Silicon Valley facing southwards to downtown San Jose - Permission by Creative commons License Deed

The People of the Valley:

A Spatial History of Silicon Valley

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the history of immigration in Silicon Valley from the arrival of the first people, the Ohlones. Using Spatial Methodology, I show how the valley was merely an historical space until the arrival of the Europeans who changed the landscape by introducing people, animals, plants, and the supplies necessary for their survival. It is the history of a space that was built layer upon layer as more immigrants arrived and introduced new ideas and expertise.

The history of the valley is a history of one set of immigrants succeeding another, usually peacefully, but not always. The Spanish came from Mexico; they trained the Ohlones to farm, and the valley began to flourish. When the Spanish authorities left, the Mexicans took their place, but this group did not put down any new layers. They gave away the mission lands to the elite Californios. They could not cope with the inroads of aggressive Americans who demanded land. Finally, Mexico declared war on the United States Government, and were defeated. The area was now in American hands.

The valley prospered. As new immigrants arrived they introduced new skills: new layers were being placed on those laid down before them. Further immigration brought both commercial and agricultural expertise.

Then immigrants came from the East. Poor and uneducated, the Chinese were employed in dangerous occupations that no one else wanted. They suffered at the hands of organized groups who did not want them there. Japanese immigrants came to work on farms, and were capable of defending themselves. People migrated from Europe because they wanted a freer life. They brought skills that contributed to the ongoing prosperity of the valley.

But after the Second World War, farms were sold; a new layer of development arrived. Information Technology was to become the most important industry. Scientists and engineers came from throughout the world to study, work and start their own companies. The valley became a centre for exporting technology with many successful former immigrants taking their new skills and ideas to their homelands.

This thesis shows that, from the arrival of the first Spanish immigrants to those who are currently coming from all corners of the world, the valley has prospered

through their efforts. Silicon Valley is the culmination of the talents and determination of many people. If success is to be maintained, immigration must continue as it has for more than two centuries.

Certificate of Dissertation

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.

Signed:

Kathleen P. Feain

Date: 17.6.2018

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It has been a marvellous journey through Silicon Valley meeting the people who make it the wonderful place it is.

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Silicon Valley, California - Permission by Creative commons License Deed

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Introduction

Silicon Valley conjures up visions of technocrats, buildings devoted to the production of high technology components and young entrepreneurs who initiated 'startups' in small garages, and quickly achieved world-renowned success and multi-billion dollar fortunes. But this is only part of the landscape of the area: the valley is the result of the contribution made by the people who immigrated there originally in pre-literate times, by those who followed them and recorded their history and by those who continue to arrive. The beautiful valley that was formed at the south end of San Francisco Bay with its fertile soil, its abundance of water, its flora and fauna and a climate conducive to cultivation was of no material value until the first immigrants came through the region and availed themselves of its riches. As each group of immigrants entered the valley and decided to remain, they showed their appreciation of the area by using their skills to make use of all of its attributes, while, at the same time, initiating their own way of life. Each group laid down their own imprint and, subsequently, these layers remained, increased, and continue to do so in varying patterns. All these are woven into the space that is known as Silicon Valley, 'a location in which events occur'.[1]

My argument is that the valley has relied on the continuing pattern of immigration to become the place that it is today and that it is the people of the valley, both from the historic past and more recently, whose imprints, cultures and identities are embedded in the valley space and continue to define the area. Using spatial methodology, I will show how each immigrant group laid down its own imprint on the landscape, applying their own values, experience and memories in an attempt to reproduce their former lives in an unknown land.[2] This is their legacy: a valley that is a permanent centre or destination for immigrants; a space where everyone should be able to make an input into the landscape.

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[1] John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past,* New York, 2002, p. 31.
[2] Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774-1880,* Melbourne, 1980, p. 6.

The valley meant something different to each immigrating group: for the earlier arrivals, it was a place to end their wandering, while for others, it was an opportunity to put down roots and achieve their goals.[3] Some have left few traces, but historians are able to observe their relics held in archives and provide a logical interpretation of what occurred at a particular time.[4] However, while spatial history is also determined from literature, letters, journals and maps produced by the people of a certain period, it also looks into the gaps in time and space for which there is no concrete evidence.[5] One source of information is derived from the names the early immigrants applied to the topography, their settlements, their roads and everything else they claimed for themselves. In fact, the act of naming a place was more important than claiming a place; it indicated that the occupants of that space believed it was important to them.[6] It shows personal possession, something that is of significant value to the immigrant.[7]

Those who made spatial history were the explorers and settlers who chose the direction in which they would travel, giving names to the features of the land as they passed through. They inhabited the land but they often left no history. They were not looking for scenery but horizons, tracks and space.[8] Spatial history begins with the act of naming; it then becomes a place, a space with a history. It is not static.[9] This means that spatial relations are then able 'to be established through the movement of people, plants, animals, goods and information'.[10] The valley and its immigrants provide a spatial history of all these movements.

Spatial history is able to discover and then explore the spaces left by historians whose interests are in more obvious areas.[11] In an historical space there is no chronology, or logical progression from being one thing and then moving on to

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[3] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay on Spatial History,* London, 1987, p. xxi.
[4] Gaddis, p. 47.
[5] Richard White, 'What is Spatial History?', Spatial History Laboratory Working Paper, 1st Feb, 2010, Stanford, CA, p. 1, http://www.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.bbp?id=29, accessed 20. 4. 2018.
[6] Carter, p. 137.
[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3, 64.
[8] *Ibid.,* p. xxi.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. xxiv.
[10] White, p. 6.
[11] Carter, p. xxiii.

another but in spatial history time moves as the space is explored; there is no future; it is yet to be invented.[12] The past is a landscape about which the historian gives his own opinions, and which history lets us represent. Cartographers can photograph a landscape and map it but historical landscape is physically inaccessible.[13] Landscape possesses a memory which is not revealed until its story is told, and then those who wish to know about it will learn where it is 'in the world of time and space'.[14] Space is part of a pattern with a past, a present and a future.[15] It can be whatever you want it to be.[16] It does not exist independently, and it is affected by what happens in that space.[17]

There was no one in the valley at first; it was uninhabited until the descendants of the first people who crossed from Asia by the ice-bridge during the Ice Age found it. They were the people who formed the first layer of the future valley. The immigrants who followed them throughout the centuries continued to add further layers by the additions and physical changes they made to the landscape. Each group brought different skills, knowledge, and expertise to make the new layer they were forming better than the previous ones. Through this history of layering, I will show in this thesis how the valley thrived; how it was people from the East Coast of the United States who formed early layers until immigrants came from across the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans to form very different layers. As a result, Silicon Valley relied on its immigrants to nurture, cultivate, and improve the landscape; eventually it welcomed people from all over the world who would produce new technologies as they continued the process of layering: putting down what were new developments in a once ancient valley.

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[12] *Ibid*., pp. 293-4.
[13] Geddis, pp. 5, 33.
[14] Ross Gibson, *Seven Versions of an Australian Badland*, St Lucia, Qld, 2002, p. 68.
[15] Geddis, pp. 31, 34.
[16] Greg Denning, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language: Passion and Theatre on the Bounty*, New York, 1992, pp. 19-40.
[17] Denis Cosgrove, Landscape and Landschaft, Lecture delivered at the 'Spatial Turn in History' Symposium, German Historical Institute, Feb 19th, 2004, Uni. of CA, Los Angeles, GHI Bulletin No. 35, (Fall 2004), pp. 37, 31. https://www.ghi-dc/fileadmin/iser_upload/GHI_Washington/Publications/Bulletin25/35.27.pdf, accessed 20. 4. 2018.

There is a wealth of literature on the history of the valley that is found in letters and documents written during the first century of European settlement and held in libraries attached to Californian universities, history centres, and local historical societies. The Santa Clara Mission *Informes,* the annual reports which were sent by the missionaries to their superior, Father Junipero Serra, from 1777 were a valuable source of information on their lives and the difficulties they faced.[18] They described the activities, the disappointments and also the joys of finding the native Indians coming in to their mission. In the Bancroft Library at Berkeley University there is a range of *Biological Sketches* of the pioneering Murphy family and their overland trip to California, each one written by a friend of Mr. Murphy [19] This family were true pioneers who travelled in search of a place in which they could settle permanently. Copies of Deeds from the sale of land in Santa Clara County in 1850 indicated the size of the blocks and the cost of each with special attention paid to wives whose names were included in the land titles.[20] The Cupertino History Centre provided a Brochure commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Japanese Wakakatui Colony in 1869 which described the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants and the introduction of mulberry trees into California in preparation for silk production.[21] This was a group who came prepared to set up a business that was new to California. Although the primary sources are a valuable tool in understanding the roles played by each new group of immigrants that came into the valley, they are often unclear regarding the reaction of the earlier arrivals, and how they coped with the new conditions. I intend to show the effects of all the changes.

There are many books written about the history of immigration in the area. Both Malcolm Margolin in *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area* and Donald M. Howard, in *Primitives in Paradise: The Monterey Peninsula Indians,* discuss the lives, rituals and journeys of the Ohlones, but they do

[18] Santa Clara Mission *Informes*. Translated by V. Lococo (Copy). Property of Santa Clara University Archives: General Archives of the Nation, Mission of Santa Clara. Report signed by Fray Thomas dela Perra of Seravia & Fray Jose Antonio Murguia de Jesu Maria. Ist Report 1777, pp. 5–13.

[19] Edwin H. Fowler, A Biological Sketch of the Murphy Family, 35 1 ins, in the handwriting of Edwin H Fowler, 1888, p. 1, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, C – D 792: 9, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA, G. W. Fowler, p. 1.

[20] Deeds A, Santa Clara County, 18. 2.1850, Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.

