished to survive post-Rush had to find a new way to support their population. Most chose the option which was stimulated by a favorable climate and a rapidly growing population - agriculture (Reps 1979, 206). In 1850, there were 57,800 people who identified themselves as miners and only 2,000 who appeared in the census as farmers. In 1860, there were 82,600 miners and 35,800 farmers (Hutchinson 1969, 175). Farming took hold in communities such as San Jose, Los Angeles, Salinas, Weaverville, Colusa, and Red Bluff (Whiting 1960, 78). Last, but not least, fire probably had a major role to play in which communities thrived and which perished, which is a theory further explored in the body of this work.

This thesis seeks to explore whether the human occupance of a landscape of a previous period can be accurately recreated by mapping communities confirmed to possess both a post office and a school. The significance of this pattern rests on knowing how many people were in each of these communities. It is this geographic feature, population, that is the least accurate in this study. One of the difficulties is the lack of credible enumeration of the population during such a formidable time

period. Not only is this study taking place during the change between two governments, but data collection is also complicated by factors such as the length of time between the period of study and this publication, the technology available to track population shifts in the 1840s and 1850s, the huge size of the study area, the transient nature of the population involved, and perhaps the most important component, the uneven desire of local, state, and federal officials to conduct an accurate count.

One piece of evidence arguing the perfunctory nature of population figures is that a majority of the 1850 entries contain many zeros, e.g., 1,000, 3,000, but by the 1860 census, zeros are replaced by other numerals. Thompson describes the problem very concisely by stating “miners wandered into areas far off the beaten track, difficult to reach and unknown to everyone but the few people living there” (Thompson 1955, 47). Since the nature of this migration was indeed a gold rush, opportunities for riches made the population highly mobile, encouraged secrecy, and caused them to move quickly. All-in-all, these factors created the circumstance where the degree of under-enumeration involved can only be guessed at (Thompson 1955, 9).

The officials of the new state of California were so dissatisfied with the federal census of 1850 (as the basis for representation in Congress) that the fledgling government took a census of their own in 1852 (Thompson 1955, 9). One estimate hypothesizes that 20 percent of the miners who came in 1849 died within 6 months of leaving their homes (Hutchinson 1969, 119). Even though these numbers contain obvious difficulties, the records that exist for this period show definitive evidence of migration patterns and

cannot be dismissed when examining the story of settlement.

Population numbers before 1848 depict both interesting settlement patterns and the difficulties with population data. Cross asserts that during the 280 years of Spanish possession, the white population of California was never greater than 3,000 and most likely was under 1,000 until 1800 (Cross 1954, 3). Royce estimates there were 990 whites in 1790, 1,800 in 1800, and 2,130 in 1810 (Royce 1897, 20). Hunt states that in 1820, California was populated by 2,000 soldiers, families, priests, and Russian employees, with less than 1,000 residents in all the pueblos or private ranchos (Hunt 1929, 180). Hutchinson believes there were 3,720 Europeans in California in 1820 (Hutchinson 1969, 64).

From 1833 to 1846, the most rapid population growth occurred within the triangle of Santa Barbara, San Diego, and San Bernardino (Hutchinson 1969, 69). Mofras reports the following population figures for 1842: San Diego and Los Angeles at 1300; Monterey, San Juan, and Branciforte at 1,000; Santa Barbara, San Jose, Yerba Buena (San Francisco), and Sonoma at 800; and a scattered population in non-distinct settlements totaling 1,100 (Loosley 1971, 12). Numbers for 1846 include San Diego at 300, Monterey at 1,000, and San Jose at 800. The largest community at the start of the study was Los Angeles at 1,200, which was 200 more persons than Monterey. These population figures, though jumbled and contradictory, do show that population centers before 1848 were small (2,500 is the census threshold for a town) and the old mission sites were indeed the highest population concentrations in California.

Though education instruction was generally available at the

missions, Falk theorizes that the Spanish colonists were “beating down a wilderness and there was precious little time for formal schooling” (Falk 1968, 12). When Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821, the mechanism to deliver instruction was destroyed. Settlers during this period who wanted their children educated sent them to better schools and colleges in Mexico and Paris (Falk 1968, 12). During the Mexican War from 1846 to 1848, any makeshift schools that may have taught primary/elementary topics on an informal basis closed (Falk 1968, 14). Ferrier finds that the frequent fires of this period caused such a strain on public money that schools could not be given priority (Ferrier 1937, 52). There were two Mexican schools in California at the time of the 1846 American occupation. Both schools, one in Monterey and the other in San Jose, were abandoned by the teachers with the arrival of the Americans (Ferrier 1937, 27). There continued to be no post offices or organized postal services for these communities, though the original mission, presidio, and pueblo settlements (along with the rancho houses) probably operated as identifiable locations for military dispatches or personal letters.

The population trends during the study period seem relatively consistent. Rush concludes that the total non-Indian population of California in 1846 was under 7,000, with less than 900 Americans included in that number (Rush 1953, 75). Hutchinson notes that there were slightly less than 8,000 persons of European origin in California in 1846 (Hutchinson 1969, 64). Winther asserts that “probably no more than 20,000 persons including some 4,000 Indian proselytes, were living in this western country when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildago (February 2, 1848)

was signed” (Winther 1936, 1). Reps states that in 1848, California had an American population estimated at 4,000 (Reps 1979, 199).

The “48’ers,” numbering somewhere between 6,000 and 10,000, tended to be populations from Mexico, Latin America, Oregon, Hawaii, and transient Mormon colonists who were the first to answer the Gold Rush’s call (Hutchinson 1969, 72). Most were back home by the end of the second summer (Hutchinson 1969, 125). Native-born Californios were estimated at 10,000 in 1849, with Los Angeles as the major concentration of settlement (Hutchinson 1969, 124). Bingham notes that “gold fever, until now only a local outbreak in a remote and almost-unheard-of place, all at once became an international epidemic” (Bingham 1959, 38). Thomas refers to 1849 as the “tsunami of immigration” and by the end of 1849, 80,000 miners, mainly from the East Coast, had come to California (Thomas 1858, xi). This movement of individuals continued unabated through 1850 and 1851 (Reps 1979, 199).

It is impossible to accurately estimate the population of California in this heady and formative period, for the degree to which counties pursued accurate population counts was completely arbitrary (Thompson 1955, 9). The 1850 census records for San Francisco County were burned and records for Contra Costa and Santa Clara were lost in transit to Washington D.C. (Thompson 1955, 9). Still, the count for the remaining 24 counties was 69,894 in 1850, 215,122 in 1852 (excluding El Dorado, which was not actually enumerated), and 293,422 for 1860 (California State Department of Finance Historical Census website, 2000). Winther’s mantra that “it is extremely difficult to give accurate statistics on the

population of California towns and those given here are only rough estimates at best" (Winther 1936, 77) holds for Loosley, who estimates 14,000 persons for 1848, and Bancroft's published number of 112,000 for 1850 (Loosley 1971, 1). Thompson declares that the 1850 population "was no fewer than 140,000 and not more than 165,000" (Thompson 1955, 11). Peabody puts the population of 1857 at 538,002 (Peabody 1874, 120)!

Scholars consider the end of the Gold Rush as 1852 (Watkins 1971, 40). That may have been the end of the tidal wave, but California still averaged 30,000 migrants a year from 1852 to 1860 (Watkins 1971, 40). Hutchinson sums up this migration by stating that "gold transformed California from a sleepy isolated pastoral land into a bustling, basically urban, very cosmopolitan, and socially fluid member of the world community" (Hutchinson 1969, 110). Details about this population are hit and miss. Thompson records that in 1850, there were 1,220 males to every female (Thompson 1955, 47). By 1860, the sex ratio was 256 to 1 (Thompson 1955, 47).

Watkins notes that most were young men in their twenties who were sons from secure, if not successful families. He determines that from the cost of at least \$400 a person to reach the gold fields, which was approximately 3 years of wages for an average worker of the period (Watkins 1971, 40). Most importantly, the California gold towns were international communities, "meeting places for men of all nations, religions, and races" (Marryat 1962, v). Bingham describes the miners as "a polyglot horde from all parts of the globe" including "ribbon clerks, mechanics, illiterates, wealthy men, and brave cowards" (Bingham 1959,

17). The 1860 census records for California indicate exactly what a cosmopolitan experience the Gold Rush was. Enumerated were 34,935 persons from China, 33,147 from Ireland, 21,646 from Germany, 15,897 from Britain, 9,150 "Latins," 8,462 from France, 5,438 from Canada, 4,086 "Negros," and 2,805 from Italy (Hutchinson 1969, 124).

Falk follows up on one of the primary components of this study's methodology by stating that "the state school system during much of the 1850s existed chiefly on paper. It would take 10 to 12 years to get the educational show well on the road (Falk 1968, 15)." The interest in education during the beginning of the Gold Rush was limited to ministers and soldiers on the pioneer front (Ferrier 1937, 120). Only one school existed in California in 1849 and that was in San Francisco (Ferrier 1937, 29). Other schools taught by pioneer Protestant ministers were noted in Southern California (Ferrier 1937, 29). By 1860, state records show there were less than 400 public schools in California, many of those in large communities such as San Francisco, which had 52, and Sacramento, which had 37 (Ferrier 1937, 77).

CHAPTER IV THE FOUR SETTLEMENT REGIONS

Settlement pattern scholars such as Royce, Gudde, and Reps clearly describe the development of early California in general terms. Since the focus of this study is to first define a settlement, second to identify each settlement, and third to test the pattern created by these settlements against the conclusions published by these scholars, it is appropriate to analyze the results using Jordan's definitions of site and situation (Jordan 1986, 342). Site refers to the physical location of the settlement and the features of the landscape that contribute to the growth of a community in a particular spot. Situation describes the historical or human reasons that a community becomes desirable or useful in a particular location. Site is a permanent feature, such as proximity to a river or the advantage of locating on a promontory. Situation fluctuates with the era, such as the importance of beaver pelts and the draw of hot springs. Using the Gold Rush as the "trigger," this work assesses the influence of this event within the Jordan model. This thesis seeks to explain why these cities were sustained beyond the trigger and what permanent change in the geographic landscape of California was caused by these settlements.

As Thompson so aptly puts it, "if the state is treated as a whole, many of the more interesting and significant features of population growth and change will be obscured" (Thompson 1955, 1). The Jordan model also defines situation as regional location or regional setting (Jordan 1986, 342). Since the towns included in the study break the state fairly cleanly into four geographic regions, analysis of the matrix communities was organized by region (see Figure 2). Each region is analyzed in terms of pre-Gold Rush,

California

Settlement Regions

1846 - 1860

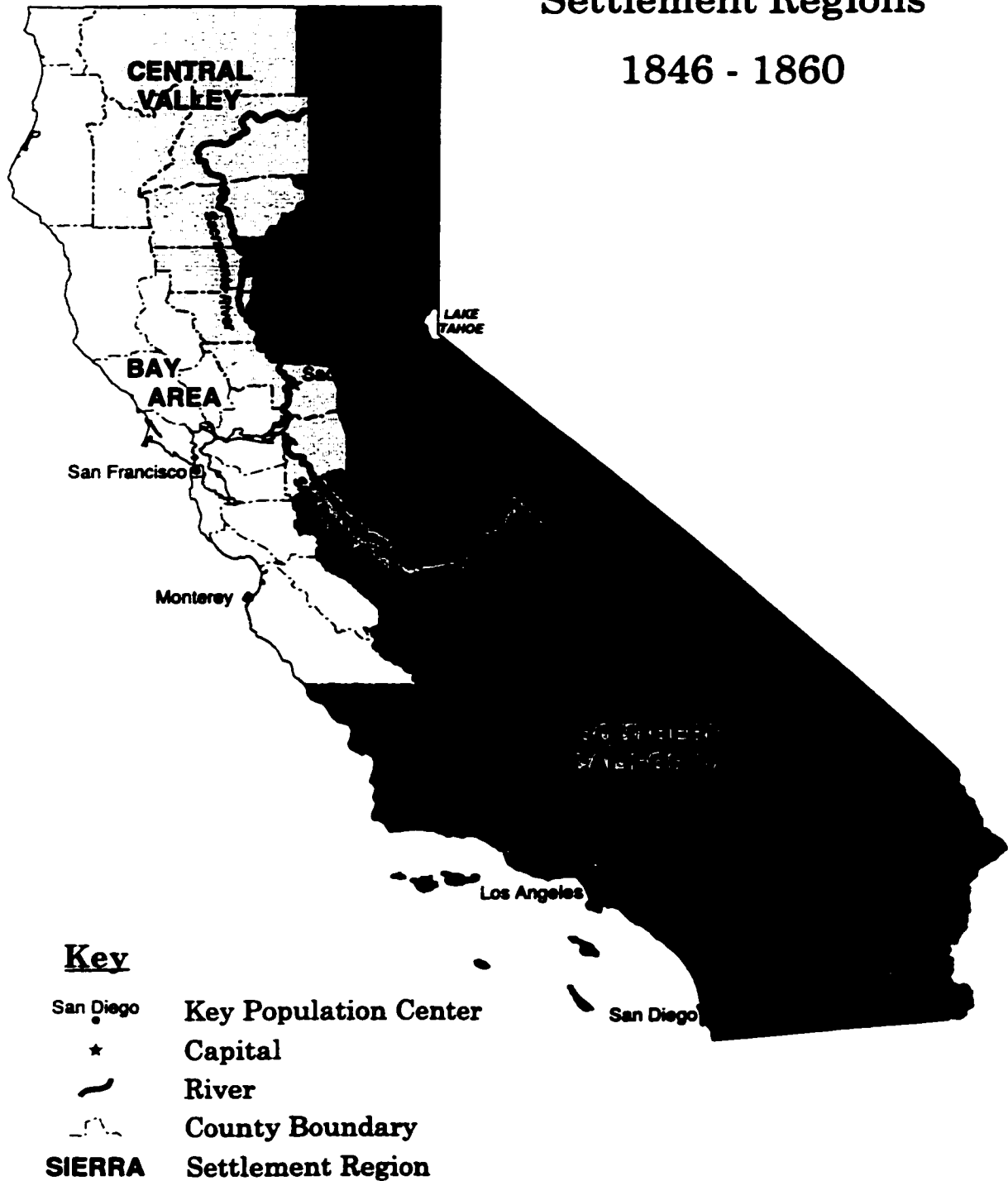


Figure 2. Settlement Regions 1846 - 1860

Gold Rush, and post-Gold Rush trends.

Bay Area Region

The first settlement region of the state can be defined as Bay Area, which encompasses the 28 communities within 13 counties west of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers and north of San Luis Obispo (see Figure 3). The pattern created by the founding dates for these communities is significant pre-Gold Rush activity, significant Gold Rush activity, and insignificant post-Gold Rush activity.