[21] Cupertino History Centre, Brochure commemorating the centennial of the Wakakatui Colony in 1869, Cupertino. CA.

not indicate that the Ohlones, the first people in Santa Clara Valley were the beginning of a long period of immigration in Santa Clara[22] I shall show how the Ohlones migrated to the valley and how they cared for it for thousands of years. Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, in their *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846,* use material from early Spanish and Mexican records and letters which depict the lives of the early Spanish and Mexican settlers living in a strange and difficult situation.[23] Again, they make no attempt to show that the Spanish and the Mexicans were also immigrants; using spatial history, I shall describe how they were laying down their civilization over that of the Ohlone. Herbert Howe Bancroft, who was the author of *The Works of Herbert Howe Bancroft, The History of California, 1801-1835,* was a prolific writer who covered many aspects of the history of the American Pacific Coast and its people; in this instance he writes about the effect of the arrival of the brash American immigrants on the Spanish and Mexican settlers.[24] I will show how the all these immigrants added a layer to the valley's landscape that was very different to any before.

A description of the early American immigrants demanding their rights from the Mexicans is provided by Frank M. Stanger in *South from San Francisco: San Mateo County, California: Its History and Heritage,* while Frederick J. Turner who wrote the influential paper, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', after the frontier was officially declared closed in 1893, said that the same Americans were the 'heroes of the frontier'.[25] All these immigrants were bringing a new dimension to the frontier, and I shall show how they, in spite of their differences, built a distinctive layer in the landscape of Santa Clara Valley. When the first Chinese came to Santa Clara Valley there were racial problems which are explained in *The Indispensible Enemy: Labour and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California* by Alexander Saxton, while

[22] Malcolm Margolin, *The Ohlone Way, Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area,* Berkeley, CA, 2003 (1978); Donald M. Howard, *Primitives in Paradise: The Monterey Peninsula Indians,* Carmel, CA, 1975.

[23] Rose Marie Beebe & Robert M. Senkewiez, *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California, 1535-1846,* Santa Clara, CA, 2001.

[24] Herbert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Herbert Howe Bancroft, The History of California, 1801-1835,* Vol !V, Chapter X1V, San Francisco, (New York), 1886.

[25] Frank M. Stanger, *South from San Francisco: San Mateo County, California: Its History and Heritage,* San Mateo, CA, 1963; Frederick J. Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History", published in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1894.

Gerard J. Kettmann and Mark Thomas discuss the problems arising with Japanese immigrants in the book they wrote about their friend, the late Judge Wayne Kanemoto, *The American Odyssey of the Immigrant Japanese.*[26] These two groups differed widely, but I will show how they, in their own ways, contributed to Santa Clara's development.

In *The Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Injustice, Immigrant Workers and the High-Tech Global Economy* by David Naguib and Lisa Sun-Hee Park, the authors are concerned with the social history of the area and the effects on immigration. They discuss the exploitation of immigrants during the valley's long history but, when writing of the Native Americans who were there before the Spanish arrived, they ignore the fact that they were also immigrants.[27] In my chapter on the Ohlone, I emphasise how they were the original immigrants. J. A. English-Lueck, who wrote *cultures@siliconvalley,* discusses the effect of the change in Santa Clara Valley's culture from that of a slower-moving agricultural community to a high-technology centre that is involved in a global economy. She acknowledges that there is a constant flow of immigrants from overseas and that divisions relating to race and economic status do exist, but she does not mention that many of the immigrants are Americans from interstate.[28] The interstate immigrants feature throughout this thesis from the early American settlers to those engineers and scientists who established the vast technological empire.

This thesis will therefore address the gaps in current literature on the topic of the history of immigration from its beginning until the 21st Century and will show how the valley is the place that it is now, because of the immigrants who travelled from overseas or crossed the plains from the East Coast because they wanted land and a new way of life.

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[26] Gerard J. Kettermann & Mark Thomas, *The American odyssey of the immigrant Japanese: a tribute to Judge Wayne Kanemoto*, San Jose, 2008.
[27] David Naguib Pellow & Lisa Sun-Hee Park, *The Silicon Valley of Dreams: Environmental Injustice, Immigrant Workers and the High-Tech Economy,* New York, 2002.
[28] J. A. English-Lueck, *cultures@siliconvalley,* Stanford, CA, 2002.

Chapter one describes the creation of the valley, its geographical and geological features, and the equitable climate which made it such a productive agricultural and horticultural area of California. Chapter two introduces the original immigrants, the Ohlones, and their lives as the first custodians of the valley. Chapter three is the story of the Spanish, the first Europeans to arrive, their efforts to establish a colony and their attempts to train the Ohlones to become Spanish citizens. Chapter four explains how Mexico achieved its independence from Spain and was then in control of Alta California, but were unable to cope so far away from Mexico City; finally they went to war with the United States. In Chapter five, the Americans travelled across the plains from the East Coast in large numbers to take up the Government's offer of land. Chapter six discusses how the arrival of the Chinese immigrants caused considerable concern to the Americans on the West Coast, but when the Japanese arrived there was not the same degree of animosity. Chapter seven shows how the arrival of Europeans and British with their horticultural skills contributed to the success of the valley's major industry: fruit growing. In Chapter eight, the technical age assumed precedence in Santa Clara Valley; the orchards gave way to technology and people arrived from all over the world to study, or work. In this thesis I intend to demonstrate how for thousands of years Santa Clara Valley was a place where the first immigrants, the Ohlones, lived a simple life as caretakers of the landscape, until the arrival of the first Europeans. From that time different people came from other lands and from the East Coast of the United States with plans to fulfil their dreams in the space that was the valley. In Chapter One, I will describe the origins of Santa Clara Valley, its geological composition and its physical assets.

Chapter One - Prelude: Setting the Natural Scene

Silicon Valley is a small valley, ten miles wide and twenty-five miles long, situated in the South Bay Area of San Francisco Bay.[1] It is bordered by the Santa Cruz Mountains on the west side, the Diablo Ranges in the east, the south arm of San Francisco to the north and a narrow pass at the south end, where its most southern city, Gilroy, lies. The name Silicon Valley is new; its original name, Santa Clara Valley was given by the first Europeans to visit the area in 1776. The act of naming this place meant that it became a place with its own history.[2] The valley is known for its fertile soil, its pleasant climate and its lack of mists due to the sheltering Santa Cruz Mountains in its west and its location on the South Bay of San Francisco Bay that gives it access through the Golden Gate to the Pacific. For thousands of years it has been a focal point for immigrants who are able to enjoy and develop everything that it has to offer. However, it was not always like this. Chapters two-eight concern the immigrants themselves while this chapter is a brief overview of the land they are inhabiting.

This valley was formed during the Cenozoic Period, at a time of geological upheaval and formation.[3] The last Ice Age occurred 10,000 years ago, when large expanses of ice developed from both the Arctic and Antarctic polar regions and extended towards the equator forming massive frozen sheets.[4] Eventually, most of Europe and North America were also covered with ice, resulting in such catastrophic changes in conditions that many living creatures were affected and many mammals became extinct.[5] During this period, a series of plate movements under the Pacific Ocean caused extensive folding and upward propulsion of the earth's crust resulting in the formation of a series of mountain chains in the area that became the Santa Clara Valley; these new mountains formed the eastern and western boundaries of

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[1] Gerald L. Gordon, *The Formula for Economic Growth on Main Street America*, Boca Raton (Fl, USA), 2009, p. 66.
[2] Carter, p. xxiv.
[3] Wm. A. Bergren, The Cenozoic Era, http://britannica.com/science/Cenozoic-Era, accessed 20. 4. 2018.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*

the valley.[6] At the same time, eruptions from active volcanos stretching from British Columbia to Northern California added to the upheaval.[7] The locality is still noted for its seismic activity.

From 1900 to 1979, there were 1,900 earthquakes registered in the region, most of which went unnoticed but, during the same period, there were at least four damaging earthquakes experienced during each decade; one such earthquake in 1906 caused major damage in San Francisco and San Jose resulting in the loss of more than 3000 lives.[8] The entire Santa Clara County is crossed by a number of fault lines; the San Andreas fault zone lies near Wedge County in the Santa Cruz Mountains near the boundary between Santa Clara County and Santa Cruz County and continues through the entire length of Santa Clara Valley, while the Calveras fault line runs from the north-west to the south west and bisects the county through the Diablo Ranges.[9] The southerly extension of the Hayward fault zone also lies in the county west of the Calveras fault zone, while the San Andreas Fault line intersects with the Pilarcitos fault line north of Crystal Springs Reservoir.[10] The San Andreas Fault Line is responsible for causing the most damage in the region; it is positioned along the boundaries between the Pacific plate in the west and the North American plate in the east which means that, if there is a northward movement on the west side, earthquakes will follow. Over millions of years, these slow movements caused groups of rocks to change position and face each other across the line with such force that new mountains were formed and extended, while existing basins

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[6] 'Early History', Santa Clara County: California's Historic Silicon Valley, pp. 1-2, http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/santaclara/history.htm, accessed 5. 4. 2018.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Thomas H. Rogers & John W. Williams, 'Potential Seismic Hazards in Santa Clara County, CA', California Division of Mines and Geology, *Special Report 107,* p. 39, reproduced in John W. Williams, 'A field trip for the 1979 meeting of the Cordilleran Section of the Geological Society of America', Dept. of Earth Sciences, McCone Hall Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, 'A Field Guide', *Engineering and Environmental Geology of the Santa Clara County, CA,* 1979, pp. 9-10, McCone Hall Library Collection, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[10] Jon C. Cummings, *Guide Book for Friends of the Pleistocene,* 'Progress Report on the U.S. Geological Survey Quaternary Studies in the San Francisco Bay Area: An Informal Collection of Preliminary Papers by U.S. Geological Survey Staff & Jon C. Cummings', Hayward, CA, 1922, pp. 3-10, McCone Hall Library Collection, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

enlarged also.[11] These movements occurred prior to the formation of both Santa Clara Valley and San Francisco Bay.

San Francisco Bay is considered to be geologically 'young'.[12] 20,000 years ago, during the last Ice Age, much of the world's oceans were frozen and large glaciers formed on land. Consequently, there was less water in the seas and their levels were lower; it is estimated that the average level decreased by 492 feet (150 metres).[13] This was part of a continuing climatic cycle of changes in ocean temperatures that occurred in pre-history times over periods of thousands of years.[14] 118,000 years ago the sea level was 394 feet (120 metres) lower and the Californian shoreline was nineteen miles (30.6 kilometres) further west than where it is now.[15] 15,000 years ago, the coastal shoreline was receding backward and was nine miles (14.5 kilometres) west of its current position; both the sea ice and the glaciers were melting and the ocean levels were beginning to rise.[16] Estimations of the time San Francisco Bay was formed vary between 6,000 and 4,000 years ago; 6,000 years ago, the sea was rising, but at a slower rate and the Bay was similar in size to what it is now.[17] But 5,000 years ago, the sea level began to rise at an estimated rate of more than 3.29 feet (one metre) per 1,000 metres per 1,000 years.[18] Then 4,000 years ago, as the result of natural variations in 'the Sun-Earth System', the climate first cooled, then warmed and the Bay was formed.[19]

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[11] Andrew Aiden, 'All about the San Andreas Fault', About.com.Geology, http://geology.about.ca.com/od/geology_ca/to/aboutsaf.htm, accessed 22. 9. 2010.
[12] San Francisco Bay's History, *The Origins and Watershed of San Francisco Bay,* http://geiscu.sufu.edu/courses/103/habs/estauries/par_tic.htm, accessed 8. 4. 2018.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Jere H. Lipps, 'San Francisco Bay: Interfacing Ocean', http://ucmp.berkeley.edu/aboutshortcourses/shortcourses10/php, accessed 17. 4. 2018.
[15] B. Lyn Ingram, 'Geology of the San Francisco Bay Region: Late Pleistocene to Holocene History of San Francisco Bay', Dept of Earth and Planetary Sciences, http://www.libberkeley.edu/WRCA/odfs/ccow_ingram.pdf, accessed 15. 9, 2010.
[16] 'An Unvarnished Story: 5,500 years of History in the Vicinity of 9th and Mission Streets, San Francisco', http://nps.gov/history/seac/scorehus.htm, accessed 3. 9. 2010.
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Santa Clara University, College of Arts and Sciences, Environments, Ulistac: Natural Area Restoration and Education Project, http://www.scu.edu/cas/environmentalstudies/ulistac/about.history.cfm, accessed 11. 9. 2010.
[19] Lipps.

Before the Bay existed, there was a plain in that position through which a number of rivers flowed out to sea. Rising levels in the Sacramento River forced a torrent of water out over the plain, through the gorge that is now known as the Golden Gate and out to sea, far to the west of the present shoreline. As a result, the original river valley disappeared under the ocean, while water levels at the Golden Gate rose to 381 feet above the original entrance.[20] The coastal shoreline was then more than nine miles west of the present coast.[21] In recent years, tests carried out on sediment taken from under the floor of the Bay indicate that this was not an isolated incident and that, over a period of two million years, sea levels continued to rise and fall.[22] Consequently, if humans did live in the area at that time, all traces of them would now be submerged under five metres of sediment.[23] Climate variations continued.

Between 3,000 B.C. and 500 B.C. there were severe droughts in the South Bay Area.[24] However, four thousand years ago, the Bay area became part of a subtropical zone with a mild climate of cool, wet winters and hot, dry summers.[25]Then, between 500 B.C. and 900 A.D., the climate changed again, becoming cooler and moister.[26] This improvement in conditions would have influenced the migratory tribes who were then passing through the region to settle there permanently. A pattern of droughts followed by more clement weather continued throughout the late Archaic and Middle Periods, until 1,100 A.D., during the Emergent Period, when the climate again became cooler and wetter with milder temperatures.[27] Such an alteration would encourage the continuation of further migration. It was many centuries later before Europeans actually passed through the valley on their way north.

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[20] Formation of San Francisco Bay, education.savingthebay.org/wp-content/The-Formation-of-San-Francisco-Bay.pdf, accessed 10. 5. 2018.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] San Francisco Bay's History.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] 'History of the Ohlones', Saratoga Historical Museum, Saratoga, CA, 2010, n.p.n.
[25] Joanna Blum, '1994 Grasslands', in *The Forgotten Grasslands: The Cultural Ecology of the Californian Grasslands,* Series on the Cultural & Natural History of Santa Clara, No. 1, Santa Clara, CA, 1994, p. 3.
[26] History of the Ohlones, n.p.n.
[27] *Ibid.*, n. p. n.

The first Spanish explorers to come through the valley were surprised by the great expanses of water everywhere. In 1769, Juan Crespi, a member of the first Spanish expedition to the area, described the South Bay area in his journal: 'to the south, the sea-arm or estuary (South Bay) turns into a great number of inlets, with lakes as well…it looks like a maze'.[28] Later in the century San Francisco Bay was described as a '50 mile long chain of salt water estuaries with many streams entering it'.[29] At that time, 246 years ago, the Bay was much larger than it is now, with numerous estuaries, marshes and channels, where the water was so unpolluted that the sea abounded with beavers and otters.[30] On land there was an abundant supply of fresh water which was available within a few feet of the valley's floor and, on the surface, it flowed through in swamps, springs, brooks, lakes, rivers and creeks.[31] There were 200,000 acres of wetlands and 1,000 acres of marshlands which, together with the oak trees and redwoods, the meadows and the savannahs formed a rich habitat for animals, fish and birds.[32] In 1794, the navigator, La Perouse described the region: 'There is not any country in the world which more abounds in fish and game of every description'.[33] In 1861, the Californian State Geological Survey described the area as having swamps, 'winding streams and bayous crossing and winding in every direction'.[34] There was water everywhere, especially in flat land.[35] But, by that time, there was a steady flow of immigrants to the area, and, as a result of their labour, the landscape was changing accordingly.

Thirty years later, in 1890, the State Mineralogist described Santa Clara

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[28] Juan Crespi, *Journal of Juan Crespi, 1769,* in *Who discovered the Golden Gate?* Frank M. Stanger & Alan K Brown [eds], San Mateo, CA, 1960, n.p.n.
[29] Randall Miliken, *A Time of little Choice: The Disintegration of Tribal Culture in the San Francisco Bay Area 1769-1819,* Manlo Park, CA, 1995, p. 14.
[30] Margolin, p. 9.
[31] *Ibid*., p. 8.
[32] Robin M. Grossinger, 'Historical Wetlands of San Francisco Bay', http://www.ucmp.berkeley.edu, accessed 3. 9. 2010; Margolin, p. 4.
[33] Jean Francois de Galoup de la Perouse, *A voyage around the World in the Years 1785-1786, 1787 1788*, also referenced in Margolin, p. 3.
[34] William H. Whiting, State Geological Surveyor, 1861, quoted by William H. Brewer, in *Up and Down California 1861-1864,* Frances P. Farquar [ed.], Berkeley, CA, 1966, pp. 174-5, also cited in Lawrence H Shoup & Randall R. Miliken, *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian,* Oakland, CA, 1999, p. 1.
[35] Ulistac, p. 3.

County as being mostly rich farming land with streams flowing into either Monterey Bay or San Francisco Bay, and where the mountains in the east and the north-east had dry, desolate ridges that were worn and eroded by weather.[36] Hillside materials ranged from soft, young stratified rock to much older and harder rock, interspersed with both volcanic and hard homogenous rocks.[37] While this area was described by the writer as being 'rough and inhospitable', there were natural resources there that were already being developed.[38] The land was losing its original character; its streams, grasslands and mountains were being transformed to satisfy the requirements of the growing population. It was changing from being a purely agricultural and horticultural region to one where people were looking at pursuing underground riches.[39] Already, there was a quicksilver mine at Almaden which was producing 18,000 flasks of the metal annually, the price for which varied from $42.50 to $48.00 per flask, and, as a by-product, the mine also produced 75 million gallons of water per annum.[40] Other companies were investigating the possibility of producing oil.

Eight wells at the McPherson Oil Wells in Moody Gulch were producing eight barrels of oil per day and two new wells were drilled after 1888.[41] Over the next two years, a further twelve wells were drilled for oil and gas at Los Gatos, many of which were found to contain small amounts of petroleum in the shale and sandstone of the Miocene Monterey Formation, but there was nothing of any possible commercial value. The oil that was there was believed to have moved and accumulated in 'traps' during periods of folding and thrusting of the Berrocal fault system.[42] Urbanisation of the Los Gatos area meant that there was no likelihood of further exploration.

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[36] William Ireland, Jr, State Mineralogist, W. L. Watts, Assistant in the Field, *10th Annual Report of the State Mineralogist for the Year ending Dec.1st, 1890,* pp. 604-619, Sacramento, State Office, J. D. Young, Superintendant State Printing, 1890, Dept. of Earth Sciences, McCone Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[37] Stephen D. Allen & Carl M. Wentworth, 'Hillside Materials & Slopes of the San Francisco Bay Region', *U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper 1357,* Washington, D.C., 1995, p. 1, Dept. of Earth Sciences, McCone Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[38] Ireland & Watts, p. 604.

[39] *Ibid*., pp. 604-06.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.,* p. 606.

[42] Richard Stanley, U.S. Geological Survey, Menlo Park, CA, *A.A.P.G. Bulletin 1995*, TN: A46, Copy 2 V. 79: 1-4 EART. Assoc. Round Table Pacific Section Meeting, 1995, San Francisco, CA, May 2-5, p. 598, Dept. of Earth Sciences, McCone Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

Although there is no obvious contamination from the old wells, there is a possibility that, if boreholes are drilled for water in the vicinity, drillers will find an accumulation of hydrocarbons there.[43] But there were other resources nearby.