Pre-1848

The eleven Bay Area towns created before 1848 are listed by founding year:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Monterey	Pre-1846
San Francisco	Pre-1846
Santa Clara	Pre-1846
San Jose	Pre-1846
Santa Cruz	Pre-1846
San Juan	Pre-1846
San Rafael	Pre-1846
Sonoma	Pre-1846
Woodside	Pre-1846
Bodega	Pre-1846
Benicia	1847

Table 1 - Bay Area Settlement Pre 1848

The first eight population centers are categorized as colonial cities. They shared a nurturing by Spain and 7 (excepting San Jose) are mission sites (Wells 1934, 51). The purpose and influence of mission settlements is explained in detail within the preceding section (see page 10). Even though they have a common heritage, the distinct functions of these communities before the Gold Rush varied. Monterey was both a defensive sheltered-

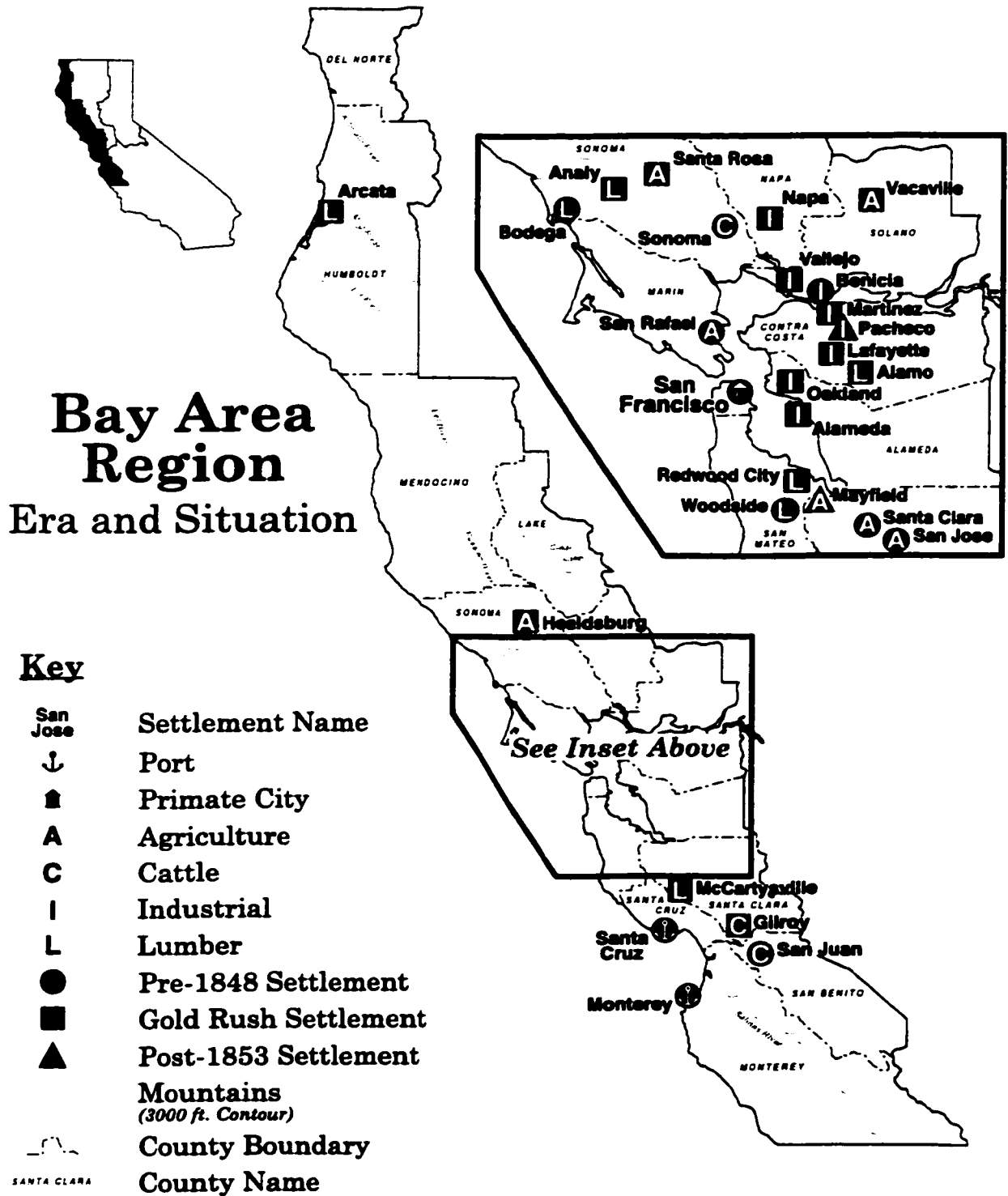


Figure 3. Bay Area Region

harbor and a trade route portage site created between the Salinas River and the San Lucia Mountains in 1770 (Rush 1953, 36). The situation of this primate city was that it served as both the Spanish and Mexican headquarters of California for 80 years (Thomas 1858, xi).

San Francisco began as a peninsula defensive site along the west shore of San Francisco Bay with both the mission and the presidio founded in 1776 (Johnson 1968, 16). The town's situation was that it was the best sheltered harbor along the California coast and was located at the mouth of the main waterway to the interior. Santa Clara was founded in 1777 as a mission site between Saratoga Creek and the Guadalupe River (Delorme 1986, 115). The situation of the this settlement was the concentrated number of Native Americans found in this location, as well as its proximity to the presidio of San Francisco and the pueblo at San Jose (Hutchinson 1969, 57). The pueblo of San Jose was established as a trade-route confluence site of the Guadalupe River and Los Gatos Creek in 1777 (Rush 1953, 44). Because of frequent flooding, the pueblo relocated to its present site in 1779 (Cross 1954, 110). The situation of San Jose was its bay access along the Guadalupe and its fertile soil for farming.

Santa Cruz is categorized as a defensive acropolis site and a trade route portage site founded adjacent to the San Lorenzo River in 1791 (Kyle 1990, 422). The situation of this site was its proximity to the Pacific Ocean and its location relative to Monterey and Santa Clara, making Santa Cruz a necessary node along the El Camino Real. The creation of Santa Cruz also illustrates the lack of new settlements in this region of New Spain for more than 20 years. A hidden pueblo included in the study with Santa Cruz was

named Branciforte and was established by Spain in 1797 next to the mission created at Santa Cruz. (Rush 1953, 49). As a consequence of its overcast location, the town was never successful as an agricultural community (Reps 1979, 102).

The mission at San Juan was also created in 1797 as a defensive acropolis site and a trade-route bridge point site along Pescadero Creek between the Santa Cruz Mountains and the Gabilan Range (DeLorme 1986, 19). The situation of this mission was its proximity to Native American populations and its necessity as a node between Monterey and Santa Cruz for the missions planned for the central valley (Johnson 1968, 10). Here the Spanish built the mission at San Juan (Baustista), which has the dubious distinction of being sited directly on the San Andreas Fault, where it thrives today (Rensch 1966, 310).

San Rafael was first recorded as a mission site in 1817 (Kyle 1990, 175). Jordan would categorize this settlement as a defensive sheltered harbor site along the northwest edge of San Francisco Bay (Jordan 1986, 345). The situation of this adjunct mission was its sunny location, for the fathers at the San Francisco mission believed that sunlight would improve the health of Native Americans residing in overcast San Francisco (Wollenberg 1985, 47). Perhaps there existed a funding or review cycle for colonial settlements in New Spain, for the identical 20-year gap occurs between the founding of San Juan and San Rafael.

The town of Sonoma began in 1823 and is the only settlement included in the study that was created by the Mexican government in California (Reps 1979, 103). Sonoma is classified as trade-route portage site

along Sonoma Creek by Arrowhead Mountain (DeLorme 1986, 94). Sonoma is a “plaza centered” planned community, echoing the Spanish “Law of the Indies” settlement design (Rensch 1966, 528). Like the other colonial city models within the region, a mission was built at Sonoma (Wells 1934, 51). The situation of this settlement was its proximity to Native Americans and bay access to the hides or “California banknotes” raised and processed here (Hornbeck 1983, 55).

With the secularization of the missions in 1834, civic settlements rose around the ruins of New Spain’s population centers. Yerba Buena was established by Mission Dolores (San Francisco) in 1834 (Reps 1981, 19). Secularization brought Santa Cruz and Branciforte together under the new name of Pueblo de Figueroa (Reps 1979, 103). Despite the significant boosterism for the new name by Mexican officials, the community retained the name Santa Cruz (Reps 1979, 103). San Juan was later known as San Juan de Castro Rancho in 1846 (Rensch 1970, 310).

Though the San Francisco region had long been occupied as a population center, at the start of the study period in 1846, Samuel Brannan recounted sailing into the harbor and counting only 9 houses, all adobe, “and most of them poor at that” (Bigler 1962, 56). Once Brannan's ship disembarked, the population of Yerba Buena swelled to 200. Yerba Buena finally returned to calling itself San Francisco in 1847 (Hanna 1951, 361). San Francisco grew steadily to 458 persons in 1847 and by 1848, San Francisco had 1,000 residents, making it unique among settlements of the time; significant population centers such as Monterey, Los Angeles, and other coastal towns were showing no growth (Winther 1936, 2).

The three non-colonial models included in the pre-Gold Rush sample represent limited expansion to meet the needs of the resident population. Woodside was founded as a trade-route confluence site of the Bear and San Francisquito Creeks in 1836 (Kyle 1990, 376). The situation was its proximity to a remarkable redwood lumber resource and bay access for this raw material down the San Francisquito Creek (Scott 1985, 32). The rise of Woodside is directly linked to the population's need to look beyond the now-abandoned missions for housing.

Bodega was recorded as a settlement in 1843 (Drake 1990, 93). The town was organized from the remains of a Russian trade-route portage site along the Salmon River, 4 miles east of the sheltered harbor at Bodega Bay (Mullen 1974, 32). The Russian-American Company had created a saw mill and a potato farm here in sunnier climes to support the defensive site situated north at Fort Ross (Drake 1990, 93). The outpost became a community two years after the Russians left their entire holdings to Sutter (LeBaron 1985, 5). The situation was not only an entrepreneur capitalizing on the improvements of others, but also Sutter's wish to farm California and fill the agricultural gap created by the collapse of the missions.

Benicia was settled in 1847 as a defensive river meander site on the northeast edge of the Carquinez Strait (Marryat 1962, 22). Though its primary situation reflected its potential value as a strategic point, Mexican businessmen created a trade-route portage site here for the shipping and warehousing of goods between increasing Bay populations and Sutter's inland colony up river (Royce 1897, 213).

These pre-Gold Rush settlements show that the colonial city centers

of New Spain continued to attract population beyond the life of the missions. Though each community was well situated as a defensive site, it was trade route site appeal that made these developments continue as the trigger of the Gold Rush approached. Both the mission settlements and the lack of mission goods and services created the situations that made these communities attractive to population. Each of the pre-1848 sites will be reviewed for Gold Rush settlement influence in the following section.

Gold Rush

With the discovery of gold in 1848, the entire geographic landscape of the Bay Area region was permanently changed. Cleland concludes that “The Gold Rush created two Californias. North of Monterey, the huge immigration overwhelmed the native population and transformed drowsy adobe pueblos into sprawling cosmopolitan cities” (Cleland 1951, 3). San Francisco was the undisputed premiere settlement of the California Gold Rush and fits both Jordan’s definition of a primate city and an urban hearth area (Jordan 1986, 313). Population figures for San Francisco during the Rush are reported at 1,000 in 1848, 5,000 in 1849, 30,000 in 1850, and 42,000 in 1852 (Bingham 1959, 53). Though the previous numbers evidence an indisputable dominance, it is important to remember that San Francisco was subject to great fluctuations in population. Any reported numbers are difficult to trust because the miners spent winters in the City and springs and summers in the gold fields (Reps 1979, 157). By the end of 1848, San Francisco contained one quarter of the total population for the state, supporting Cleland’s claim (Royce 1897, 399).

Hutchinson also asserts that San Francisco achieved both financial

and commercial dominance of the state from 1848 to the 20th century (Hutchinson 1969). The settlement's situation is simple to understand. It is the most direct, protected access to the gold fields from the Pacific Ocean. Though other Bay Area sites were also on the water and closer to the gold fields, San Francisco already had commerce, military defense, wharfs, accommodations, and most importantly, it was established as the confluence of transportation for the west coast (Wollenberg 1985, 76). Goods that were coming into California came through San Francisco, not Benicia or Woodside. Goods that were going out of California sailed from San Francisco, not Oakland or San Rafael. The strength of this city's site and situation can be seen in its perseverance. The community was destroyed by fire on 6 individual occasions between December 1849 and May 1851 (Scott 1985, 31). A multitude of towns could have taken over for San Francisco, but none could match its overwhelmingly advantageous placement. The city was always rebuilt, regardless of the expense or inconvenience.

Monterey, easily northern California's most important community from 1770 to 1846, found its population diminishing during the Gold Rush, while communities around the San Francisco Bay were growing (Rensch 1966, 235). The settlement's site was still a fine harbor, but its situation was too far from the mines of the Sierra to be an attractive portage. Monterey went from a population of 1,000 in 1846 to 1,850 in 1849, but lost population to the gold fields and was down to 1,092 in 1850 (California State Department of Finance Historical Census website 2000).

Monterey lost the American capital to San Jose in 1849 in part because of San Jose's situation of close proximity to the Almaden

Quicksilver Mines (Scott 1985, 30). Mercury was plentiful in Almaden and its use was necessary for extracting the riches within the eastern counties (WPA 1939, 382). San Jose and Santa Clara also improved their situation by their abundance of crop-growing acres in close proximity to the Bay. As the state's population grew, such agricultural riches were in high demand and the easy transportation directly from the fields to the hungry miners underscored the positive situation present for both cities. Population numbers for San Jose show 800 persons in 1846 and 2,000 in 1854, showing a healthy increase in this mining and agricultural area (Thomas 1858).

Since San Francisco was extremely underdeveloped to accommodate all who wished access to the gold fields from the Pacific in 1848, the situation of Santa Cruz as a significant port greatly improved. Santa Cruz became a jumping off point for the mines in its own right by building inns, stocking supplies, and allowing miners to bypass the shady-dealings and congestion in San Francisco in favor of a short stage ride to Alviso to catch a direct boat to Sacramento (Marryat 1962, 45). Woodside and Bodega gained status as the miners desperately needed lumber for every aspect of their quest, from additional ships to tent poles and from rockers and sluices to temporary sidewalks (Caughey 1970, 202). The towns that existed during the Gold Rush burnt down with great frequency, so milled lumber was always needed to rebuild (Hartman 1964, 32).

The situation of San Juan, San Rafael, Sonoma, and Benicia as established suppliers of food and leather within easy access of a water route to the miners kept these communities as important players during the Gold Rush (Scott 1985, 33). Though San Francisco was the primate city for

California during this period, the sheer amount of demands necessitated by the swelling population led to other communities adopting important roles as well. It was Benicia, not San Francisco where the Masons constructed California's first Masonic Hall in 1850, even though that town only had a population of 1,000 persons (Rensch 1966, 514). As with the other Bay Area settlements in place before 1848, the demands for access, supplies, and shelter by those headed to find their fortune in the Sierra and the continued need for raw materials to support the camps over time gave these towns a purpose beyond gathering points for post-mission populations. The Gold Rush converted the settlements already in place into a support system for the miners. By creating the demand for services, the Gold Rush established a degree of permanency to these frontier settlements, causing a permanent change in the geographic landscape of California.