Veins of coal were found throughout the county and open-cut mines and underground tunnels were already in operation. The San Jose Board of Trade was looking for natural gas in land near San Jose which, if available in commercial quantities, would be piped into the city for heating and lighting.[44] In the south-west of the county, the Sergeant Ranch was producing bitumen which was found over an area of 60 acres (24 hectares).[45] Building stone was quarried at the Stanford Quarry and brought to Stanford University for its building programme. Lime to be used for laying foundations and concreting was extracted from a site at Guadalupe, while the Los Gatos Lime Company operated a kiln that processed 100 barrels a day.[46] Although by the end of the nineteenth century, the region was no longer the watershed it was originally, there were sufficient supplies to provide for its orchards and its growing cities. Santa Clara's pumping station was used only for the four driest months of the year, while the one at San Jose with its nine wells was only producing small amounts of water or sometimes none at all.[47]

Deciduous fruit trees were first grown in the Santa Clara area soon after the foundation of the Missions in 1777 and while some sold to foreign markets, most of the crops were bought by buyers within 50 miles (80 metres) of San Jose. In 1940, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, in an effort to improve the standard of the fruit in the district, began a survey to provide growers with the correct information to enable them to make the best use of the land.[48] There was also concerns about San Francisco Bay which was considered to be the most valuable, single, natural,

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[43] *Ibid.*
[44] Ireland & Watts, p. 609.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. 607.
[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 609-19.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] Soil Survey: Santa Clara, CA, U.S .Dept. of Agriculture, Series 1941, No, 17, issued June, 1955, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service, in co-operation with the CA Agriculture Experiment Station, p. 6.

resource in the region, and the need to protect it from contamination.[49] As the population increased and the former predominantly rural county became more urbanised, there was a danger that housing developments were encroaching closer to the shoreline; it was feared that haphazard filling would damage the Bay unless preventative measures were put in place. Subsequently, a report recommended that an engineering geologist be appointed to perform on-site investigations before any construction was planned.[50] Mining in the Sierra Foothills added to the Bay's problems by causing additional sediment from the project to seep into the sea and nearby marshes. Already 95% of the Bay's marshes had disappeared through dikeing and filling, but authorities were creating wetland restoration projects to counter this.[51]

The valley is protected on two sides by mountains: the Santa Cruz Mountains rise from 2,000 feet (610 metres) with Loma Prieta being 3,808 feet (1,161 metres) and Black Mountain 2,787 feet (849 Metres). The Foothills of the Diablo Ranges in the East are smooth with gentle slopes with an average height of 2,000 feet (610 metres), but many are closer to 1,000 feet (305 metres).[52] East of the foothills, the two highest peaks are Cuperness at 4,372 feet (1,333 Metres) and Mount Hamilton, 4,265 feet (1,300 metres). The floor of the valley is a former flood plain, fourteen miles wide, but, in some places, it is 300 feet (91 metres) above sea level. It was formed by deposits from streams and rivers from both the Santa Cruz Mountains and the Diablo Ranges. During an earlier period, the floor was half flood plain, one quarter upland and the remainder was wetland.[53] Ground levels vary; Alviso, an old seaport, is 20 feet (6 metres) above sea level, while downtown San Jose, the largest city in the region, is 90 feet (27 metres) above sea level with areas on the outskirts close to the hills rising to 300 feet (91 metres), before ascending into the foot hills which are 400 feet (122 metres).[54]

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[49] W. J. Kockelman, U. S. Dept. of the Interior Geological Survey, Examples of the Use of Earth Sciences Information by Decision Makers in the San Francisco Bay Region, CA, Open-file Report No. 80-124, 1980, Earth Sciences Application Programme, Office of Land Information and Analysis, Menlo Park, CA, pp. 23-41.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] Ingram, n. p. n.
[52] Blum, p. 4
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] San Jose City Climate, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, http://www.nps.gov/travel.santnaclara/sjh.htm, accessed 8. 4. 2018.

The sub-strata soil is Miramin, a coarse, sandy loam, slightly acid, well-drained and suitable for the prolific growth of grasses and undergrowth that prevent erosion and retain moisture in the soil, while providing fodder for grazing animals.[55] During the first period of occupation by immigrants passing through on their way south, wild herb and chaparral flourished under oak trees and, combined with the dry grass and undergrowth, became an accelerant for wildfires, but the Ohlone who became the first permanent settlers controlled this situation by regular burning.[56] However, despite the inroads of immigration and human intervention in the landscape over the next 2230 years, there was no deterioration in soil fertility, as was demonstrated by teams of botanists who collected more than one million plant specimens during a project that was carried out in the area throughout the period 1880-2008.[57] As well as the quality of the soil, the mild climate was also a factor that contributed to the results of the survey.

The climate is ideal for agriculture with cool winters and warm, dry summers.[58] There are, on an average, 300 days of sunshine each year with an annual rainfall of 20 inches (508 mm) and an average summer temperature of 80 degrees F. (26.7 degrees C.) with low humidity.[59] The wet season is from November to March, when the rainfall averages 13.5 inches (343 mm) near the Bay and 24 inches (610 mm) in the foothills of the Santa Cruz Mountains; the days are cool and mild with day temperatures between 55 and 60 degrees F. (12.8 and 15.6 degrees C.) falling to 40 degrees F. (4.4 degrees C.) at night.[60] The weather is influenced by the nearby Pacific Ocean and by the Cold California Current, but the Santa Cruz Mountains protect the valley from the fogs that develop along the Pacific Coast. Storms that come from as far afield as Alaska and the west-north-west via the Polar jet stream occasionally bring lower temperatures, and rare falls of snow that quickly thaw.[61]

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[55] David Mayfield, 'Ecology of the Pre-Spanish San Francisco Bay Area', MA thesis, San Francisco University, San Francisco, CA, December, 1978, pp. 96-9.
[56] Blum, pp. 4-7; Cocopura, http://cocopura.com/chaparrel.html, accessed 12. 4. 2010.
[57] Mortiz Sudhof & Job Christensen, 'Botanising California', Spatial History Project, http://www.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/ogi-bin/site/pub?id+17, accessed 12. 4. 2010.
[58] Miliken, *A Time of Little Choice,* p. 14.
[59] Mary Pope-Hardy, 'Climate', *Welcome to Silicon Valley*, http://www.moved.2siliconvalley.com/Blogs/home.aspx, accessed 6. 9. 2010.
[60] 'Climate of San Jose', U.S. Dept. of Commerce, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, National Weather Service Forecast Office, San Francisco Bay Area/Monterey.
[61] *Ibid.*; Pope-Hardy.

This is Silicon Valley. This is a place where the landscape is constantly changing in response to the influx of immigrants and their activities; it is a space that promised a natural habitat for the earliest arrivals and, later, one that by the availability of its natural resources lent itself to greater development. It is a small area protected on its eastern side by the Diablo Ranges and by the Santa Cruz Mountains in the west, with the San Francisco South Bay to its north providing access to the Pacific Ocean. The various fault lines that cross the region are noted for their seismic activity, but, despite the on-going fears of earthquake activity, the number of severe earthquakes is insufficient to interfere with the normal activities of business. There is a moderate climate with few variations which made the county ideal for cultivation. Although agriculture is no longer the principle occupation of the region, the prominent high-technological industry now continues to attract waves of immigrants to add their identities to the ever-changing landscape of Silicon Valley. In the next chapter I shall introduce the Ohlones, the first immigrants to settle in the valley**.**

Chapter 2: The Ohlones

10,000 years ago, during the last Ice Age, the first immigrants arrived on the continent which is now known as North America. The Northern Pacific Ocean was frozen and an ice bridge formed between North Siberia and the North American continent.[1] Hunters in North Siberia were able to continue their search for prey beyond the sea barriers which normally kept them based near their homes. With this movement into an unknown continent, there began a migration of people who were taking advantage of an opportunity when it was before them; it was the beginning of a nomadic existence for thousands of travellers over thousands of years. They left no records like the Europeans who arrived later, but, in more recent times, archaeologists located evidence of their presence along the route they followed through both North and South America, until the most venturesome of them arrived at the southernmost point of South America and stayed.[2] In this chapter I will discuss the arrival of the Ohlones in the valley that later became known as Santa Clara Valley, the role they played in maintaining the valley and how their lives remained unaltered for thousands of years.

Those who decided to settle in the Santa Clara Valley in California were fortunate to enjoy a moderate climate, fertile soil, an abundance of streams, rivers, lakes and easy access to the South Bay and the Pacific Ocean.[3] Food supplies were plentiful; animals and fish were close at hand and they were able to continue the lifestyle that was passed down from their ancestors.[4] They were a peaceful people, but knew how to defend themselves; they enjoyed games and gambling and were guided by their chiefs and the religious leaders, the Shamans.[5] Their belief system was such that they knew nothing of their past and did not believe there was a future for them, but they retained their oral history with its myths of creation.[6] Language was

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[1] Jack S. Williams, *The Ohlone of California,* New York, 2003, pp. 6-8.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Margolin, p. 6.
[4] Margolin, pp. 8, 47; A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California*, New York, 1976, (1925- Bulletin 78 of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution), p. 467.
[5] Margolin. p. 19; Kroeber, p. 470.
[6] Margolin, pp.123-138; Kroeber, p. 472.

always a problem, because, in this very small area, many different ones would be spoken.[7] However this did not interfere with their ability to trade.[8] In the late eighteenth century, the Spanish Missionaries arrived, believing that they would be able to help the Ohlones. At first the latter were afraid but when the Spanish gave them gifts and convinced them there was nothing to fear, the Ohlones attitude changed. They were now eager to welcome the new arrivals.[9] They were the first immigrants in Santa Clara Valley and they nurtured this idyllic place, because it was now theirs. This then was the beginning of immigration in Santa Clara Valley.

Not all immigrants left Asia at the same time. One theory concerning the original immigrants is that they crossed from Siberia to Alaska between 40,000 and 13,000 years ago by way of a frozen land bridge. When they first crossed over into the Northern American continent, the new land was seen as an extension of their normal hunting grounds in Northern Siberia; there were no distinguishing features that marked it as being different; the terrain was identical with the familiar Asian steppes and tundra and the animals they saw were the same as those they normally hunted.[10] Their situation was not good; their normal food sources were affected by the climatic changes resulting from effects of the Ice Age, and there was an expectation that the journey across the ice bridge would provide them with supplies they needed.[11] This was the best chance of survival.