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Martinez	1849
Napa	1849
Oakland	1850
Arcata	1850
Redwood City	1850
Gilroy	1850
McCartysville	1850
Vacaville	1850
Vallejo	1850
Alamo	1851
Analy	1851
Santa Rosa	1851
Alameda	1852
Lafayette	1852
Healdsburg	1852

Table 2 - Bay Area Region Gold Rush Settlement

Along with the institution of loose-knit communities, the Gold Rush also created the need for additional communities within the Bay Area region. Wollenberg emphasizes that “many of the new Bay Area communities that were formed in the early Gold Rush period served as ports linking important economic activities to San Francisco, via the bay” (Wollenberg 1985, 110). Reps concurs by stating that the Gold Rush “caused San Francisco’s rapid growth and, by enormously speeding the pace of immigration to California, brought prosperity to other new or established towns as well” (Reps 1979, 192). The methodology of this study sites the creation of 15 settlements within the region between 1848 and 1852.

Martinez was established in 1849 as a trade route portage site on the south side of the Carquinez Strait across from Benicia (Rensch 1970, 64). The town’s situation included easy water access from San Francisco Bay to the gold fields, its position as the terminus of the road from San Jose, agricultural production, and the mirror of the warehousing and shipping situation enjoyed by Benicia on the other side of the Strait (Scott 1985, 29). Shipping was so pervasive in this community that Martinez’ first schoolhouse was the remnants of a ship moved to dry ground in 1851 (Cloud 1952, 35).

Napa was also constructed in 1849 as a trade route confluence site of Napa River and Napa Creek (Kyle 1990, 235). Its situation was that needed agricultural products grown in the Napa Valley were easily shipped to the Bay and processed or distributed for the increasing population. Napa recorded 159 residents in 1850 (California State Department of Finance Historical Census website 2000).

Oakland was created as a trade route confluence site between Alameda Harbor and San Francisco Bay in 1850 (Griffin 1957, 95).

Oakland's situation seemed a natural development in its position across the Bay from San Francisco. Like other settlements, Oakland was created as a lumber depot (Wollenberg 1985, 110). Since the mode of transportation was river traffic, Oakland's situation was not as desirable as communities along the strait; it only recorded a population of 150 as late as 1852 (Kyle 1990, 21). Oakland eventually developed into an alternative housing site to rough and tumble San Francisco (Scott 1985, 33).

Far to the north, Arcata (originally known as Uniontown) was a sheltered harbor portage site founded on the northeast side of Humboldt Bay in 1850 (Rensch 1970, 62). Lumber was such an important commodity, so absolutely essential for the gold mining practices of the period, that it was harvested here, hundreds of miles from any gold activity, to meet the overwhelming demand (WPA 1939, 352). Uniontown counted 190 residents in 1850 (California State Department of Finance Historical Census website 2000). Redwood City was established as a trade route portage site along Redwood Creek between the Santa Cruz Mountains and San Francisco Bay in 1850 (WPA 1940, 373). It was first known as the Embarcadero and its situation was also as an important lumber point for logging operations within the Peninsula and East Bay Hills (Wollenberg 1985, 110).

Gilroy was introduced as a trade route nodality on Llagas Creek in the Coyote Valley in 1850 (Gudde 1949, 127). The town's situation emphasized its fine cattle-raising landscape, which helped to feed the miners (WPA 1939, 383). McCartysville, which is now called Saratoga, was

founded as a trade route portage site along the Saratoga River in 1850 (Foster 1989, 245). The community's situation at the entrance to the redwood groves of the Santa Cruz Mountains and its direct access to the Bay via the Saratoga River helped to fill the demand for lumber needed to build and rebuild San Francisco throughout the Gold Rush (Lantis 1977, 238).

Vacaville was established between the Alamo and Ulatis Creeks in 1850 as an important nodality on the overland route to the Central Valley (Hanna 1951, 341). Vacaville became a significant food producing area whose situation between the populations of San Francisco and Sacramento made its bounty accessible to both groups (Rensch 1970, 523). Vallejo started as a trade route confluence site of the Mare Island Strait and the Carquinez Strait in 1850 (Reps 1979, 223). The town's situation as a central location with strait access helped it to develop as a significant depot for local farmers further north in Solano County (Wollenberg 1985, 111). Vallejo's outstanding location, coupled with head-citizen Mariano Vallejo's generosity, led to the creation of the state capital here for the year 1851 (Gudde 1949, 376).

Bay Area towns settled in 1851 included Alamo, Analy and Santa Rosa. Alamo was organized as a trade route bridge point site along the San Ramon Creek between the Black Hills and the Trampas Ridge (Slocum 1974, 432). The name Alamo is Spanish for poplar tree and groves of poplar and cottonwood were associated with this site before the Gold Rush (Gudde 1949, 6). Alamo's situation changed with the demand for lumber by the mining population, as well as the town's strategic placement as the only

post office between Martinez and Mission San Jose during the study period (WPA 1940, 416). Analy was founded as a trade route confluence site between the Atascadero Creek and the Laguna de Santa Rosa in Sonoma County (LeBaron 1985, 78). Analy's situation was that it allowed access to needed redwood and pine lumber resources along water courses that led to the Russian River and, ultimately the Pacific Ocean (Hansen 1962, 109). The city of Santa Rosa officially began as a trade route confluence site of the Santa Rosa and Matanzas Creeks (Rush 1953, 68). The town's situation was favorable agricultural land adjacent to both Bay and ocean tributaries, which made Santa Rosa a significant trading center for the North Bay (Scott 1985, 19).

The Bay Area communities started in 1852 were Alameda, Lafayette, and Healdsburg. Alameda was created as a trade route portage site on a large offshore island along the east rim of the San Francisco Bay across the inner harbor from Oakland (Delorme 1986, 104). This community served the miners as a locale for distribution of agricultural goods, game, and charcoal (Kinnard 1966, 497). As with the other service centers filling the demands of the Gold Rush, Alameda's situation was its fine proximity to transportation routes and sought-after resources. Work Progress Administration writers note that East Bay "small game hunters found a ready market in San Francisco for their kill, and the thick strands of oaks likewise brought no difficulty in marketing products in the growing transbay city and in the Mother Lode's boom towns" (WPA 1940, 409).

Lafayette began as a trade route confluence site at the Las Trampas Creek and Walnut Creek (Hanna 1951, 165). The town's situation was that

the landowner decided to erect a flour mill, capitalizing on the demand for grinding wheat closer to the booming population of the Bay Area and along supply routes for the miners (Griffin 1957, 98). Before the mill was in place in Lafayette, grains had to be transported to San Jose and then returned to the Bay population centers (WPA 1939, 586). Healdsburg was established along the Russian River in the Alexander Valley as a trade route crossroads site on the main road to Mendocino County (Scott 1985, 39). The town's situation was its proximity to redwood, as well as its association with nearby agricultural development on the Santa Rosa Plain (Mullen 1974, 13).

1853-1860

Once the great migration triggered by the Gold Rush subsided in 1853, only a handful of communities were founded within the Bay Area Region:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Pacheco	1853
Mayfield	1854

Table 3 - Bay Area Region Settlement 1853-1860

Pacheco was created in 1853 as a trade route confluence site of the Walnut, Grayson and Pacheco Creeks in Contra Costa County (Slocum 1974, 454). Pacheco's situation was its location as a processing, warehousing, and shipping point for the Diablo Valley fruit orchards (Gudde 1949, 248). A grist mill was established in 1857 to grind the valley wheat crops and package them for shipping out of Martinez (WPA 1939, 586). Mayfield (now merged with the city of Palo Alto) was founded as a trading nodality in proximity to the San Francisquito Creek in Santa Clara

County in 1854 (Gudde 1949, 208). The town's situation was a vast hay operation necessary to fuel land transportation throughout the Gold Rush. Legend has it that the recording clerk "mistook the first letter of Hayfield for an M" when handling the official paperwork for the settlement (WPA 1939, 375). Uniontown changed its name to Arcata in 1860 (Rensch 1966, 99).

An analysis of the 28 Bay Area Region communities represented in the study reveals the effects of location. The first six settlements occurred on the Pacific coast, followed by the development of 16 towns along the rim of San Francisco Bay. As the Gold Rush progressed, the remaining 6 cities sprang up along the tributaries to the Bay, especially in fertile regions accessible to San Francisco and Sacramento by water. The study found that 8 settlements were founded under Spanish rule, 3 settlements under Mexican rule, 15 settlements were established during the Gold Rush, and 2 settlements were created after the Gold Rush. Such a pattern indicates the importance of the Gold Rush in triggering the expansion of settlement in the Bay Area Region.

The 28 communities were sited for different purposes. The five sheltered harbors were established first, followed by the nine portage sites, eight confluences sites, and two bridge point sites, which shows the significance of water transportation in early California. The remaining four nodalities were all agricultural communities developed during and after the Gold Rush, further emphasizing that agriculture was a late-blooming response to the Gold Rush population influx. The situations of these Bay Area study communities also tell of the importance of the Gold

Rush. Lumber and agriculture were the germination of nine communities each, followed by warehousing with five towns, port facilities for three towns, and cattle raising centers for two towns. Supplying the miners with raw materials for food, clothing, and housing made those sites in proximity to such resources fertile ground for settlement.

<u>County</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>
Alameda		8,927
Contra Costa		5,328
Humboldt		2,694
Marin	323	3,334
Monterey	1,872	4,739
Napa	405	5,521
San Benito*		1,460
San Francisco		56,802
San Mateo		3,214
Santa Clara		11,912
Santa Cruz	643	4,944
Solano	580	7,169
Sonoma	560	11,867
Total Bay Area	4,383	127,911

*city data used; no county count available

Table 4 - Bay Area Region Census Counts

Population figures for the 28 communities tell an interesting story. The only drops in population occur in Monterey and Sonoma, the two premiere cities of Mexican California. The Spanish and American-founded cities increase in population over the study period. County census information shows total population in the Bay Area Region was 4,383 in 1850 and 127,911 in 1860. These numbers represent an overall increase of 2818% during the study period with every county registering more people in 1860 than in 1850. Such a huge change obviously results from great underenumeration for 1850, but this increase does reflect known

phenomena. San Francisco was the premiere city of California during the study period and that position would remain unchallenged throughout the 19th century (Hutchinson 1969, 139). Between 1852 and 1856, the City by the Bay held as much as 4/5 of the overall state population (Royce 1897, 399).

Reps asserts that the rapid growth of San Francisco caused prosperity to trickle down to other towns and created new settlements (Reps 1979, 192). Of the 10 communities in the Bay Area Region formed before the Gold Rush, all seem to reap the benefits of their proximity to San Francisco and their role as the suppliers of raw materials for the mining population inland. San Jose added population over the same period of time (2,000 in 1854; 3,000 in 1860), due to the success of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines immediately south of the city (Reps 1979, 172). Napa's impressive increase (159 in 1850; 2,378 in 1860), suggests the importance of agriculture in post-Gold Rush California (California State Department of Finance Historical Census website 2000). Oakland also thrived (150 in 1850; 1,543 in 1860), signaling the necessity of lumber for a growing Bay Area (California State Department of Finance Historical Census website 2000). The Bay Area Region study communities overwhelmingly reflect a population increase over the study period and do not support the myth of "the great bust," which many scholars use to characterize California after 1852.

Central Valley Region

The second settlement region of the state can be defined as Central Valley, which encompasses 9 communities within 5 counties along the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers north of Stanislaus County (see Figure 4). The pattern created by the founding dates for these communities

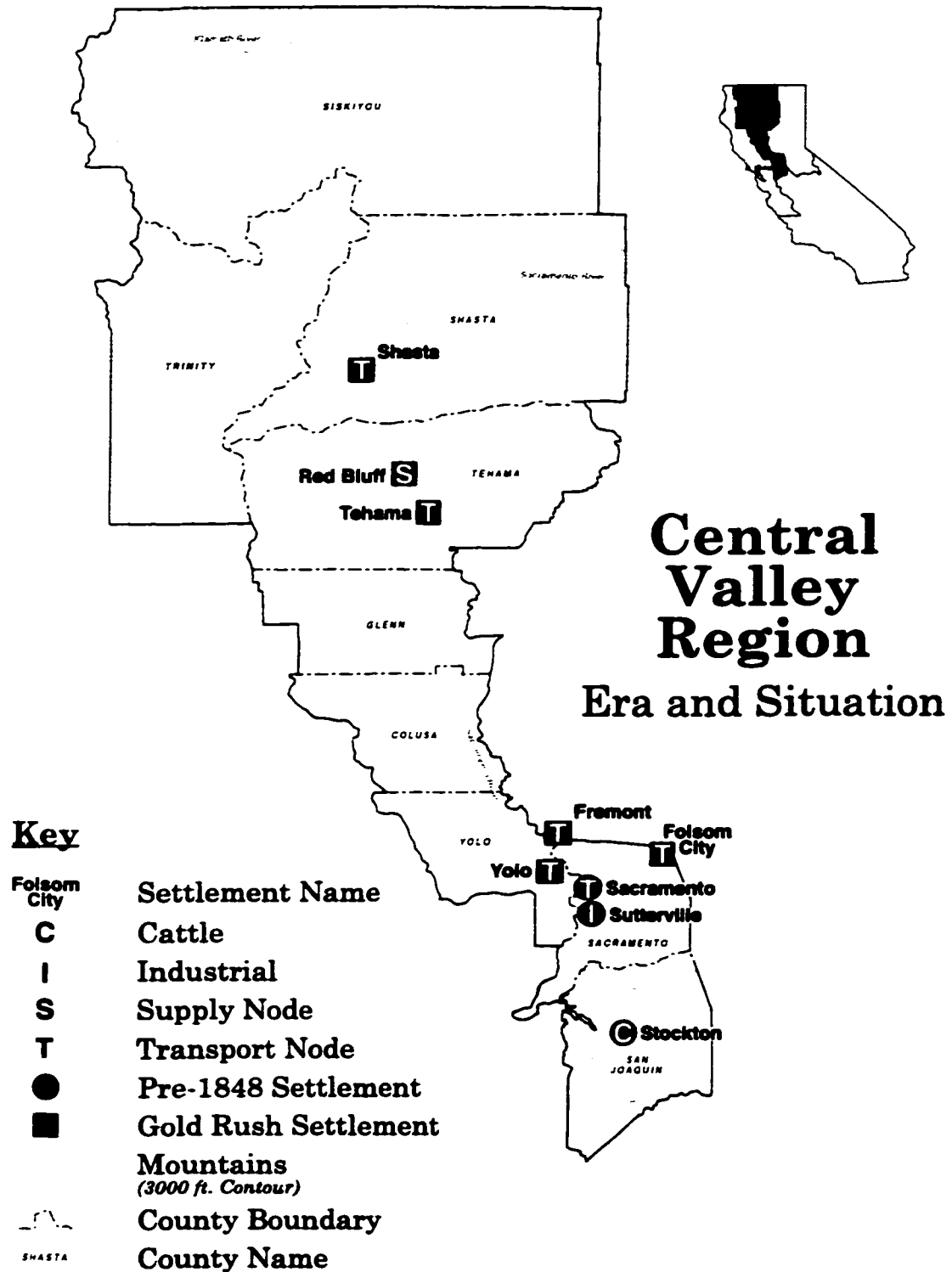


Figure 4. Central Valley Region

is insignificant pre-Gold Rush activity, significant Gold Rush activity, and no post-Gold Rush activity.