Earlier immigration also depended on climatic cycles. During the period 38,000 to 10,000 BC, Asian hunters reached the North American continent by sea via the Bering Strait, but were slowed by the Cordellerian and Laurentide ice sheets.[12] Centuries of continuous movement followed with other groups leaving their homeland between 25,000 and 15,000 years ago.[13] For thousands of years, there was

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[7] Margolin, pp. 134-137; Kroeber, p. 463.
[8] Margolin, p. 1.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 157.
[10] Robert M. Wiley, *The Story of the West: A History of the American West and Its People,* London, 2003, p. 12.
[11] Wiley, p. 4; 'The Cenozoic Era'.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 12.
[13] 'The Formative Period: Linguistic Changes', *California's Native People,* http://www.cabrillo.edu/~crsmith/anth6_formative.htm#, accessed 21. 4. 2018.

immigration from Northern Asia. Archaeologists who say that the first tribes arrived in Santa Clara Valley by way of the Aleutian Islands between 3000 BC and 500 AD, support their evidence by drawing attention to the physiognomy and surviving customs of their descendents.[14] There is also a Land Bridge theory that is derived from the work of Jose de Acosta in 1950 which says that that the immigrants came from Siberia to Alaska via a land bridge across the Bering Strait while 'following large game animal herds'.[15] Genetic tests using both modern and ancient DNA samples from Native Americans found genetic mutations, or markers, that showed only one match: modern day inhabitants of Southern Siberia from the Altai Mountains in the West to the Amur River in the East.[16] It was determined that the original migrants left their homeland between 25,000 and 15,000 years ago, and because they were used to adapting in order to survive, they were able to contend with glaciers and icesheets. However, they did not continue the journey immediately; they stopped for thousands of years, prior to the Ice Age occurring, before moving on again as the climate warmed, arriving in North America18,000- 5,000 years ago.[17] Archaeologists also believe the American continents were populated during the last Ice Age, but that these immigrants were joined and later replaced by the ancestors of the Ohlones, c. 900 BC.[18] Between c. 900 AD and 1,500 AD the people now known as the Ohlones began to consolidate their settlements in the San Francisco Bay area.[19] Finally one such group arrived in the valley named by the Spanish Missionaries: Santa Clara Valley. This place was no longer a bare patch of ground, an unoccupied space; the first immigrants had arrived.[20]

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[14] 'Ohlone History of the Bay Area,'; Ulistac Natural Area, Restoration and Education Project, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, http://scu.edu/cas/environmentalstudies/ulistac/about/history.cfm, accessed 11. 9. 2010; Margolin, *The Ohlone Way*, p. 157; Donald M. Howard, *Primitives in Paradise: The Monterey Peninsula Indians*, Carmel, CA, 1975, p. 3.

[15] Migration Theories, Open Websites, College of Education, Austin, Tex. ows.edp.utexas.edu/site/hight-Kreitman/land-bridge-theory, accessed 24.11. 2014.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] Russell K. Skowronek, 'The First Santa Clarans', in Russell K. Skowronek,[ed.], *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices,* Santa Clara, CA, 2002, pp. 3-4.

[19] Lowell J. Bean & Thomas King, [eds], *Anthropology: California,* Vol. 1, Political and Economic Organisation,1974, n.p.n., also referenced in Howard, p. 3.

[20] Philip J. Ethington, 'Placing the Past: Groundwork for Spatial Theory of History', Rethinking History, *The Journal of Theory & Practice*, Vol. II, 2007, Vol. 11, No. 4, Dec. 2007, pp. 465-494, http://stanford.edu./spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=89, accessed 21. 4. 2018.

The first occupants of the South Bay Area were the Hokan speaking Native Americans who originally occupied the whole of California.[21] Waves of Penutian speakers moved down from the Sacramento Valley 4,500 years ago, causing the Hokan speakers to move out to the Central Valley and north and south along the Pacific Coast.[22] The Penutian speakers eventually became the dominant people in the area as far south as Monterey Bay.[23] Between 4,500 and 5,200 years ago, language diversity was extremely high in California, where 20% of the nearly 500 separate language stocks of North America were spoken.[24] Hokan and Penutian were two of the six language stocks prominent in California, with the Costanoan language family belonging to the Utian branch of the Penutian stock.[25] The latter is the group that includes language families of the North West Pacific Coast, several of which are from California.[26] These newcomers were prepared to stay.

Although no one is certain of their tribal names, these first permanent residents were so familiar with the valley they now called home that, believing they were the owners of everything both in and near their villages, they named all the rocks, trees and bushes.[27] In this way, they showed that they intended to stay in this strange land and were claiming this space as their own.[28] In 1770, the population of Ohlones in the South Bay Area and the Santa Clara Valley was estimated to be 1,200.[29] The Spanish missionaries were meticulous in the way they set about making records of the Ohlones.

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[21] Richard Levy, 'Costanoan', in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 8, (CA), 1978, Robert F. Heizer, [ed.], William C. Sturtevant, (general ed.) Washington, DC, pp. 485-495, also referenced in Lowell J. Bean, [ed.], *The Ohlone Past and Present: Native Americans of the San Francisco Bay Area,* Menlo Park, CA, 1994, p. xxi.

[22] The Formative Period.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Jason A. Eshleman, R. S. Machi & F. A. Kaestie, 'Mitochondrial DNA & Prehistoric Settlement: Native Migrations on the Western Edge of North America', *Human Biology,* February 2004, Vol. 76, No. 1, pp. 55-75, http://www.scribd.com/doc.2620957/mtdna-NW-NA--eshleman, accessed 4. 8. 2011.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Wiley, pp. 22-3.

[27] Dening, p. 32; Margolin, p. 157.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[29] R. Levy, 'Costanoan Internal Relationships', Paper presented to the Ninth Conference on American Indian Languages, San Diego, also referenced in Santa Cruz County History - Spanish Period & Earlier,1991, Santa Cruz Public Libraries, http//www.santacruzpl.org/history/articles/248, accessed 24. 9. 2014.

During the early days of establishing the mission, the missionaries recorded the names of 100 Ohlone villages.[30] In 1776, when the De Anza expedition was travelling north through Santa Clara Valley to San Francisco, they found four villages each with 100 people, and when they were returning in a south-east direction intending to cross the Guadalupe River, they saw yet another group of four villages with a 'settlement of 100 people'.[31] One of their villages, where they lived from 1,000 BC until the late eighteenth century, was named Ulistac: 'uli' meant chief, 'tac' meant place, so that the name indicated that it was 'Uli's place'.[32] Two other villages they built were Kalin-ta-ruk which meant 'ocean-at-houses' and Kakon-ta-ruk meaning 'chickenhawk-place-houses'.[33] Father Juan Crespi wrote in his journal that he saw a 'large ceremonial house in a village of 200 people, 30 miles west of Santa Clara Valley'.[34] His first impressions of these people were favourable: 'We passed by five villages belonging to very good, well-behaved heathen'.[35] This was what the missionaries were expecting.

The Ohlones cannot provide any evidence of their past history. However, it was possible to investigate the remains found in shell mounds, or middens which were accumulated waste deposits, some 20 feet high, located near the sites of former villages around the shores of San Francisco Bay.[36] Scientists found evidence of various patterns among the artefacts found there, the oldest of which date back 3,700 years.[37] At various levels in the mounds, there were also new and more advanced artefacts which demonstrated that other groups lived in the area at later

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[30] Kroeber, p. 464.
[31] Juan Bautista de Anza, *Anza's Diary of the Second Anza Expedition 1775-1776: Anza's Californian Expedition,* Vol. 111, Herbert Bolton, [ed.], Berkeley, CA, 1930, p. 133.
[32] Ulistac Natural Area Restoration and Education Project, ulistac.org/ohlone-history/, accessed 22.11.2014.
[33] A. L. Kroeber,'The Costanoans', *Handbook of the Indians of California,* Toronto, Canada, 1919, p. 465.
[34] Juan Crespi, 'Excerpts from his Journal', 1769, in Herbert I. Priestly, [ed], *A Historical, Political and Natural Description of California,* Berkeley, 1937, p. 80, also cited in Laurence H. Shoup & Randall T. Milikin, *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian*, Oakland, CA, 1999, p. 5.
[35] Juan Crespi, 'The Arrival of the Franciscans in the Californias 1768-1769', reproduced in Maynard Geiger, [ed.], 'The Americas' in *Writings on U. S. History*, Vol. 5, 1943, pp. 209-218.
[36] Howard, p. 19.
[37] Randall Miliken, Laurence H. Shoup & Beverly R. Ortiz, *Ohlone/Costanoan Indians of the San Francisco Peninsula and their Neighbours, Yesterday and Today,* June, 2009. Prepared for the National Park Service, Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco, CA. Prepared by Archaeological and Historical Consultants, Oakland, CA, p. 240.

times.[38] There was a problem for the Spanish when they found that there was no common language in the area.