Pre-1848

The 3 Central Valley towns created before 1848 are listed by founding year:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Sacramento City	Pre-1846
Suttersville	Pre-1846
Stockton	1847

Table 5 - Central Valley Region Settlement Pre-1848

John Sutter founded New Helvetia (which in time was also known as Sutter's Fort) as a defensive river meander site and a trade route confluence site at the Pit (Sacramento) and Little (American) Rivers in 1839 (Hunt 1929, 175). The situation was that this community was the terminus of the popular emigrant trail from Missouri as early as 1841 (Gudde 1949, 348). Sutter created a settlement colony here where he "built forges and shops, grazed herds on his lands, trapped for furs, and carried on a lively trade" (WPA 1939, 251). Griffin finds that Sutter also "turned his hand to wheat raising, the milling of flour, and distilling, established a mill to weave blankets, and finally set up a freight and passenger boat service to San Francisco" (Griffin 1957, 304).

Suttersville was initiated in 1844 as an alternative portage settlement site to Sacramento, for it was the first site up river that was not subjected to seasonal flooding (Cross 1954, 167). The situation of Suttersville was its proximity to the services of Sacramento and the rivers without the threat of flooding. Suttersville became a major warehouse and storage center for

Sacramento's processed goods (Severson 1973, 38).

Stockton was established in 1847 as a trade route confluence site of the San Joaquin and the Calaveras Rivers (Reps 1979, 215). The town was originally labeled Tuleburg and was renamed Stockton in 1849 (Rensch 1970, 369). The founders "built corrals, planted wheat, and set up houses for ranchers" (WPA 1939, 312). Stockton was the extension of the rancho tradition of Mexican California, which was an extension of the Spanish missions that colonized California generations before (Hutton 1942, 38).

Gold Rush

With the discovery of gold in 1848, the entire geographic landscape of the Central Valley region was permanently changed. Sacramento became the central "jumping off point" and resupply capital of the mines (Griffin 1957, 304). Because the city was the best developed site situated on the most direct water course from the Pacific port of San Francisco, supplies and passengers funneled through the Central Valley at Sacramento (Browning 1995, 339). Following the announcement of gold in 1848, the population of Sacramento skyrocketed and Sutter was forced to devise a grid in hopes of bringing order to the rapid growth of the city (Hunt 1929, 175). Like San Francisco, it was not the ideal site for such an important city. The winter rains caused extensive flooding. When the town burned to the ground in 1852, it was rebuilt at precisely the same flawed site (Hutton 1942, 38). Rather than turn to a similarly positioned or better-placed community, the siting of Sacramento was so crucial that the population took the time and money to re-create it in greater splendor (Lantis 1977, 287). The state capital was moved to Sacramento in 1852 because "the sudden importance

of the mining area seemed to dictate removal to some point nearer the center of population” (Caughey 1970, 216).

Suttersville grew modestly as it continued to exploit its proximity to Sacramento and reaped the benefits of that city’s difficulties by marketing itself as a dependable, safe alternative for the shipping of goods (Browning 1995, 398). Stockton experienced even greater expansion and, as Taylor notes in 1849, “the click of hammers and the grating of saws -- the shouts of mule drivers -- the jingling of spurs -- the jar and jostle of wares in the tents -- almost cheated me into the belief that it was some old commercial mart...four months had sufficed to make it the place it was” (WPA 1939, 312). An arson fire destroyed Stockton in 1851, which caused the city’s permanent residents to build large churches and schools to signify to the mining population that this was not merely a supply point for the Mother Lode, but a true community of families (Lantis 1977, 299).

The methodology of this study sites the creation of 6 settlements within the region between 1848 and 1852:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Folsom City	1849
Shasta	1849
Tehema	1849
Fremont	1849
Yolo	1849
Red Bluff	1850

Table 6 - Central Valley Region Gold Rush Settlement

Folsom was launched as a trade route confluence site of the forks of the American Rivers in 1849 (Rensch 1970, 300). The town was initially called Negro Bar from 1849 to 1855 and came into importance as the only node on the most direct route between Coloma (where gold was first discovered in

1848) and Sacramento (WPA 1939, 595). Shasta was originally called Reading's Springs when it was founded as a trade route nodality site in 1849 (Hanna 1951, 302). By 1850, the town was known as Shasta, the head of navigation to the northern mines (Lantis, 1977, 374). The WPA guide recounts this community's success as a shipping situation, noting that "at one time more than 2,000 pack mules and as many as 100 freight teams were housed in Shasta in a single night" (WPA 1939, 553).

Tehama was founded in 1849 as a trade route bridge point site over the Sacramento River (Kyle 1990, 498). As the Gold Rush continued, Tehama became a busy freighting and trading center, as well as a significant ferry crossing to Marysville (WPA 1939, 465). The city of Fremont in Yolo County was started as a trade route confluence site of the Sacramento and Feather rivers in 1849 (Hutton 1942, 38). This community was a vital transportation link between goods coming from Sacramento and gold and miners coming out of Marysville (Hartman 1964, 348).

The city of Yolo was created as a nodality on the Sacramento River in Yolo County in 1849 (Preston 1983, 16). The settlement was first called Cochran's Crossing at its inception in 1849, was then named Hutton's Ranch, then Travelers' Home, then Yolo in 1853, then Cacheville in 1857, and finally reverted back to Yolo in 1859 (Rensch 1966, 585). The frequent name changes appear to signify the repeated demise and rebirth of the community and the rekindling of the town by different groups of migrants (Coburn 1984, 28). Yolo's situation was as a transportation and shipping center between the goods traveling the Sacramento River and the main conglomeration of mining camps within "The King of Gold Production," El

Dorado County (Kyle 1990, 535). Red Bluff was founded as a trade route head of navigation site for the Sacramento River in 1850 (Hanna 1951, 251). Bancroft says the town was first named Leodocia, then Covertsburg in 1853, but Gudde states that the location was always known as Red Bluff (Gudde 1949, 281). The town was a node for surrounding wheat fields and vineyards and served as the chief trading center for the Upper Sacramento Valley (WPA 1939, 438).

1853-1860

The Central Valley Region communities clearly functioned as the inland extensions of the coastal supply network. The flow of people into mining camps and of supplies to these camps might be likened to a military campaign with supply depots in the rear (Bay communities) supporting forward bases (Central Valley communities), but also each other. The latter were “jumping off points” and resupply capitals of the mines. They were the last stop before entering the mining districts. To that extent, these communities were much more closely tied to the mining camps than were Bay communities. An analysis of the nine Central Valley Region communities represented in the study shows this link. These towns were all created within an 11-year time span, with 6 communities forming within 1 year. When contrasted with the protracted development of the Bay Area Region towns, it is clear to see that the birth of the Central Valley communities is very closely tied to the trigger of the Gold Rush. Since the transportation of the study period was largely water-based, it is not surprising that eight of the nine settlements were sited on rivers. The situations of these Central Valley study communities

emphasize the importance of moving people and goods into and out of the gold strikes. This exchange is so primary that five of these locations are either nodes or the terminus of both land and water routes from points east and west of California.

<u>County</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>
Sacramento	9,087	24,142
San Joaquin	3,647	9,435
Shasta	378	4,360
Tehama		4,044
Yolo	1,086	4,716
Total Central Valley	14,198	46,697

Table 7 - Central Valley Region Census Counts

Population figures for the nine communities also support this close connection. The only towns with specific population numbers (Sacramento, Stockton, and Fremont) show dramatic increases in population at the start of the Gold Rush and a great drop in population by 1860. However, the total population in the Central Valley Region grew from 14,198 in 1850 to 46,697 in 1860. These numbers represent an overall increase of 229% during the study period with every county registering more people in 1860 than in 1850. Such a pattern suggests that the communities that met the study criteria experienced a reduced role after 1852 and agricultural communities within this region swelled within a short period of time directly following the study period. The effect of the Gold Rush on the settlement of Central Valley Region towns is highly significant. Further research should be conducted to explore the disparity between the reduced population figures for the study communities and the overall rise in population for the region as a whole.

Sierra Region

The third settlement region of the state can be defined as the Sierra, which encompasses 14 communities within 8 counties along the western slopes of the Northern Sierra-Nevada Mountain Range north of Mariposa County (see Figure 5). Winther concludes that even though the number of coastal and valley communities was large, the number and importance of these settlements was completely insignificant when compared to the development of the mining towns of the Sierra Region (Winther 1936, 78). The gold veins located within the Sierra range were the destination of the 49'ers and over a thousand named communities were created along the mountains to mine both the land and the miners (Jackson 1941, vii). The methodology used to create the matrix of study communities eliminates many mining settlements because very few recorded the establishment of a school. The pattern created by the founding dates for these communities is no pre-Gold Rush activity, significant Gold Rush activity, and insignificant post-Gold Rush activity.

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Placerville	1848
Auburn	1848
Georgetown	1849
Salmon Falls	1849
Grass Valley	1849
Nevada City	1849
Chinese Camp	1849
Marysville	1849
Forbestown	1850
Diamond Springs	1850
Rough & Ready	1850
Shaw's Flat	1850
Damascus	1852

Table 8 - Sierra Region Gold Rush Settlement

Sierra Region

Era and Situation

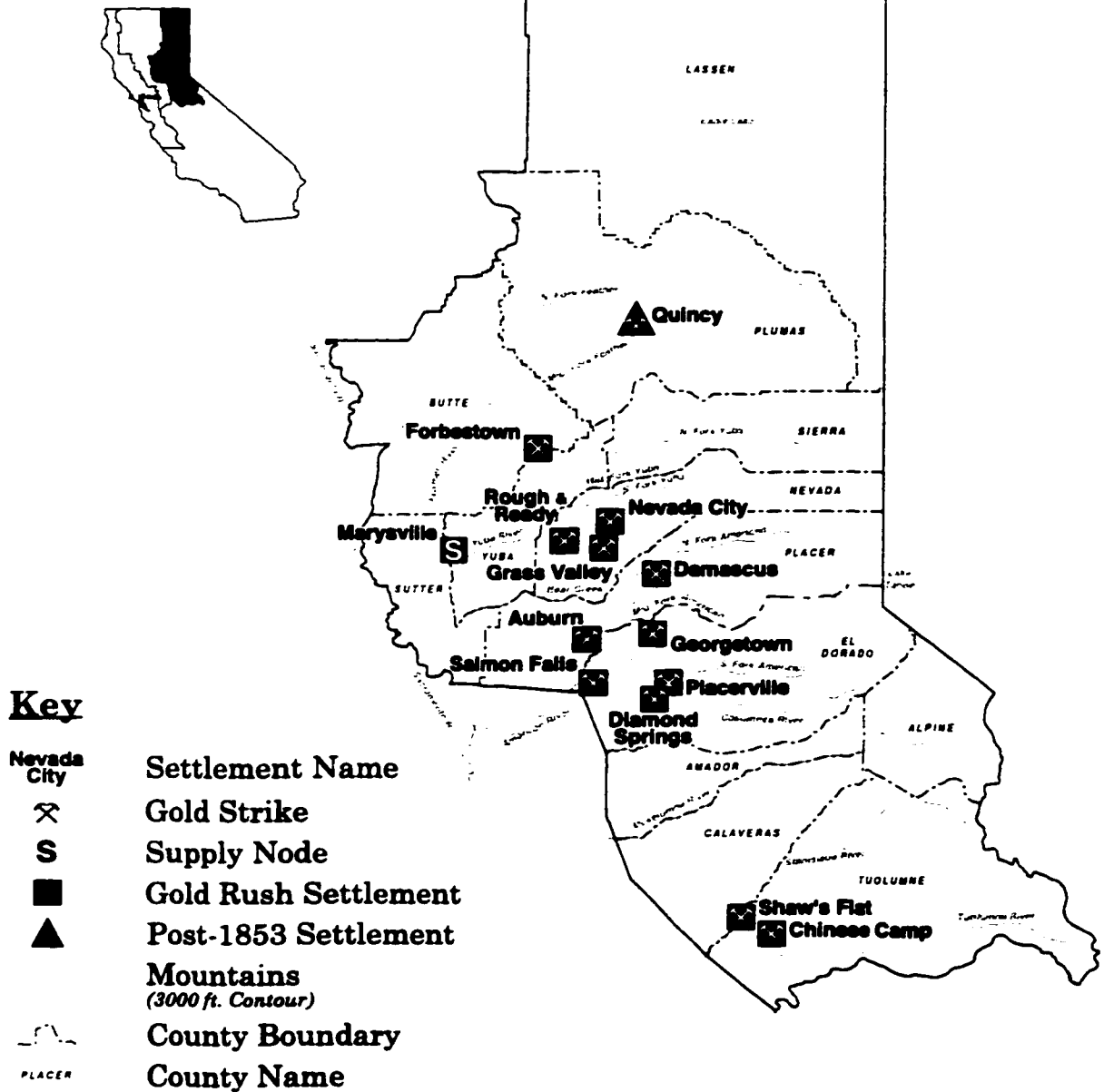


Figure 5. Sierra Region

Gold Rush

Since there are no Sierra Region towns created before 1848, Gold Rush communities founded between 1848 and 1852 are listed by founding year. Placerville came into existence as a gold strike location along Weber Creek in El Dorado County in 1848 (Rensch 1970, 79). Placerville was a strategic point on the overland trail and its proximity to Coloma, where the first discovery of gold took place, made this place a natural developing gold camp (WPA 1939, 486). Originally named Old Dry Diggins, neighboring strikes referred to the community as Hangtown (Reps 1979, 199). Rensch states that Placerville was one of the most populated of all the early mining camps (Rensch 1966, 79).

The city of Auburn was also founded as a gold mining location on the American River in 1848 (Kyle 1990, 260). Gudde reports that Auburn was first called Rich Dry Diggings, then Woods Dry Diggings, which changed to North Fork Dry Diggings before it was finally known as Auburn (Gudde 1975, 22). Auburn was developed as a gold site because of its location as a natural transportation center between supplies from Sacramento and gold strikes further into the Sierra (Hogan 1977, 89).

Georgetown was established as a gold strike in 1849 (Rensch 1970, 87). The city was known as Growlerburg in 1850, when it shifted its location ever-so-slightly and was renamed Georgetown (Rensch 1966, 87). The city's location at the northern end of the Mother Lode made it the trading center for more than 10,000 miners representing more than 100 separate camps (WPA 1939, 484). Salmon Falls was also founded as a bridge point gold strike site between the Middle Fork and the South Fork of

the American River in El Dorado County in 1849 (Siolo 1883, 202). The town's situation also allowed it to function as an intermediary port between supplies from Sacramento and the major break-in-bulk point of Auburn, as indicated on Trask's map of 1853 (Trask 1853).

Grass Valley was born in 1849 as Centreville, a gold strike town at the confluence of the tributaries of Wolf Creek in El Dorado County (Gudde 1975, 140). The chief settlement of Nevada County, Boston Ravine, merged with Centreville, making the town of Grass Valley in 1851 (Rensch 1966, 251). Grass Valley was an incredibly rich and long-lasting strike, attracting important suppliers and peripheral industries that created a broad economic base rare to Mother Lode settlements (Morley 1965, 5). Nevada City was created as a gold strike in 1849 at the confluence of the Deer and Gold Run creeks in El Dorado County (Morley 1965, 97). The town was called Nevada from 1851 to 1861, when City was added to distinguish it from Nevada County (Rensch 1966, 253). Thompson notes that "the speed with which many of the towns grew seems astounding. Four miles north of Grass Valley miners were attracted to placer deposits in 9/49. A year later, 400 buildings crowded the site and the population reached 2,000" (Thompson 1955, 206). Nevada City's situation as an extremely productive gold site well into the 1860s brought the trapping of a more permanent settlement with stores, hotels, houses, and schools (WPA 1939, 481).

Chinese Camp was founded as a ghetto for Chinese miners along a tributary of the Tuolumne River in Tuolumne County in 1849 (Heckendorn and Wilson 1976, 83). Gold was eventually found here, but it was difficult prospecting (Hogan 1977, 32). The town's situation was how it served as the

Chinese community in the gold fields, since laws forced the Chinese to settle here and would not allow them to live or prospect elsewhere (Gudde 1975, 71). Marysville was established as trade-route confluence site of the Feather and Yuba rivers in 1849 (Preston 1983, 15). This city quickly became the chief residential, commerce and transportation node for miners traveling to the mines along the Feather River throughout the Gold Rush (Hanna 1951, 187). By 1851, Marysville was the third largest town in the state, including “an iron foundry, a theater, and two banks” (WPA 1939, 468).

Forbestown was established as a significant and long-lasting gold strike bridge point site between the Feather and the Yuba Rivers in Butte County in 1850 (Hogan 1977, 116). The community’s situation was as a center of mining activity from 1850 to 1890 (Kyle 1990, 38). Such longevity perpetuated a town of unusual cultural importance for the Sierra Region, including the construction of a private academy and a grand general assembly hall within the study period (Rensch 1970, 38). Diamond Springs was also created as a gold strike location along the Webber Creek in El Dorado County in 1850 (Siolo 1883, 206). The town’s situation as a stop on the Carson Emigrant Trail made the location popular with miners as an easily accessible strike (Hogan 1977, 77). Diamond Springs had a terrible fire which almost destroyed the town in 1856, but the post Gold Rush interest in this location as a fruit raising center brought it back to prosperity by 1860 (Gudde 1975, 95).

Rough and Ready was founded as a gold strike on a tributary of the South Yuba River in Nevada County in 1850. The community went through

many quick name changes as populations arrived and then left for other strikes. It was first known as Newton, then Sailor's Flat, then Mooney Flat when it took its present name in 1850 (Rensch 1966, 250). Rough and Ready's situation was that it was placed at the junction of the wagon roads from Marysville and Sacramento to Grass Valley and Nevada City (Preston 1983, 15). This route was so crucial that town officials charged a toll of up to \$3.00 to pass (Hogan 1977, 98).

Shaw's Flat was founded as a gold strike on the Stanislaus River in Tuolumne County in 1850 (Rensch 1970, 572). The situation of this site was its proximity to Sonora, its placement on the main route into the southern mines, and an orchard planted during the second year of the Gold Rush on the eastern slope of Table Mountain (Hogan 1977, 44). These factors helped to develop Shaw's Flat beyond a gold strike, showing a population of 2,000 in 1856 (Heckendorn and Wilson 1976, 60). Damascus was named as a gold strike along the north fork of the American River in Placer County in 1852 (Gudde 1975, 90). Rensch sites its situation as an important jumping off point for the silver strikes in the late 1850s and states that the town continued to prosper through 1880 (Rensch 1970, 276).

1853-1860

The single Sierra Region settlement established after the Gold Rush was the town of Quincy:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Quincy	1854

Table 9 - Sierra Region Settlement 1853-1860

Quincy was first called American Ranch and was created as a gold strike along a tributary of the Feather River in Plumas County in 1854 (Gudde

1975, 19). The WPA Guide describes both mining and farming in this area, suggesting that a moderate gold strike continued beyond the Gold Rush (WPA 1939, 535).

An analysis of the 14 Sierra Region communities represented in the study reveals the impact of the Gold Rush. This region is the only part of California to have gold camps and mining towns during the study period. None of these communities appeared before the Gold Rush and 12 of these towns were founded within a two-year period. This pattern indicates the importance of the Gold Rush in triggering the expansion of settlement in the Sierra Region. The site of 12 of these settlements was determined solely by the presence of gold. The situation of seven of these towns was as shipping points to gold strikes further into the wilderness of the Sierra. Water routes continued to play a major role in the creation of Sierra Region towns, with six study locations placed at confluence or bridge-point sites. The remaining 5 nodalities were all points where overland routes intersected with gold strikes on waterways, further emphasizing the importance of transportation routes to the 49'ers.

Unlike the Bay Area and Central Valley Regions, there were no raw materials except for gold fueling the development of any of the Sierra towns. Such a condition points to the trigger of the Gold Rush as the cause of settlement in other regions of the state to support the population hunting for gold in these Sierra towns. The communities looked outside of their region for food, clothing, and lumber even after these towns were well established. The settlement patterns exhibited in this region emphasize that California settlements appear because of the Gold Rush, but continue

to evolve as communities when the miners move on to the next strike. The lasting existence of these gold strike towns suggest that individuals who were initially drawn to these communities for riches found other ways to utilize the region, which further reinforced these settlements.

<u>County</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>
Butte	3,574	12,106
El Dorado	20,057	20,562
Nevada*	3,809	16,446
Placer		13,270
Tuolumne	8,351	16,229
Yuba	9,673	13,668
Total Sierra	45,464	92,281

*city data used; no county count available

Table 10 - Sierra Region Census Counts

The population demographics presented here seem to support the theory of a gradual end to the Gold Rush migration that continued to sustain the supply communities generated by the mining boom. El Dorado had the largest population of any California county outside San Francisco in 1860, indicating the great number of communities created in this area during the Gold Rush and the importance of the overland trail which passed through this county. Population numbers for the 14 communities, however, tell the opposite story and reflect the boom/bust phenomenon. Of the six towns which had individual head counts, five show dramatic losses from the levels enjoyed during the early Gold Rush. When the Gold Rush subsided in 1853, scholars declared this region substantially abandoned, for they found it was not fit for agriculture and experienced prohibitively cold winters. County census information shows total population in the Sierra Region was 45,464 in 1850 and 92,281 in 1860. These numbers represent an

overall increase of 103% during the study period with every county registering more people in 1860 than in 1850.

This phenomenon may be partially explained by the rise in agricultural production during the end of the 1850s. Since the gold fields did not yield many riches beyond 1852, the original site and situation of these communities cannot be driving the 1860 count. The seemingly incompatible trends, the collapse of community populations with a rise in the regional population, may result from a gross under-enumeration for the 1850 census. Further research needs to be conducted to fully understand the difference between the study communities and the overall regional trend. Bingham estimates the region's population at the end of 1848 as 100,000 people along these river camps with 20,000 along the north, middle and south fork of the American River, 40,000 along the Stanislaus, Mokelumne, Tuolumne, Merced, Mariposa, and San Joaquin Rivers, 20,000 along the Yuba and Feather Rivers, and another 20,000 in the dry diggings up the ravines of the Sierra (Bingham 1959, 29). Though the settlements of the Sierra Region were induced by the Gold Rush, selected towns continued to grow and serve populations that had transcended merely chasing gold.

Southern California Region

The final settlement region of the state can be defined as Southern California, which encompasses the 8 communities within 5 counties south of Monterey and the San Joaquin River to the Mexican border (see Figure 6). The fourth region of this settlement study contains more square miles than the other three regions combined, but carries the least significance

Southern California Region 59

Era and Situation

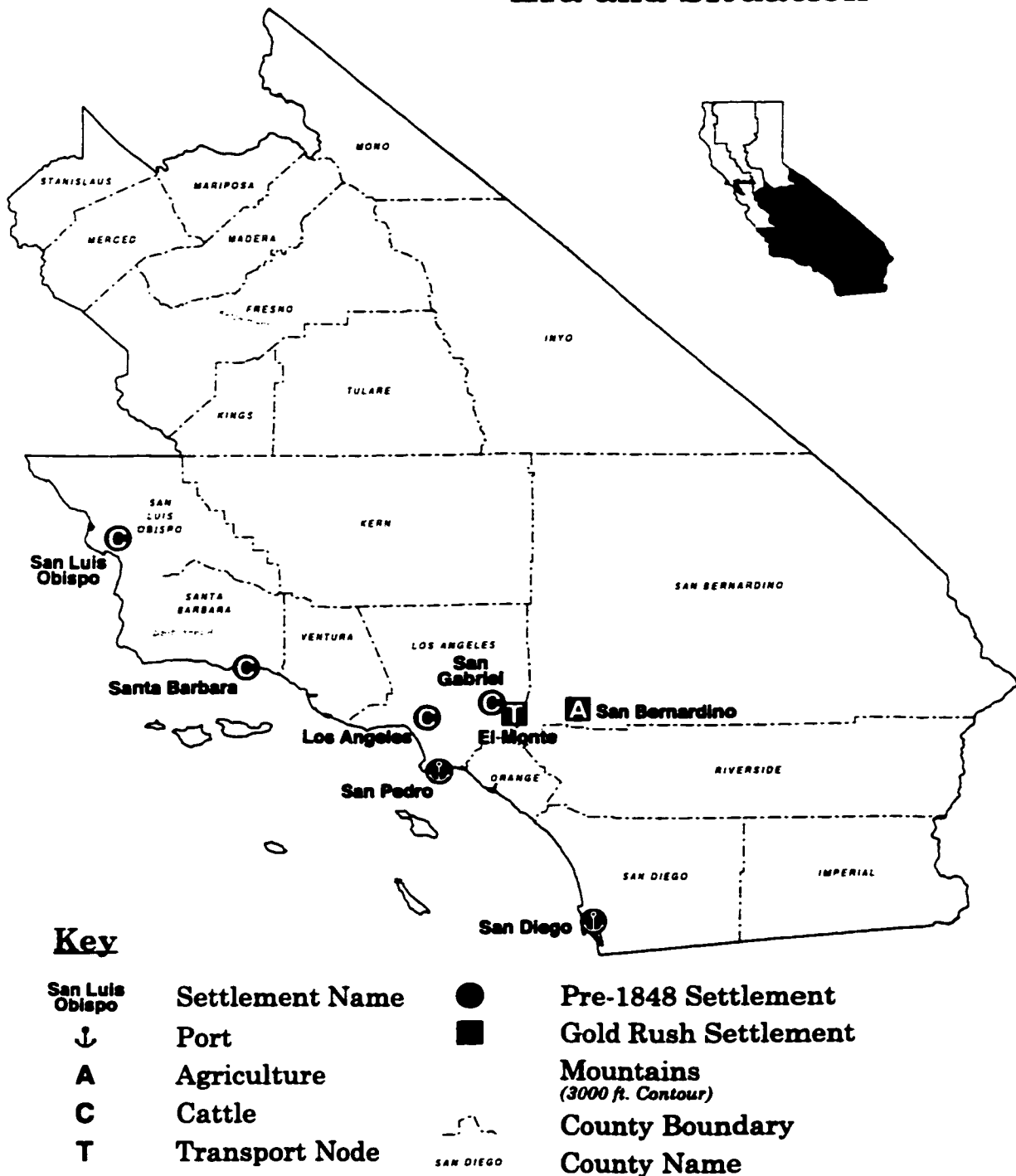


Figure 6. Southern California Region

regarding the creation of communities in California from 1846 to 1860.

This region was as well developed as the rest of the state before the Gold Rush. The pattern created by the founding dates for these communities is significant pre-Gold Rush activity, insignificant Gold Rush activity, and no post-Gold Rush activity.

Pre-1848

The six Southern California towns created before 1848 are listed by founding year:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
San Diego	Pre-1846
San Gabriel	Pre-1846
San Luis Obispo	Pre-1846
Los Angeles	Pre-1846
Santa Barbara	Pre-1846
San Pedro	Pre-1846

Table 11 - Southern California Region Settlement Pre-1848

San Diego was the first settlement created by the Spanish in California and began as a sheltered harbor mission site in 1769 (Johnson 1968, 4). Along with the mission came a presidio the same year (Hornbeck 1983, 44). The mission moved six miles to the east of the Presidio five years later to escape the Presidio's "base influences" (Rush 1953, 32). Dana noted in the year 1835 that San Diego was "an important settlement, a small, snug place" (Winther 1936, 2). San Diego received pueblo rights in 1834 (Reps 1981, 15) and in 1842, the only inhabitants were 14 Mexican soldiers (Rush 1953, 75). The increase in population during the years of the study represent native Californios from the other three regions who wished to escape the influence of the Gold Rush (WPA 1939, 260).

San Gabriel was established as an acropolis mission site along the

Rio Honda in Los Angeles County in 1771 (Hornbeck 1983, 44). Like the majority of missions, the site was moved five years later because it proved susceptible to flooding (Lantis 1977, 138). Jedediah Smith's transcontinental route from the United States to California used San Gabriel as a stop beginning in 1826 (Caughey 1970, 125). Originally blazed to expand markets for beaver pelts, this trail continued to be used first by the pioneers, then the military and throughout the Gold Rush as a transportation route to Southern California from Salt Lake (Caughey 1970, 125). After the secularization of the missions in 1834, these lands (a million and a half acres) became cattle ranches (Lantis 1977, 138). During the Gold Rush, San Gabriel grew and shipped non-perishable produce to San Francisco (Griffin 1957, 9).

San Luis Obispo was settled as a mission site in a bowl-shaped valley along San Luis Obispo Creek in 1772 (Griffin 1957, 71). The situation of San Luis Obispo is that it denoted the geographic center between Spanish settlements north and south along the El Camino Real (Hanna 1951, 280). Secularization found this land divided up for cattle ranchos (Lantis 1977, 185). Marryat visited San Luis Obispo during the Gold Rush in 1851 and found that "with the exception of the owners of 3 houses, the population of San Luis was a particularly floating one" (Marryat 1962, 66). The pueblo of 1844 was not incorporated as a city until 1856 and even then, the WPA guide referred to the town as "a sleepy Mexican village" until the coming of the railroad in 1894 (WPA 1939, 391).

Los Angeles was a Spanish pueblo founded in 1781 with 40 settlers (Rush 1953, 45). The pueblo was sited on a fertile plain along the Los

Angeles River (Hartman 1964, 365). Its situation was that it was fine agricultural and cattle land on the El Camino Real close to the coast (WPA 1941, 29). The WPA Guide for Los Angeles calls it “one of the few cities on earth which had been deliberately planned in advance and ceremoniously inaugurated” (WPA 1941, 28). It was named El Pueblo de Nuestra Senora La Reina de Los Angeles (the city of our lady, the queen of the angels) (Wells 1934, 46). The name changed to include Ciudad in 1835 (Hutchinson 1969, 312). Reports from 1800 show that the town had a meeting hall, army barracks, and granaries (WPA 1941, 29). Most of its trade was carried out at San Pedro (Griffin 1957, 25). Griffin also notes that the secularization of 1834 turned Los Angeles into huge cattle ranches (Griffin 1957, 9).