The Ohlones had no written language and there was no common language among any of the tribes. Communication between groups was difficult; in California, within a fifty mile radius, there were 135 dialects.[39] When the Spanish arrived in Santa Clara Valley, there were 10,000 Native Americans living between Point Sur and San Francisco Bay who were divided into forty groups, each with its own territory and chief.[40] But there were eight to twelve different languages spoken among these groups, each of which were so distinctive that people living 20 miles apart could not understand one another.[41] Stephen Powers, a nineteenth century government ethnologist, reported that there was a new language every 'ten miles or so'.[42] The reason for the large number of languages and the lack of communication between the tribes was related to the original migrations, when waves of unrelated groups crossed from Asia with only one intention: to continue their journey and, consequently, there was no time or attempt to communicate with anyone else.[43]They were not permitted to speak of the past. Any memories that remained of their past 'was buried with each generation', consequently their history was buried too. They lived only in the present.[44]

The Ohlones did not keep records; during earlier periods they were unable to speak of their past history, or their ancestors, because of their tribal beliefs; only the present mattered.They were bound by tradition.[45] But when the Spanish came to Santa Clara Valley, they kept copious evidence of everything that happened. They were so far removed from their superior that the written word was their only means of

[38] *Ibid*., p. 240.
[39] Howard, p. 9.
[40] Margolin, p. 1.
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California,* Washington, DC, 1877, n.p.n., also referenced by Margolin, p. 62.
[43] Howard, p. 302.
[44] Margolin, p. 58.
[45] *Ibid*., p.149.

communication; many of the Spanish kept diaries.[46] The missionaries wrote reports to their superior, Fray Junipero Serra, the President of the Franciscan Order in Mexico, detailing the activities of the missions.[47] The ships' captains, traders and adventurers who came to Santa Clara Valley did the same; some of their writing was later published.[48] The Ohlones, even after the missionaries arrived, were never asked to contribute their stories. However, it was not until the early 20th century that their descendants were interviewed.[49] The Spanish called the indigenous people the 'Costenos', a generic term for 'the people of the coast'.[50] This was anglicised to 'Costanos,' and, eventually, 'Costanoan' was adopted by non-indigenous people, while the Native Americans preferred to be called Ohlone, although some of them considered the word 'demeaning'.[51] Nevertheless, this name is technically incorrect; there is no Ohlone confederation or tribe, as with better-known groups or cultures.[52] Anthropologists and linguists classified the various languages used by the Costanoan, but were unable to reach complete agreement.[53] In 1916, descendants of the Mission Indians began using the name Ohlone which was the title preferred by Hart Merriam, an ornithologist who worked in California and who preferred to use native names for tribes and languages. He used 'Ohlonean' which was similar to Ohlones, but different to Costanoan and it became popular; it was the name of a Miwok village and was familiar to all those in the area; it is also a Native American word meaning 'Western people'.[54] The name Ohlone now includes all Native Americans whose ancestors lived originally in the East and South Bay areas.[55] It was time for archaeologists to find out more of their history.

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[46] Pedro Font, *Diary,* written on an expedition through Santa Clara Valley, 1777, in R. M. Beebe & R. M. Senkeweicz, pp. 194- 204.
[47] Santa Clara Mission *Informes, 1777-1836,*Translated by V. Lo Coco (Copy). Property of Santa Clara University Archives, General Archives of the Nation, Mission of Santa Clara, University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, CA.
[48] Frederic W. Beechey, *Narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Bering Strait, to co-operate with the polar expeditions: performed in His Majesty's ship Blossom, under the command of Captain F. W. Beechey in the years 1825-1828,* Vol.11, p. 77, also referenced in Shoup & Miliken, pp. 15-16.
[49] Margolin, p. 3.
[50] Lowell J. Bean & Thomas King, [eds], *Anthropology: California,* Vol. 1, Political & Economic Organisation, 1974, n.p.n., also referenced in Howard, p.301.
[51] Margolin, p. 1; Bean & King, also referenced in Howard, p. 300.
[52] Margolin, p.1.
[53] Bean & King also referenced in Howard, p. 301.
[54] Victor Golla, *California Indian Languages,* Humboldt State University, Arcata, CA, 2011, p. 168.
[55] Ulistac Natural Area Restoration and Education Project, p. 2, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, http://www.scu.edu/cas/environmentalstudies/ulistac/about/history.cfm, accessed 11. 9. 2010.

Although the Ohlones knew little of their past, archaeologists were excavating and performing radiocarbon tests to determine the length of time people lived in Santa Clara Valley. Radiocarbon tests on a skeleton found during excavations in Sunnyvale suggested it was 4,460 +/- 95 years old, while two other skeletons at Stanford University campus showed differing ages; the one buried at a higher level was 2,450 – 4,000 years old, while the other found at a lower level was 3,000 – 4,000 years old.[56] But there is no evidence to prove the origin of these remains.

It was the Ohlone practice to bury or cremate a body immediately after death.[57] Bodies interred in the ground were buried in the foetal position in preparation for re-birth, but investigators found that between 1,000 BC. and 500 AD. burial rituals changed; bodies were placed in different positions to previously, indicating an external influence.[58] In 1989, when preparations began for the new railroad station in San Jose, it was found that the current buildings were built in the same location as a former cannery which, in turn, inadvertently covered a much earlier Native American burial place.[59] The area was declared a major archaeological site and a full investigation was planned with Native Americans acting as monitors; the remains of 125 people and many artefacts were found. In November 1991, all the remains were re-interred deep underground on the same site and a permanent exhibit of 'archaeological recovery' was put on display at the station where the commuting public could see it.[60] In this way, the 'cultural literacy' of the site becomes a record that will always be there.[61]

Investigations from the shell mounds or middens found around San Francisco Bay were also revealing; they showed burned stones, bones and a 'mixture of ash or

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[56] Skowronek, p. 2.
[57] Fathers Narcisco Duran & Buenaventura Fortury, 'Reply to the Interrogatory of 1812 from Mission San Jose, 7 April, 1814, in *As the Padres Saw them: Californian Indian Life and Customs as Reported by the Franciscans*, Maynard Geiger & Clement Meighan, [eds], Santa Barbara Archives, Santa Barbara, CA, p. 274; Frederic W. Beechey, p.77, also referenced in Shoup & Miliken, p. 15-16.
[58] Margolin, pp. 8, 60.
[59] Bean & King, also referenced in Howard, pp. 252-68.
[60] *Ibid*., pp. 253-68.
[61] Dening, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language*, p. 356.

soot'.[62] The bones revealed that the Ohlones hunted deer, elk, sea otter, beaver, squirrel, rabbit, gopher, racoon, badger, skint, wildcat, bear, sea lion, porpoise, whale, duck, cormorant, waders, turtle and many varieties of fish, both large and small.[63] These results clearly indicated that the Ohlones ate a wide variety of animals, birds and fish, suggesting that they made use of the abundance of fauna that was available to them in the luxuriant valley. There was evidence among the debris that the Ohlones constantly improved the quality of the tools they used. There were severe droughts in the Bay Area during an earlier period and, when food supplies were in short supply, the Ohlones developed their first mortars and pestles which greatly facilitated the preparation of their staple food, the acorn.[64] When the mortar and pestle were later improved, their food contained less grit which normally ground down their teeth, and, when bows and arrows were introduced, their diet changed, because they were able to catch the birds and game that eluded them previously.[65] It is evident that these people, assumed by observers to be simple and lethargic, were constantly increasing their standard of living. They used some of the abalone shells but discarded the remainder, and it was not until the Spanish Mission Period that a use was found for them: they were removed and used to make lime plaster.[66]

The Ohlones were not tall; they were a little over five feet in height with low foreheads, black eyes, wide nostrils and lips, similar in appearance to the Inuit and darker skinned than the Native Americans in the east of the country.[67] Their hair was held back with nets made from milkweed fibre and they wore stones and shells around their necks.[68] Their teeth were very white but, as they aged, they were ground down, showing evidence of the effect of life-long eating acorn mush that still contained stone fragments from being ground by the earlier stone mortars and pestles they made.[69] The men normally wore loincloths but added deerskin cloaks in

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[62] Howard, p. 19.
[63] W. C. Nelson, 1965, in R. J. Heizer & M. M. Whipple, *The Californian Indians*, Berkeley, CA, 1971, n.p.n., also referenced in Yolles, n.p.n.
[64] 'History of the Ohlones' Saratoga Historical Foundation Museum, Saratoga, CA, 2010, n.p.n.
[65] Howard, p. 60.
[66] *Ibid.*, p. 19.
[67] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.
[68] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

severe weather conditions, covering their skin with mud for extra protection.[70] The women wore buckskin skirts made from tule or bark, and in winter, they added capes made from rabbit or coyote skins.[71] They wore basket hats, bone hairpieces and shell necklaces made from the shiny side of abalone and mussel shells.[72] Both men and women were painted and tattooed, while the men also pierced their ears and nasal septa.[73] For their tattooing, they used dyes made from fruit and nuts, as well as the very dangerous extract of mercuric sulphide in crystalline form which they found in local caves, something that was of great value in trading; when crushed and moistened it formed a red pigment which was poisonous, even life threatening, when used on the skin. Saliva, gums and mouths were also affected.[74] Because it was such a great trading commodity, the risk was considered worth it. 1n 1824, when the Ohlones took white men to the caves where they extracted the dye, the latter saw the possibilities of developing the ore, and as a result, the Almaden Mines were established for the commercial production of mercury.[75] The Ohlones were traders and made their mark in the mining industry by trading a much-required commodity; they preceded the Americans in establishing a viable mine in the valley, making use of both the land they claimed and its resources.

Life was simple. Their houses were easily assembled and, when they were so dirty that they were no longer habitable, the occupants burned them.[76] The Spanish were horrified at the way these tule houses disintegrated so rapidly, but considering that they were assembled in a few hours, this was not surprising and, if the framework survived, it was used by new arrivals.[77] The frames were conical, formed by a six feet circle of branches of tule that were tied at the uppermost point, allowing an opening for smoke to escape.[78] The frames were thatched and plastered with mud for protection from the elements, while animal skins were placed on the earthen floor to serve both as ground covering and blankets for sleeping. If caves

[70] *Ibid*., p. 4.
[71] *Ibid*.
[72] *Ibid*., p. 5.
[73] Margolin, p. 14; Shoup & Miliken, p. 5.
[74] Howard, p. 5.
[75] *Ibid*.
[76] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[77] Margolin, p. 54
[78] Howard, p. 6.

were available, they were used as an alternative; in this way, these Ohlones showed themselves to be adaptable when conditions were sometimes less advantageous than they expected.[79] Father Juanipera Serra, the President of the Spanish missionaries in Alto California, described how 'the inhabitants …. moved … their villages readily from place to place', showing that he saw the villagers moving from one place to another in search of new food supplies.[80] Both Pedro Fages, the Spanish explorer in 1769 and George Vancouver on his voyage round the world in 1782 reported seeing the hemispherical huts. [81] Father Juan Crespi wrote in his journal that he saw a 'large ceremonial house in a village of 200 people … 30 miles west of Santa Clara Valley'.[82] Their housing was not meant to be permanent. They were still influenced by their nomadic past, as shown by their forays into the hills when the seasons changed; they knew when it was time to set off to hunt and gather in areas that would be more fruitful for them.[83] They used tule to make boats as well; they were ten feet long, three feet wide in the middle and large enough for four people, each of whom used an Inuit-styled double-bladed paddle. They were used in rivers and out to the offshore islands but, like the houses, they did not last long and were discarded after one season.[84] There was a lack of purpose and permanence in their lives but, despite this, they used the land around them to the best of their ability.