By 1830, Los Angeles was the most populated settlement in California, numbering 1,200 inhabitants (WPA 1941, 32). Based on the petition of the people of Los Angeles in the early 1840s, the Mexican Government agreed to move the capital of California from Monterey to Los Angeles. When suitable quarters were not donated, the transition stalled (Caughey 1970, 111). Military cartographer Henry Dana recorded that Los Angeles was “in the midst of a plain filled with cattle” as late as the 1830s (Winther 1936, 3). Reps considers Los Angeles California’s most populous community in 1840 (Reps 1979, 245). During the 1840s, American immigrants attracted to Los Angeles by stories of agricultural riches descended on the area and became wealthy and powerful by, in Governor Pico’s words, “cultivating farms, establishing vineyards, erecting mills, sawing up lumber, building workshops, and doing a thousand other things which seem natural to them” (WPA 1941, 35).

Much of the population of Los Angeles went north for the Gold Rush (WPA 1941, 40). The cattle of Los Angeles found an appreciatively lucrative market among the miners. Ranchers who sold live animals for \$5 a head a year before now received \$50 from distributors who put the livestock on ships for slaughter in San Francisco and Sacramento, where they were sold for \$500 (Caughey 1970, 198). With the influx of money for cattle, Los Angeles developed a flour mill, a brick kiln, vineyards for the export of wine, and even the beginning of Southern California's citrus industry (WPA 1941, 40). Between the demise of the missions and the end of the Gold Rush, Los Angeles "became the economic and social center...the single settlement of any substance in all Southern California" (Lantis 1977, 103).

Santa Barbara was created as an acropolis presidio site at the foot of the Santa Ynez Mountains in 1782 (Kyle 1990, 389). The fort was built in close proximity to what is now Mission Creek and was settled with 36 officers and soldiers (Rush 1953, 46). The mission was finished in 1786 and was dedicated to raising cattle (Johnson 1968, 6). It was here during the Mexican period that the fabled life of the rancho was lived to its fullest, including "fine silk-clad caballeros, fan-wielding señoritas, cock fighting, and gambling" (WPA 1939, 306). With the demand for beef generated by the Gold Rush, the ranchers drove their cattle north and collected greatly inflated prices which kept them wealthy men (WPA 1939, 306).

San Pedro was established by the Spanish as a sheltered harbor trade route portage site in 1793 (Gudde 1949, 22). San Pedro was located at the mouth of the Los Angeles River and served as the pueblo's port of entry, linking the settlement with the all-important supply route of the Pacific

Ocean (Kyle 1990, 151). Caughey remarks on the abundance of hide and tallow ships serving San Pedro, earning the settlement the title of colonial leader in that trade during the Mexican era (Caughey 1970, 126). In 1838, Dana's visit to the coast of California records San Pedro as "the desolate place...the worst we had seen yet" (Winther 1936, 3). During the Gold Rush, traffic through San Pedro increased; the fare on a paddle wheeler from San Francisco to San Pedro was \$55, with another \$10 needed to catch a stage for the last 15 miles to Los Angeles (WPA 1941, 46). A terrible storm destroyed the port and warehousing infrastructure of San Pedro in 1858 (WPA 1941, 218). Investors relocated the port 4 miles closer to Los Angeles and named the new settlement New San Pedro later that year (Rensch 1966, 154).

Gold Rush

There were two communities established in this region after 1848:

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
El Monte	1851
San Bernardino	1851

Table 12 - Southern California Region Gold Rush Settlement

El Monte was a nodality established 12 miles east of Los Angeles along the San Gabriel River in 1851 (Cleland 1951, 154). Its situation was that it served as the terminus of the Old Spanish Trail to Los Angeles through the Cajon Pass (Lantis 1977, 140). With the Gold Rush, this node grew in importance as increasing populations used the overland trail from Santa Fe.

San Bernardino was established as a confluence site of City and Warm creeks and the Santa Ana River at the base of the San Bernardino

Mountains in 1851 (Gudde 1949, 298). The settlement's situation was that of a necessary nodality located along the "Mormon Corridor" from Salt Lake to the Pacific Ocean. The town was created as a colony and it was planned to mirror Salt Lake City (WPA 1939, 616). Because the community was a Mormon colony, travelers and neighbors used the nickname Mormon Camp for this settlement (Whiting 1960, 11). The Mormons introduced irrigation to this area and planted several hundred acres of fruit trees, nut trees and vegetables (Griffin 1957, 9). With the advent of the Utah War, the Mormon settlers were recalled to Utah by Brigham Young in 1857, cutting the population of the settlement by more than 66 percent (Hutchinson 1969, 177). Because of its proximity to both the Cajon and San Gorgonio passes and the improvements provided by the vacating Mormons, the site continued and remained a shipping and commercial center beyond the study period (Hartman 1964, 389).

1853-1860

An analysis of the eight Southern California Region communities represented in the study reveals the marginal effects of the Gold Rush. The study found that six settlements were formed under Spanish rule and two settlements were established during the Gold Rush. Such a pattern indicates a relative lack of importance of the Gold Rush trigger for the settlement of the Southern California Region. The study communities for this region were sited primarily for coastal access and secondarily as nodes on overland trails, which again shows the significance of transportation routes in early California. With the start of the Gold Rush, these towns continued to develop their cattle raising and agricultural roots from the

Mexican ranchos. Supplying the miners with food and clothing was a lucrative market for these populations, as well as serving the overland and sea traveler who wished to explore the legendary California.

<u>County</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1860</u>
Los Angeles	3,530	11,333
San Bernardino		5,551
San Diego	798	4,324
San Luis Obispo	336	1,782
Santa Barbara	1,185	3,543
Total So Cal	5,849	26,533

Table 13 - Southern California Region Census Counts

Population figures for the eight communities show that the numbers for most Southern California towns in the study do not show an influx of people for the Gold Rush. On the whole, these settlements increased gradually over the study period. County census information shows total population in the Southern California Region was 5,849 in 1850 and 26,533 in 1860. Though these numbers represent the smallest head count for any of the four regions, the overall increase of 354% is the second largest change in any region during the study period. Every Southern California county registered more people in 1860 than in 1850.

This demographic is largely ignored by scholars. Cleland described California south of Monterey in 1850 as “a few despoiled, half-abandoned missions and an occasional unpretentious pueblo or presidial town”(Cleland 1951, 4). He goes on to claim that nothing stood between Monterey and the Mexican border but “500 miles of grazing land” (Cleland 1951, 4). Reps also notes that the communities of Southern California were almost unaffected by the settlement of hundreds of thousands of argonauts.

He claims that the only influence caused by the Gold Rush was that the land boom of 1849 “slowed and reversed the settlement of southern California” (Reps 1979, 239). Cleland asserts that between Monterey and the Mexican border, “the Gold Rush destroyed little that was old and created little that was new, brought about almost no increase in population, and created no new settlements” (Cleland 1951, 4).

The Gold Rush itself does not seem to be a trigger for the development of settlements in Southern California during the years 1849 to 1852. The agriculture boom of Southern California was most likely fueled by the people who came for the Gold Rush and stayed on in California beyond the strikes. The dramatic increase in overall population during the study period disputes the notion that there was no long-term effect of the Gold Rush on the development of Southern California settlement. The miners may have left the mines after 1852, but it seems they migrated to Southern California and created one of the finest produce-producing regions in the world.

California as a Single Region

The settlements of California meeting the criteria of this thesis have been classified and analyzed according to their role during the three periods of the study. Each of the 59 cities may also be classified by situation as either a primate city, port, cattle, lumber, strike, industrial, transit node, supply node, or agricultural as noted in Figures 3 through 6. A comparative summary of each situation category follows.

Primate City: San Francisco

Though Monterey was the administrative and commercial center for

the Spanish and Mexican periods, the Gold Rush transformed San Francisco into the only city of consequence along the entire US Pacific coast line well into the 20th century. Despite the fact that the peninsula did not offer the best land to site this most important metropolis, San Francisco's situation as the direct transportation link to the gold strikes made its preeminence significant and lasting.

Port

Monterey
Santa Cruz
San Diego
San Pedro

The complicated topography, marshy interior, and vast untamed wilderness of 19th century California caused water courses to triumph as the most efficient form of transportation throughout the study period. The four ports of Monterey, Santa Cruz, San Diego, and San Pedro were all holdovers from the Spanish mission era. Since the demand for water transportation only increased during the study period, these established ports up and down the state continued to develop as communities. Because San Francisco was heavily impacted by the volume of people and materials passing in and out, these ports, especially Santa Cruz, were revitalized by handling the overflow traffic.

Cattle

San Juan
Sonoma
Gilroy
Stockton
San Luis Obispo
San Gabriel
Los Angeles
Santa Barbara

The decline of the missions in the 1830s left former mission communities to try and fill the gap in providing food for Indians, soldiers, and settlers. The majority of these cattle settlements were mission or pueblo lands that continued to follow the rancho lifestyle. These ranchers found a tremendous market for their beef and leather during the Gold Rush, which subsidized their traditional ways and kept these areas rural. Gold Rush settlements that were created as new cattle centers (such as Gilroy and Stockton) illustrate how the high demand for these products induced business people to establish ranches in closer proximity to the Gold Rush population. All these cattle communities are outside the Sierra Region, with the majority located south of San Francisco.

Lumber

Woodside
Bodega
Arcata
Redwood City
McCartysville
Alamo
Analy

Like cattle, lumber was an important resource before the Gold Rush and an incredibly valuable necessity during the Rush. Most of these communities were created during the height of the Gold Rush, when the demand for wood reached a fever pitch. All of these settlements except Alamo provided redwood and the majority of these towns were within 50 miles of San Francisco. Since the Gold Rush left a strong infrastructure of settlement in place, lumber continued to be a desired commodity, with those lumber communities closest to the primate city prospering.

Gold Strike

Placerville
 Auburn
 Georgetown
 Salmon Falls
 Grass Valley
 Nevada City
 Chinese Camp
 Forbestown
 Diamond Springs
 Rough and Ready
 Shaw's Flat
 Damascus
 Quincy

When the Gold Rush hit California, thousands of strikes were founded and abandoned. These 14 communities continued to serve their population beyond the boom/bust of quick riches. Most of these towns were located at the confluence of two Sierra Region rivers, making them important nodes for the transportation of goods to settlements further into these mining regions. Some of these strikes, such as Forbestown and Quincy, continued as gold producing areas beyond 1860, which sustained these communities. Other strikes, such as Diamond Springs, shifted to fruit production after mining, which also held its population in place. Though very few strikes evolved into settlements and even fewer remained communities following the Gold Rush, these select towns have the distinction that “from the ashes of campfires have sprung cities” (Fremont 1970, 1).

Industrial

Benicia
 Martinez
 Napa
 Oakland

Vallejo
Alameda
Lafayette
Pacheco
Sutter

Industrial settlements were heavily concentrated in the Bay Area Region, especially on the east side of the bay. The majority of these communities were created in response to the Gold Rush's increased demand for manufactured goods and warehousing. Since the portage at San Francisco was overly congested, the East Bay was a less crowded, less expensive, and physically closer alternative to better serve the supply lines of the Sierra. As the Gold Rush waned, these East Bay industrial sites turned their attention to serving the increasing population of San Francisco and continued to prosper beyond the study period.

Transit Node

Sacramento
Folsom City
Shasta
Tehema
Fremont
Yolo
El Monte

The constant in this thesis is the importance of getting people and supplies from the Pacific Ocean into the mining areas of the Sierra. These transit nodes are the heart of California settlement during the Gold Rush. It is through establishing these communities along transportation routes that the Gold Rush succeeds and continues to expand. The majority of these nodes appear in the Central Valley region and occur out of necessity. The distance between San Francisco Bay and the foothills of the Sierra is an

overnight excursion by ship and a multi-day trip by horse or on foot. These way stations are located at human-scale intervals within such an excursion. When the phenomenon of the Gold Rush passed, the transit nodes shifted their emphasis from stopping points to agricultural centers.

Supply Node

Red Bluff
Marysville

Though supply nodes hold much in common with transit nodes, supply nodes describe a different phenomenon. Rather than serve as a stopping point on a thruway, supply nodes were communities where commerce and people terminated their journey and miners came to these towns to conduct business. Goods did not travel in bulk from these locations. These settlements functioned as the primate cities in their regions and survived because they were full service centers through the Gold Rush and beyond.

Agricultural

San Jose
Santa Clara
San Rafael
Vacaville
Santa Rosa
Healdsburg
Mayfield
San Bernardino

California's agricultural communities began with the Spanish. When the missions ceased to raise food for local populations in the 1830s, mission and pueblo lands were taken over by farmers. At the time of the Gold Rush, the demand for fresh food was so overwhelming and so

lucrative that produce production already in place was the most profitable. The mining population did not have the luxury of waiting four years to nurture vines or six years to nurse orchards. The overwhelming majority of the agricultural towns were located in the Bay Area Region within 50 miles of San Francisco. When the Gold Rush subsided, agriculture expanded to other regions of the state and became the most common occupation listed in the 1870 census.

CHAPTER V CONCLUSION

The settlement geography of California was deeply and permanently changed by the Gold Rush, but in ways that are unappreciated or are not part of the common perception of boom and bust cycles. The latter attitude is seen in Twain's commentary on the California Gold Rush, which stresses the ephemerality of mining communities, where "the mere handful of miners still remaining had seen the town spring up, spread, grow and flourish it is pride; and they had seen it sicken and die and pass away like a dream" (Reps 1979, 206). Such a scenario may have been the case for the majority of the California settlements created between 1848 and 1852 and changes of sudden appearance and only slightly less disappearance of these communities were confirmed in this study. More important was the finding that many communities, 59 in all and only indirectly linked to the gold fields, continued to exist after the exhaustion of gold and the collapse of mining. These settlements may be viewed as the first step in the transformation of California's geography.

The common perception that strikes and service communities swelled during the boom and collapsed with the bust seems more a romantic notion than reality. Of the 59 towns that qualified for this study, only eight showed any decline in population following the end of the Gold Rush. Why did such an overwhelming number of these settlements survive and flourish? The findings of this thesis suggest that any surge in population does not exist in isolation, that the strikes of the Gold Rush were linked to the outside world because of a dependence on transportation and supplies. Even though the population migrated to unearth gold, a service

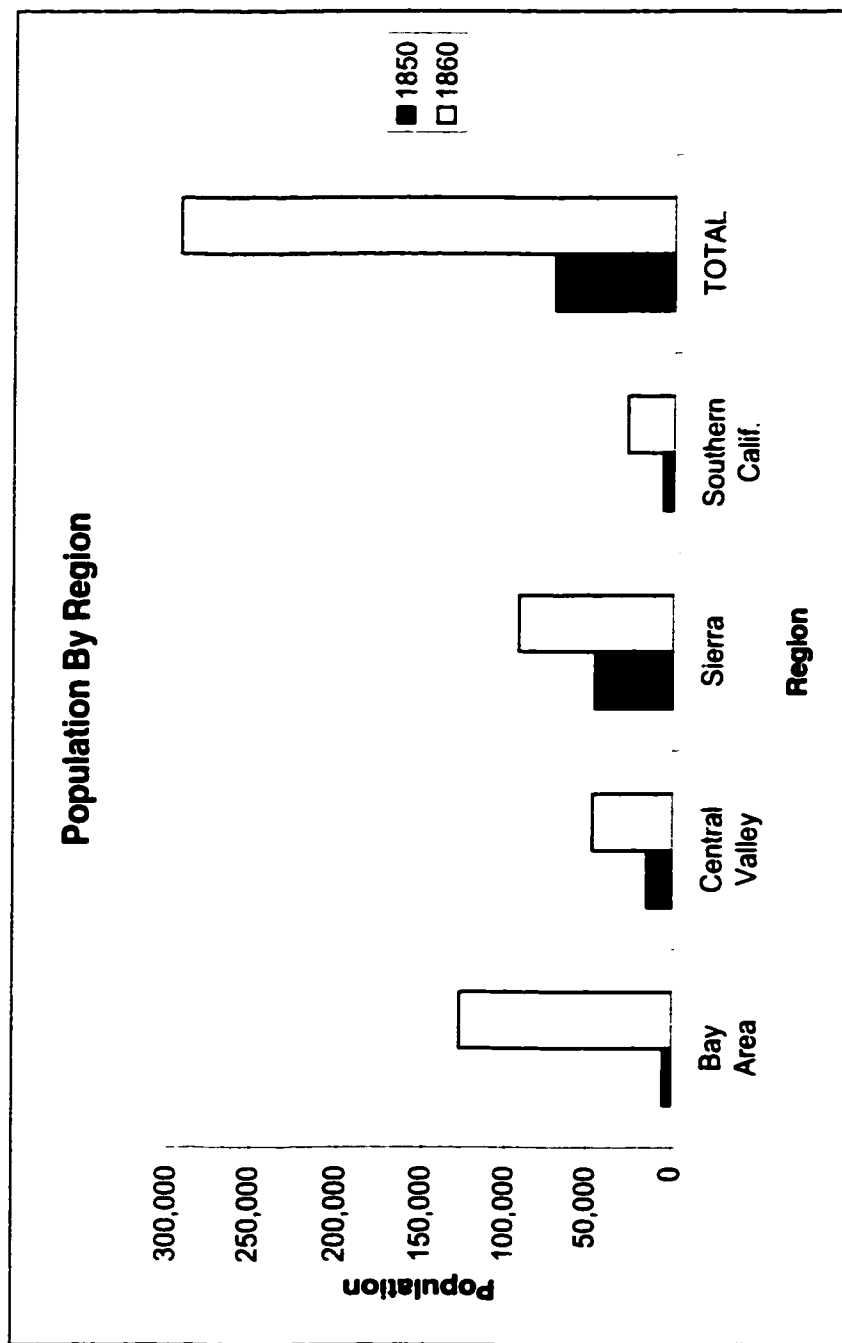


Figure 7 - Histogram of 1850/1860 Census Data by Settlement Region

industry infrastructure greater than the boom evolved to facilitate the miners. This commercial engine created a lasting change in the settlement pattern of California.

It is important to note once again that the population numbers used to measure this change were of questionable accuracy. Scholars seem to agree that the census numbers reported for 1850 and 1852 most likely under-reported California's Gold Rush population. The census figures for 1860 have been sanctioned as relatively historically accurate, but the ten year intercensal period may be a net with too broad of a mesh to capture some essential data, especially for rapid changes in the intercensal period. Because the early period of this study was tainted with suspect or incomplete data, a new methodology for determining the size and permanence of settlements had to be proposed.

Since the creation of settlements in California was so closely linked with the Gold Rush and so many settlements were formed in such a short period of time, the method of detecting population change through the presence of post offices and schools served as the minimum threshold for inclusion. Post offices were used to identify communities with a substantial population. Communities that registered a post office were then researched to verify if the town recorded the presence of a school, denoting a more permanent population committed long-term to settlement. The 59 communities that met this criteria were then evaluated in terms of region, chronology, and situation to reveal patterns of change caused by the Gold Rush migration.

The conclusions derived from these settlement patterns clearly show

that the appearance of permanent communities in California stemmed from the influx that began in 1848. Most of the towns that survived beyond 1852 were peripheral to the mining region. Southern California, which had a very limited association with the gold strikes, was remarkably unaffected by new settlements throughout the study period. The overwhelming majority of settlements were located between the mining region and the Pacific Ocean, along the all-important link to the outside world of goods, services, and transportation. The sites and situations of these communities demonstrate that the most important factor in all categories was a city's proximity to raw materials, finished goods, and population through water access. These unassuming settlements at portage and confluence sites throughout the state enumerated a collective count for the Census of 1860 that was greater than any count during the Gold Rush and were obviously influenced by the strikes of 1848.

The Gold Rush may have been the initial stimulus calling into existence some communities or leading to the growth of those that already existed, but at some point, these communities collectively passed a critical threshold in size and function which allowed them to survive and continue to grow even after mining ceased. As the Gold Rush subsided, this infrastructure of support towns easily shifted their focus and were not dependent on supplying the strikes. The 59 communities listed in this study reflect Royce's perception that "California's golden days did not conveniently stop short at a given point...one decade slipped into another swiftly and almost imperceptibly" (Jackson 1941, vi). Perhaps it was a combination of the landscape and the nature of the population that caused

these settlements to endure. Hunt's final description chronicling his 1857 trip to California observes that "If they could not get gold, they were content with land. And if land was not to be had, they would find a profit in one way or another" (Thomas 1858, xii). Clearly it was not only the opportunity for riches, but the nature of the population that was attracted by quick riches that transformed California.

The Gold Rush, seen in isolation, was an intense but short-lived phenomenon, perceived as having left no permanent marks except in people's memories. But, in fact, it induced profound and long-lived shifts which in turn became the foundation for subsequent changes in California's geography. The post-Gold Rush communities are one manifestation of the break with the settlement geography of the Spanish and Mexican periods -- of missions, presidios, and pueblos all favoring coastal or coastal valley locations. The emerging settlement pattern was not tied to institutions like that of the Spanish and Mexican periods and the locations of the new communities were new and unlinked to the past.

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**APPENDIX A
SETTLEMENT BY REGION AND ERA**

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Bay Area

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Monterey	Pre-1846
San Francisco	Pre-1846
San Jose	Pre-1846
Santa Clara	Pre-1846
Santa Cruz	Pre-1846
San Juan	Pre-1846
San Rafael	Pre-1846
Sonoma	Pre-1846
Woodside	Pre-1846
Bodega	Pre-1846
Benicia	1847
Martinez	1849
Napa	1849
Oakland	1850
Arcata	1850
Redwood City	1850
Gilroy	1850
McCartysville	1850
Vacaville	1850
Vallejo	1850
Alamo	1851
Analy	1851
Santa Rosa	1851
Alameda	1852
Lafayette	1852
Healdsburg	1852
Pacheco	1853
Mayfield	1854

Central Valley

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Sacramento City	Pre-1846
Sutterville	Pre-1846
Stockton	1847
Folsom City	1849
Shasta	1849
Tehema	1849
Fremont	1849
Yolo	1849
Red Bluff	1850

Sierra Region

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
Placerville	1848
Auburn	1848
Georgetown	1849
Salmon Falls	1849
Grass Valley	1849
Nevada City	1849
Chinese Camp	1849
Marysville	1849
Forbestown	1850
Diamond Springs	1850
Rough & Ready	1850
Shaw's Flat	1850
Damascus	1852
Quincy	1854

Southern California Region

<u>City</u>	<u>Year Established</u>
San Diego	Pre-1846
San Luis Obispo	Pre-1846
San Gabriel	Pre-1846
Los Angeles	Pre-1846
Santa Barbara	Pre-1846
San Pedro	Pre-1846
El Monte	1851
San Bernardino	1851

**APPENDIX B
CENSUS COUNTS BY COUNTY
1850/1860**

Region	City	1850	1860
Bay Area	Alameda		8927
	Contra Costa		5328
	Humboldt		2694
	Marin	323	3334
	Monterey	1872	4739
	Napa	405	5521
	San Benito*		1460
	San Francisco		56802
	San Mateo		3214
	Santa Clara		11912
	Santa Cruz	643	4944
	Solano	580	7169
	Sonoma	560	11867
Total Bay Area	13	4,383	127,911

Central Valley	Sacramento	9087	24142
	San Joaquin	3647	9435
	Shasta	378	4360
	Tehama		4044
	Yolo	1086	4716
Total Central Valley	5	14,198	46,697

Sierra	Butte	3574	12106
	El Dorado	20057	20562
	Nevada*	3809	16446
	Placer		13270
	Tuolumne	8,351	16229
	Yuba	9673	13668
Total Sierra	6	45,464	92,281

Southern Cal	Los Angeles	3530	11333
	San Bernardino		5551
	San Diego	798	4324
	San Luis Obispo	336	1782
	Santa Barbara	1185	3543
Total So Cal	5	5,849	26,533

GRAND TOTAL	29	69,894	293,422
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*City data used when no county count available

APPENDIX C SETTLEMENTS BY CITY

TOWN	COUNTY	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Alameda	Alameda	1852							X
Alamo	Contra Costa	1851						S	PS
Analy	Sonoma	1851						S	PS
Arcata (Union Town)	Humboldt	1850					190	S	P
Auburn	Placer	1848			X	X	1302	S	X
Benicia	Solano	1847		X	X	SP	1k	S	S
Bodega	Sonoma	1843	X	X	X	X	X	S	SP
Chinese Camp	Tuolumne	1849				X	X	X	X
Damascus	Placer	1852							X
Diamond Springs	El Dorado	1850					420	S	4k
El Monte	Los Angeles	1851						X	S
Folsom City (Negro Bar)	Sacramento	1849				X	336	700	X
Forbestown	Butte	1850					S	X	X
Fremont	Yolo	1849				S3k	P	S	X
Georgetown	El Dorado	1849				5k	462	PS	X
Gilroy	Santa Clara	1850					X	P	X

KEY

- X Date Community Mentioned in Primary and Secondary Sources
- P Date Post Office Founded
- Q Date Post Office Closed
- S Date School Founded
- N Year Community Changed Name (previous name in parenthesis)
- 1k Population Cited for Year (k indicates thousands of people)

APPENDIX C **SETTLEMENTS BY CITY**

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6	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
						X	X	P	X	X	S	S	S	S
					S	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
					S	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	P
				190	S	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N
		X	X	1302	S	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	811
	X	X	SP	1k	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	X	X	X	X	S	SP	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
			X	X	X	X	X	P	X	1k	X	X	S	S
						X	X	X	X	PS	X	X	X	Q
				420	S	4k	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	2142
					X	S	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	336	700	X	X	X	N	P	X	X	S	S
				S	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X
			S3k	P	S	X	1k	X	OP	X	X	X	X	X
			5k	462	PS	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X
				X	P	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X

ary and Secondary Sources

previous name in parenthesis)

s thousands of people)

TOWN	COUNTY	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Grass Valley	Nevada	1849				X	454	SP	X
Healdsburg	Sonoma	1852							X
Lafayette	Contra Costa	1852							S
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	1781	1200	S	X	S1500	PS1.6k	S	S
Martinez	Contra Costa	1849				X	S	PS	X
Marysville (Yubaville)	Yuba	1849				X	SN300	PS	4.5k
Mayfield	Santa Clara	1853							
McCartysville	Santa Clara	1850					X	X	S
Monterey	Monterey	1770	S1k	S	P	S	X	S	S
Napa	Napa	1849				X	P159	S	X
Nevada City	Nevada	1849				X	P6k	S	X
Oakland	Alameda	1850					X	X	S150
Pacheco	Contra Costa	1853							
Placerville (Hangtown)	El Dorado	1848			X	N	P5.6k	S	X
Quincy	Plumas	1854							
Red Bluff	Tehama	1850					X	X	X
Redwood City	San Mateo	1850					X	X	X
Rough & Ready	Nevada	1850					672	PS	X
Sacramento City (New)	Sacramento	1839	X	X	N12k	PS	S 15k	S	S
Salmon Falls	El Dorado	1849				X	3000	PS	X
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	1851						S500	P
San Diego	San Diego	1769	300	X	X	X	P	X	X
San Francisco (Yerba B)	San Francisco	1776	200	S458N	PS1k	S5k	S30k	S	S42k
San Gabriel	Los Angeles	1776	X	X	200	X	X	X	S
San Jose	Santa Clara	1777	S800	S	X	PS	S	S	S

1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
			X	454	SP	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
						X	S	S	S	S	P	S	S	S334
						S	X	X	X	X	P	X	X	X
00	S	X	S1500	PS1.6k	S	S	S	S	S	S	X	X	X	4385
			X	S	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	SN300	PS	4.5k	X	9k	8k	X	X	X	X	4740
							X	X	PS	X	X	X	X	X
				X	X	S	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X
k	S	P	S	X	S	S	X	2000	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	P159	S	X	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S2378
			X	P6k	S	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
				X	X	S150	S	S	P	S	S	S	S	1543
							X	X	X	X	X	X	PS	S
		X	N	P5.6k	S	X	X	N	X	X	X	X	X	1754
								X	P	X	S	X	X	192
				X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	S
				X	X	X	S	S	X	P	X	X	X	X
				672	PS	X	X	X	Q	X	X	X	X	1719
	X	N12k	PS	S 15k	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S13.7k
			X	3000	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
					S500	P	X	1200	1400	X	X	S	X	940
0	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	S2000	X	X	X	X	X	731
0	S458N	PS1k	S5k	S30k	S	S42k	50k+	S	S	S	S	S	S	S56.8k
	X	200	X	X	X	S	X	P	X	X	S	X	X	X
00	S	X	PS	S	S	S	S	S2k	S	S	S	S	S	S

TOWN	COUNTY	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1
San Juan	San Benito	1797	X	X	X	X	X	P	S	
San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	1772	X	X	X	X	1092	PS	X	
San Rafael	Marin	1817	X	X	X	X	X	PS	X	
Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	1782	X	X	X	S900	PS	S	S	
Santa Clara	Santa Clara	1777	S	S	X	X	X	PS	S	
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	1791	X	S	S	X	PS	S	X	
Santa Rosa	Sonoma	1851						S	PS	
Shasta (Reading's Spring)	Shasta	1849				X	N	P	S	
Shaw's Flat	Tuolumne	1850					X	X	X	
Sonoma	Sonoma	1823	X	X	X	P	X	S	S	
Stockton (Tuleburg)	San Joaquin	1847		X	X	NP1k	S10k	S	S	
Sutterville	Sacramento	1844	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Tehama	Tehama	1849				X	X	P	X	
Vacaville	Solano	1850					X	X	X	
Vallejo	Solano	1850					X	P	X	
Wilmington (New San Francisco)	Los Angeles	1793	X	X	X	X	X	X	S	
Woodside	San Mateo	1836	X	X	X	X	X	S	X	
Yolo (Cochran's Crossing)	Yolo	1849				X	X	X	N	