Like all the Native Americans in California, the Ohlones were originally Stone Age people who used obsidian to make arrows, mortars and pestles but, if obsidian

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[79] Margolin, p. 15.

[80] Francisco Palou, *The Life and Apostolic Labours of the Venerable Father Junipero Serra, 1773-1788,* translated and edited by George Wharton James, Pasadena, CA, 1926. p. 272, also referenced in Shoup & Miliken, p. 7.

[81] Theodore S. Treutlein, [ed.], 'Diary…in Search of the Port of San Francisco…Fages as Explorer, 1768…1772', *California Historical Society Quarterly,* 51, Theodore S. Treutlein, [ed.], n.d., pp. 338-356; George Vancouver, *A Voyage of discovering to the North Pacific Ocean, and Round the World: In which the coast of North-West America has been carefully examined and accurately surveyed. Undertaken by His Majesty's command, principally with a view to ascertain the existence of any navigable communication between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans*; *and performed in the years 1790,1791,1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, in the Discovery sloop of war, and armed tender Chatham, under* the command of Captain George Vancouver, Vol. 111, London, 1798, p. 13, also referenced by Shoup & Miliken, p. 5.

[82] Juan Crespi, 'Excerpts from his Journal'. p. 80, also referenced by Shoup & Miliken, p. 5.

[83] Margolin, pp. 14-15.

[84] Anna H. Gayton, 'Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography' in *Anthropological Records,* Vol. 10, No. 1, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA, 1948, n.p.n., also referenced by Magolin, p. 90.

was unavailable, they used other types of stone, bone, shell or wood.[85] They were skilful hunters of deer and made their own deer masks to creep up on their prey; they did not weave cloth, or make pottery, but they were recognised as expert basket makers.[86] The weaving was so close and tight that the baskets were used for cooking and carrying water.[87] Their skills were well known and considered to be superior to many other tribes.[88] Nothing was wasted; they used animal bones and skins and they made everything they needed for daily life.[89] Because their harvests and hunting skills were so good, they provided surpluses from their supplies for use if large numbers of unexpected guests arrived; over-supplies like this were also used in trading.[90] They made use of all that was provided for them in the valley.

Their diet was varied and nutritious, yet they did not appear to work hard, so they were sometimes thought to be lethargic.[91] Their food supply was so readily available, that they spent less time in hunting and gathering than other North American Indians and more time on basket weaving.[92] They fished in the streams and in the Bay using rafts and canoes; they caught ducks in flight by setting nets high above the sloughs; they harvested salt in the bay by preparing pans in which the salt water was allowed to evaporate, and they refused to hunt for any birds, animals and reptiles they considered taboo.[93] But, despite this, they did not have qualms about eating body lice, grasshoppers, lizards, grubs, snakes, squirrels and wood rats.[94] They wasted nothing that could be of dietary value.

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[85] Grant William Shick, *The Ohlone and the Oak Woodland: Cultural Adaptation in the Santa Clara Valley,* p. viii, Research Mm, Series No. 4, 1994, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.
[86] Margolin, pp. 225-6, 35, 122.
[87] Williams, p. 21
[88] Mildred D. Yolles, 'Natural Foods of the Ohlone Indian in Prehistoric Times,in *Political Sciences*, Dr. Walter Warren, [ed.], 1994, n.p.n., Archives, California Room, Martin Luther King Library, San Jose State University, San Jose, CA, n.p.n.
[89] Margolin, pp. 23-5.
[90] Bean & King, also referenced in Howard, p. 303.
[91] Howard, p. 4; Yolles, n.p.n.
[92] Yolles.
[93] Yolles; Howard, pp. 6-7; Margolin, pp. 24-5.
[94] Margolin, pp. 24-5.

The Ohlones did not preserve any of their meat; when they were hungry and food was available, they overate; a Spanish missionary heard one saying that 'if there is much to eat, let us eat much'. Europeans believed that this practice amounted to gluttony, while the hard-working missionaries did not understand how the Ohlones were so indolent.[95] But these people knew nothing of how other people acted and were behaving as their ancestors did for thousands of years; their traditions and customs were very different to the Spaniards. They were not interested in conservation; they believed that if anyone killed an animal, it was either the animal's time to die, or it gave itself up to be killed.[96] Hunting deer was considered a spiritual experience, and after killing it the hunters offered prayers to the deceased animal.[97] Usually the men went hunting, while the women gathered acorns and grasses but sometimes women were permitted to join the hunt with them.[98] However, it was only the men who brewed their beer known as towalache.[99] But, the most important food in their staple diet was the acorn, the fruit of the oak trees which grew everywhere in their region, an indication that these people adapted their diet to whatever was most prolific, not relying on the traditional foods they used before they settled in the valley.[100]

When the Spanish settled in the valley, the Ohlones compared the amount of time the newcomers spent in growing food to the ease with which they reaped their harvests. An old lady sang about how easy it was for her to provide food by shaking an oak tree and collecting the acorns, while the white people ploughed the ground, felled the trees, blasted rocks out of the ground, leaving the debris behind and killing everything that moved:

'How can the spirit of the earth like the White Man…?

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[95] Margolin, p. 54; Howard, p. 4; Yolles, n.p.n.
[96] Margolin, p. 25.
[97] *Ibid.*, p. 35.
[98] Shoup & Miliken, p. 4.
[99] Howard, p. 7.
[100] *Ibid.*; Margolin, p. 41.

Everywhere the White Man has touched, it is sore'.[101]

The most prized acorns in the Valley came from the Live Oak.[102] The oak trees and their acorns were so important that the various stages of their development were celebrated with feasts, festivals and religious dances.[103] The seasons of the year were calculated by the maturity of the acorns; the harvest signalled the beginning of the year; winter was determined by the months or moons after the harvest and summer began a prescribed number of months before the next acorn harvest.[104] The harvest lasted for two to three weeks, and during this period animals gathered to eat the acorns before winter. If the crops failed, the people gathered buckeyes which belonged to the horse chestnut family, but they were poisonous and, like the acorns, were leached before eating.[105] In much the same way as the settlers who followed them stored crops, the acorns were stored in granaries; later the shells were cracked and the kernels transferred to large baskets.[106] The women chose the type of bread they would bake; there was no waste.[107] The acorn was a precious commodity.

There is an Ohlone poem about the acorns:

'A Poem of Life and Fertility'.

The acorns come down from the leaves,

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[101] Howard, p. 69.
[102] Yolles, n.p.n.; Joanna M. Blum, '1994 Grasslands' in the *Forgotten Grasslands: The Cultural Ecology of the Central Californian Grasslands*, Research Mm., Series on the Cultural and Natural History of Santa Clara, No. 1, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, 1994, n.p.n; Margolin, p. 41.
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] Margolin; Blum, n.p.n.
[105] Margolin, pp. 42-3; Garden Guides.com. California Buckeye (Californica), http://www.gardenguides.com/taxomony/California-buckeye-aesculis-californixca/, accessed 6. 10. 2010.
[106] Yolles, n.p.n.
[107] *Ibid.*

I plant the short acorns in the Valley,

I plant the short acorns in the Valley.

I sprout, I, the black acorn, sprout: I sprout'.[108]

At the end of summer, the men torched the meadows to encourage new growth for the next season. This burning ensured that the meadows remained productive and the trees and undergrowth did not become too intrusive; they knew from past experiences of their people that nuts that fell from the trees germinated more quickly with the heat of the fire and later produced new saplings.[109] It took fifteen years of vigorous growth before the saplings were large enough to produce nuts.[110] It was by these means that the tribes contributed to maintaining the fertility of the valley, and preserving its productivity for each season's supplies, while at the same time performing their duties as owners of the landscape, not just caretakers.

The soil was Miramin, a coarse, sandy loam that encouraged the growth of grasses and undergrowth.[111] To take advantage of the yearly cycle of seeds, grasses, berries, edible roots, herbs, miners' lettuce and cooking greens, it was necessary to make excursions to the sea shore, rivers, marshes, oak groves, hills and other meadows.[112] Consequently, much of their time was spent moving, either in a family group, or as a village. Other Native Americans lived in their homes permanently, so the Ohlones more closely resembled hunter-gathers living in other parts of the world who practised one of the planet's most ancient ways of life.[113] They brought their own culture to the Valley, thereby changing the environment forever.[114]

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[108] Shick, p. viii.
[109] Margolin, pp. 47-9.
[110] Dodge , 'Chaparral soils and Fire Vegetation Interactions', in *Proceedings of the Symposium on the Environmental Consequences of Fire and Fuel Management in Mediterranean Ecosystems,* Washington, DC, USDA Forest General Technical Report, WO-3, Palo Alto, 1977, p. 376, also quoted in David W. Mayfield, 'Ecology of the Pre-Spanish San Francisco Bay Area,' , A thesis submitted to the Faculty of San Francisco State University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree, Master of Arts, San Francisco, CA, December, 1978, pp. 98-9.
[111] Mayfield, pp. 98-99.
[112] Yolles, n.p.n.
[113] Margolin, pp. 50, 52, 57; Yolles, n.p.n.
[114] Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* p. 32.