6	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
	X	X	X	X	P	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1460
	X	X	X	1092	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	X	X	X	X	PS	X	Q	P	S	S	S	S	S	S
	X	X	S900	PS	S	S	X	1000	X	X	X	X	X	X
	S	X	X	X	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	S	S	X	PS	S	X	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	950
					S	PS	X	X	X	S	S	S	S	S1623
			X	N	P	S	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
				X	X	X	X	PS	X	2k	X	X	X	X
	X	X	P	X	S	S	X	1k	X	X	X	X	X	597
	X	X	NP1k	S10k	S	S	5kS	9k	S	S	S	S	S	3679
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P	S	S	X	X	Q
			X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	S	S
				X	X	X	X	P	S	X	X	X	X	X
				X	P	X	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X
	X	X	X	X	X	S	X	P	X	X	X	N	X	X
	X	X	X	X	S	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	X	X	N	P	X	X	X	X	X	S	X

**APPENDIX D
SETTLEMENTS BY COUNTY**

COUNTY	TOWN	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Alameda	Oakland	1850					X	X	S150
Alameda	Alameda	1852							X
Butte	Forbestown	1850					S	X	X
Contra Costa	Martinez	1849				X	S	PS	X
Contra Costa	Alamo	1851						S	PS
Contra Costa	Lafayette	1852							S
Contra Costa	Pacheco	1853							
El Dorado	Placerville (Hangtown)	1848			X	N	P5.6k	S	X
El Dorado	Georgetown	1849				5k	462	PS	X
El Dorado	Salmon Falls	1849				X	3000	PS	X
El Dorado	Diamond Springs	1850					420	S	4k
Humboldt	Arcata (Union Town)	1850					190	S	P
Los Angeles	San Gabriel	1776	X	X	200	X	X	X	S
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	1781	1200	S	X	S1500	PS1.6k	S	S
Los Angeles	Wilmington (New San P	1793	X	X	X	X	X	X	S
Los Angeles	El Monte	1851						X	S
Marin	San Rafael	1817	X	X	X	X	X	PS	X

KEY

- X** Date Community Mentioned in Primary and Secondary Sources
- P** Date Post Office Founded
- Q** Date Post Office Closed
- S** Date School Founded
- N** Year Community Changed Name (previous name in parenthesis)
- 1k** Population Cited for Year (k indicates thousands of people)

APPENDIX D **SETTLEMENTS BY COUNTY**

1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
				X	X	S150	S	S	P	S	S	S	S	1543
						X	X	P	X	X	S	S	S	S
				S	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	S	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
					S	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
						S	X	X	X	X	P	X	X	X
							X	X	X	X	X	X	PS	S
		X	N	P5.6k	S	X	X	N	X	X	X	X	X	1754
			5k	462	PS	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X
			X	3000	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
				420	S	4k	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	2142
				190	S	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N
X	X	200	X	X	X	S	X	P	X	X	S	X	X	X
200	S	X	S1500	PS1.6k	S	S	S	S	S	S	X	X	X	4385
X	X	X	X	X	X	S	X	P	X	X	X	N	X	X
					X	S	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	PS	X	Q	P	S	S	S	S	S	S

KEY

Primary and Secondary Sources

(previous name in parenthesis)

(in thousands of people)

COUNTY	TOWN	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Monterey	Monterey	1770	S1k	S	P	S	X	S	S
Napa	Napa	1849				X	P159	S	X
Nevada	Grass Valley	1849				X	454	SP	X
Nevada	Nevada City	1849				X	P6k	S	X
Nevada	Rough & Ready	1850					672	PS	X
Placer	Auburn	1848			X	X	1302	S	X
Placer	Damascus	1852							X
Plumas	Quincy	1854							
Sacramento	Sacramento City (New	1839	X	X	N12k	PS	S 15k	S	S
Sacramento	Sutterville	1844	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Sacramento	Folsom City (Negro Bar	1849				X	336	700	X
San Benito	San Juan	1797	X	X	X	X	X	P	S
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	1851						S500	P
San Diego	San Diego	1769	300	X	X	X	P	X	X
San Francisco	San Francisco (Yerba B	1776	200	S458N	PS1k	S5k	S30k	S	S42k
San Joaquin	Stockton (Tuleburg)	1847		X	X	NP1k	S10k	S	S
San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	1772	X	X	X	X	1092	PS	X
San Mateo	Woodside	1836	X	X	X	X	X	S	X
San Mateo	Redwood City	1850					X	X	X
Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	1782	X	X	X	S900	PS	S	S
Santa Clara	San Jose	1777	S800	S	X	PS	S	S	S
Santa Clara	Santa Clara	1777	S	S	X	X	X	PS	S
Santa Clara	Gilroy	1850					X	P	X
Santa Clara	McCartysville	1850					X	X	S
Santa Clara	Mayfield	1853							
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	1791	X	S	S	X	PS	S	X

6	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
k	S	P	S	X	S	S	X	2000	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	P159	S	X	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S2378
			X	454	SP	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	P6k	S	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
				672	PS	X	X	X	Q	X	X	X	X	1719
		X	X	1302	S	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	811
						X	X	X	X	PS	X	X	X	Q
								X	P	X	S	X	X	192
	X	N12k	PS	S 15k	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S13.7k
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P	S	S	X	X	Q
			X	336	700	X	X	X	N	P	X	X	S	S
	X	X	X	X	P	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1460
					S500	P	X	1200	1400	X	X	S	X	940
0	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	S2000	X	X	X	X	X	731
0	S458N	PS1k	S5k	S30k	S	S42k	50k+	S	S	S	S	S	S	S56.8k
	X	X	NP1k	S10k	S	S	5kS	9k	S	S	S	S	S	3679
X	X	X	X	1092	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	S	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X
				X	X	X	S	S	X	P	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	S900	PS	S	S	X	1000	X	X	X	X	X	X
00	S	X	PS	S	S	S	S	S2k	S	S	S	S	S	S
S	S	X	X	X	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
				X	P	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X
				X	X	S	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X
							X	X	PS	X	X	X	X	X
X	S	S	X	PS	S	X	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	950

COUNTY	TOWN	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Shasta	Shasta (Reading's Spring)	1849				X	N	P	S
Solano	Benicia	1847		X	X	SP	1k	S	S
Solano	Vacaville	1850					X	X	X
Solano	Vallejo	1850					X	P	X
Sonoma	Sonoma	1823	X	X	X	P	X	S	S
Sonoma	Bodega	1843	X	X	X	X	X	S	SP
Sonoma	Analy	1851						S	PS
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	1851						S	PS
Sonoma	Healdsburg	1852							X
Tehama	Tehama	1849				X	X	P	X
Tehama	Red Bluff	1850					X	X	X
Tuolumne	Chinese Camp	1849				X	X	X	X
Tuolumne	Shaw's Flat	1850					X	X	X
Yolo	Fremont	1849				S3k	P	S	X
Yolo	Yolo (Cochran's Crossing)	1849				X	X	X	N
Yuba	Marysville (Yubaville)	1849				X	SN300	PS	4.5k

1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
			X	N	P	S	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	X	X	SP	1k	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
				X	X	X	X	P	S	X	X	X	X	X
				X	P	X	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X
	X	X	P	X	S	S	X	1k	X	X	X	X	X	597
	X	X	X	X	S	SP	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
					S	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	P
					S	PS	X	X	X	S	S	S	S	S1623
						X	S	S	S	S	P	S	S	S334
			X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	S	S
				X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	S
			X	X	X	X	X	P	X	1k	X	X	S	S
				X	X	X	X	PS	X	2k	X	X	X	X
			S3k	P	S	X	1k	X	OP	X	X	X	X	X
			X	X	X	N	P	X	X	X	X	X	S	X
			X	SN300	PS	4.5k	X	9k	8k	X	X	X	X	4740

APPENDIX E SETTLEMENTS BY DATE

COUNTY	TOWN	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
San Diego	San Diego	1769	300	X	X	X	P	X	X
Monterey	Monterey	1770	S1k	S	P	S	X	S	S
San Luis Obispo	San Luis Obispo	1772	X	X	X	X	1092	PS	X
Los Angeles	San Gabriel	1776	X	X	200	X	X	X	S
San Francisco	San Francisco (Yerba B)	1776	200	S458N	PS1k	S5k	S30k	S	S42k
Santa Clara	San Jose	1777	S800	S	X	PS	S	S	S
Santa Clara	Santa Clara	1777	S	S	X	X	X	PS	S
Los Angeles	Los Angeles	1781	1200	S	X	S1500	PS1.6k	S	S
Santa Barbara	Santa Barbara	1782	X	X	X	S900	PS	S	S
Santa Cruz	Santa Cruz	1791	X	S	S	X	PS	S	X
Los Angeles	Wilmington (New San F)	1793	X	X	X	X	X	X	S
San Benito	San Juan	1797	X	X	X	X	X	P	S
Marin	San Rafael	1817	X	X	X	X	X	PS	X
Sonoma	Sonoma	1823	X	X	X	P	X	S	S
San Mateo	Woodside	1836	X	X	X	X	X	S	X
Sacramento	Sacramento City (New	1839	X	X	N12k	PS	S 15k	S	S

KEY

- X Date Community Mentioned in Primary and Secondary Sources
- P Date Post Office Founded
- Q Date Post Office Closed
- S Date School Founded
- N Year Community Changed Name (previous name in parenthesis)
- 1k Population Cited for Year (k indicates thousands of people)

APPENDIX E **SETTLEMENTS BY DATE**

	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
6	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	S2000	X	X	X	X	X	731
k	S	P	S	X	S	S	X	2000	X	X	X	X	X	X
	X	X	X	1092	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	X	200	X	X	X	S	X	P	X	X	S	X	X	X
0	S458N	PS1k	S5k	S30k	S	S42k	50k+	S	S	S	S	S	S	S56.8k
0	S	X	PS	S	S	S	S	S2k	S	S	S	S	S	S
	S	X	X	X	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
0	S	X	S1500	PS1.6k	S	S	S	S	S	S	X	X	X	4385
	X	X	S900	PS	S	S	X	1000	X	X	X	X	X	X
	S	S	X	PS	S	X	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	950
	X	X	X	X	X	S	X	P	X	X	X	N	X	X
	X	X	X	X	P	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	1460
	X	X	X	X	PS	X	Q	P	S	S	S	S	S	S
	X	X	P	X	S	S	X	1k	X	X	X	X	X	597
	X	X	X	X	S	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X
	X	N12k	PS	S 15k	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S13.7k

ary and Secondary Sources

vious name in parenthesis)

s thousands of people)

COUNTY	TOWN	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852
Sonoma	Bodega	1843	X	X	X	X	X	S	SP
Sacramento	Sutterville	1844	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
San Joaquin	Stockton (Tuleburg)	1847		X	X	NP1k	S10k	S	S
Solano	Benicia	1847		X	X	SP	1k	S	S
El Dorado	Placerville (Hangtown)	1848			X	N	P5.6k	S	X
Placer	Auburn	1848			X	X	1302	S	X
Contra Costa	Martinez	1849				X	S	PS	X
El Dorado	Georgetown	1849				5k	462	PS	X
El Dorado	Salmon Falls	1849				X	3000	PS	X
Napa	Napa	1849				X	P159	S	X
Nevada	Grass Valley	1849				X	454	SP	X
Nevada	Nevada City	1849				X	P6k	S	X
Sacramento	Folsom City (Negro Bar)	1849				X	336	700	X
Shasta	Shasta (Reading's Spring)	1849				X	N	P	S
Tehama	Tehama	1849				X	X	P	X
Tuolumne	Chinese Camp	1849				X	X	X	X
Yolo	Fremont	1849				S3k	P	S	X
Yolo	Yolo (Cochran's Crossing)	1849				X	X	X	N
Yuba	Marysville (Yubaville)	1849				X	SN300	PS	4.5k
Alameda	Oakland	1850					X	X	S150
Butte	Forbestown	1850					S	X	X
El Dorado	Diamond Springs	1850					420	S	4k
Humboldt	Arcata (Union Town)	1850					190	S	P
Nevada	Rough & Ready	1850					672	PS	X
San Mateo	Redwood City	1850					X	X	X
Santa Clara	Gilroy	1850					X	P	X

6	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
	X	X	X	X	S	SP	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	P	S	S	X	X	Q
	X	X	NP1k	S10k	S	S	5kS	9k	S	S	S	S	S	3679
	X	X	SP	1k	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
		X	N	P5.6k	S	X	X	N	X	X	X	X	X	1754
		X	X	1302	S	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	811
			X	S	FS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			5k	462	FS	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X
			X	3000	FS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	P159	S	X	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S2378
			X	454	SP	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	P6k	S	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	336	700	X	X	X	N	P	X	X	S	S
			X	N	P	S	S	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
			X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	S	S
			X	X	X	X	X	P	X	1k	X	X	S	S
			S3k	P	S	X	1k	X	QP	X	X	X	X	X
			X	X	X	N	P	X	X	X	X	X	S	X
			X	SN300	FS	4.5k	X	9k	8k	X	X	X	X	4740
				X	X	S150	S	S	P	S	S	S	S	1543
				S	X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X
				420	S	4k	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	2142
				190	S	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	N
				672	FS	X	X	X	Q	X	X	X	X	1719
				X	X	X	S	S	X	P	X	X	X	X
				X	P	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X	X

COUNTY	TOWN	EST	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1
Santa Clara	McCartysville	1850					X	X	S	
Solano	Vacaville	1850					X	X	X	
Solano	Vallejo	1850					X	P	X	
Tehama	Red Bluff	1850					X	X	X	
Tuolumne	Shaw's Flat	1850					X	X	X	
Contra Costa	Alamo	1851						S	PS	
Los Angeles	El Monte	1851						X	S	
San Bernardino	San Bernardino	1851						S500	P	
Sonoma	Analy	1851						S	PS	
Sonoma	Santa Rosa	1851						S	PS	
Alameda	Alameda	1852							X	
Contra Costa	Lafayette	1852							S	
Placer	Damascus	1852							X	
Sonoma	Healdsburg	1852							X	
Contra Costa	Pacheco	1853								
Santa Clara	Mayfield	1853								
Plumas	Quincy	1854								

1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
			X	X	S	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X
			X	X	X	X	P	S	X	X	X	X	X
			X	P	X	X	X	X	S	X	X	X	X
			X	X	X	P	X	X	X	X	X	X	S
			X	X	X	X	PS	X	2k	X	X	X	X
				S	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S
				X	S	PS	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
				S500	P	X	1200	1400	X	X	S	X	940
				S	PS	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	P
				S	PS	X	X	X	S	S	S	S	S1623
					X	X	P	X	X	S	S	S	S
					S	X	X	X	X	P	X	X	X
					X	X	X	X	PS	X	X	X	Q
					X	S	S	S	S	P	S	S	S334
						X	X	X	X	X	X	PS	S
						X	X	PS	X	X	X	X	X
							X	P	X	S	X	X	192