They inherited everything there, and by their husbandry they made it their own place, one in which they intended to stay.[115] There was no variety in the way of life; everyone conformed to the pattern that was already established.

Their existence appeared to be idyllic, but they experienced no personal freedom, no individualism, no independence; they lived in a group and the pattern of their lives did not change. Young men were obedient, never presumptuous because the elders held all the positions of authority and were the only people entitled to speak. No one could be competitive; it was incorrect to be different from everyone else.[116] They were fatalistic, heeded their elders' advice, admired those who were generous, modest, or discreet and considered generosity essential.[117] The Spanish missionary, Father Arroyo de la Cuesta, wrote that 'brotherly love as a rule prevails among these nations'.[118] However not everyone was so amenable and, as in every society, there were those who did not want to fit in. It was then that friction arose. Fortunately, hunting and searching for food in other meadows relieved the stress, for it was important they were united in order to trade with other tribes.[119] If they were unable to leave the village and some of them were becoming restless, there were games, sports and gambling as diversions.[120] Their way of life allowed for recreation.

They gambled with bones, or played sports that included ring-tossing, stick hockey played with teams of twelve, guessing games and football, where the ball which was made of wood was kicked but not handled.[121] They played with spears which they threw at a moving hoop, and 'shinny' where the players hit a wooden puck.[122] Music provided further release from tension with the principal instrument being the flute which was made of wood from the elderberry tree; a tribal musician

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[115] *Ibid.*
[116] Margolin, pp. 63-72, 90-1.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4, 89-90, 100.
[118] *Ibid.*, pp. 90-3.
[119] *Ibid.*, pp. 95, 101.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 93.
[121] *Ibid.,* p. 21; Howard, p. 9.
[122] Ohlone Indians, Belmont, CA, http://www.belmont.gov/subContent.asp?Caat1d=24001203, accessed 13. 10. 2010.

trained for twelve years before being considered proficient.[123] Dancing was important; there was a dance for every occasion from rituals to weddings to winning a war.[124] Their lives were predictable.

There was no need for a government; there were no powerful chiefs and no apparent contingencies.[125] There was no competiveness among the people and they insisted on practising the virtues of generosity, honesty and moderation in all things; the Spanish believed this was anarchy, whereas, in reality, it was effective government.[126] They were not interested in warfare; and made distinctions between outright warfare and a feud; warfare was when unrelated groups joined together to fight others, while a feud involved a dispute among blood relatives.[127] This was not a new practice, for, despite their long centuries of immigration and their choosing this place as their home, they still followed the same rituals and rules as their ancestors.[128]

A tribal chief was not expected to be a leader, nor did he have any power, but his role was to maintain stability within his own tribe, between other tribes, and to form a connection between his people and their gods. However, he was required to offer advice in the form of homilies, when required.[129] He needed to be wealthy to carry out not only his duties but to care for all those who needed help. In order to be a chief, it was necessary that he belong to a prominent and wealthy family, one that was presumed to produce chiefs, in order to agree with the myth about the origin of the Ohlone people which declared that some families were selected at the time of creation to have hereditary 'chiefly powers'. After his death, the position passed to his eldest son, if there was one, failing that it went to a daughter, or any other young relative.[130] In Santa Clara Valley, being an Ohlone woman was no barrier to being

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[123] Howard, pp. 10-11.
[124] Ohlone Indians, n.p.n.
[125] Gayton, n.p.n., also referenced in Margolin, p. 60.
[126] Margolin, pp. 90-1.
[127] Keith F. Otterbein, 'The Anthropology of War', in *Handbook of Social and Cultural Anthropology,* J. Honigmann, [ed.], New York, 1977, n.p.n., also referenced in Shoup & Miliken, p. 16.
[128] Dening, pp. 32, 6.
[129] *Ibid.*, p. 103-7
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 103-5.

accepted as a tribal leader.[131] The chief's position in the tribe was to listen to his people and always be close to them, because he needed their support. His three wives aided him in his role as leader, performing charity work and entertaining trade associates.[132] In this way, the tribal structure with its upholding of law and order was a forerunner of what was to come to the valley in the years that followed. However, the major influences on their lives were their religious beliefs.

The Ohlone worshipped many gods, but were careful to maintain a good relationship with the evil spirits as well, similar to belief systems espoused by oriental religions; it is indicative of a link with their original immigrant ancestors.[133] All their activities were accompanied by rituals and ceremonies with the dances and songs that contributed to their impact.[134] They revered the redwood trees because they believed that nature itself was a god, and they performed sun dances.[135] They believed that the earth was previously covered with water to such a depth that only a few mountain peaks showed above the surface; one of these peaks was Mount Diablo which, according to their myths, was the habitat of the coyote, eagle and humming bird, the mythological creatures that preceded man.[136] Their oral tradition described a world of ordinary human beings who arrived after creation time, during which period a supernatural race of beings appeared in time and space to create the world. Birds featured in many of their myths creating humans with their countless languages, before going away.[137] The creation myth bears some similarities to creation stories in other cultures.

One myth is about the flood and describes how Eagle found a mountain top still visible over the flood waters; as he was resting and singing, his nephew Hummingbird came to sing with him. Crow, Raven and Hawk joined them; Hawk was

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[131] Father Narcissi Duran, in F. C. McCarthy, *The History of Mission San* Jose*, California, 1797-1835,* Fresno, CA, 1958, p. 274.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 15.
[133] Dening, *Islands and Beaches,* p. 32.
[134] Shoup & Miliken, p. 13.
[135] Howard, p. 9; Kroeber, p. 471.
[136] Howard, p. 11.
[137] Edward. W. Gifford, 'Southern Maidu Religious Ceremonies', in *American Anthropologist,* p. 29, (3), 214-257, 1927, also referenced in Shoup & Miliken, p. 11.

dared to fly through the water and touch the earth, but, when Hawk flew up into the sky to begin his dive, he realised how deep the water was, and took Eagle's advice to try again the next day. When Hawk eventually dived, he took a feather from the middle of Eagle's head and flew down to the earth. They all waited for something to happen. Two days later, the water level began to drop, slowly at first and then much faster; this was because Eagle has magic in the middle of his head and should never be hurt. He is a leader of the Ohlones.[138]

Witchcraft and magic were part of their life, but they were afraid of sorcery, and to ensure that they were safe they refrained from adultery, and tried to fulfil their 'spiritual obligations', although, showing a spirit of pragmatism, they did not allow these requirements to interfere with their daily lives.[139] The beliefs were allied to animism and there were religious overtones in every thing they did despite the absence of priests, temples, or doctrine. They were pessimistic, fatalistic and fearful that their world was doomed and their power was leaving them, but they believed that the animal spirits would return and create a new, powerful world inhabited by a new nation which would not be the Ohlones.[140] The present was the only reality and it always had been; they knew nothing of the future, and because their knowledge of the past was so minimal they lacked knowledge of any historical patterns that could have guided them.[141] Instead, they looked to their Shamans for guidance.

The Sharman was a powerful person, a medicine man or woman who cured diseases and was in charge of ceremonies, where the members of the whole tribelet sang and danced to guarantee successful seasons.[142] They drilled into human skulls to relieve pressure from what modern medical practioners believe were brain tumours. When a patient presented with a medical problem, the shaman held a hollow bone over the affected part to draw out the cause of the problem, and when

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[138] Linda Yarmane, *When the World Ended: How Hummingbird Got Fire: How People Were Made,:* Rumsien Ohlone Stories*,* Berkeley, CA, 1995, n.p.n.
[139] Ohlone Indians, n.p.n.; Margolin, p. 14.
[140] Margolin, pp.143-4.
[141] John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past,* New York, 2002, p. 7.
[142] Ohlone Indians, n.p.n.

the patient was improving, he inserted the bone into the affected area in order to suck out the pain. Unfortunately, they were unable to cure any illness that was caused by magic, or induced by an enemy.[143] Certain qualifications were required for this important position.

He had to be at least 40 years of age which few Native Americans achieved but in this case, longevity was possibly due to the Shamans living in semi-isolation. They were afraid of being ill and feared other Shamans who they believed practised witchcraft, while those they treated believed they could assume the guise of a bear.[144] The Shamans were more involved in the spirit world than other people, although the latter firmly believed in dreams and retained this belief even after they became involved with the Spanish missionaries.[145] In spite of the changes that affected them all in their life in the Valley, the religion that the original immigrants brought with them, thousands of years previously, remained a dominant feature of their culture.[146] This was a culture that did not change but aided them throughout their lives in Santa Clara Valley just as it did their ancestors on the long journey from Asia.

The original people who travelled from Siberia, when the Bering Sea was frozen, may have inadvertently chosen to be immigrants when they crossed to the North American mainland, but they made the most of the opportunity to improve their situation, and, after thousands of years of nomadic wandering down the West Coast, the ancestors of the Ohlones selected the Santa Clara Valley as their new home. This place was an untouched paradise, where natural fauna and flora flourished due to the benefits provided by a moderate climate, the presence of endless supplies of water and the absence of possible enemies. They chose to live as their ancestors did, both before they left their homeland and during the period while they travelled south. Their staple food was the acorn, but there were other seasonal food varieties

[143] Margolin, pp. 9, 130,132-3.
[144] *Ibid.*, pp. 125-139.
[145] *Ibid.*, p. 137.
[146] Robert Kennedy, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World,* North Carlton, Vic, 2007, p. 338.

to enhance their diet. They did not require a government but were content to be ruled by a benevolent chief. Language was a problem with many different languages spoken within a short distance, but this did not disadvantage them in their trading activities. They were capable caretakers of the valley, maintaining it without overburdening themselves. Without any knowledge of their history, they relied on myths that were handed down to them to continue to uphold a peaceful society but, because of their lack of knowledge of any past history, they were unable to visualise any future; consequently, the present was the only time for them. Whereas we, who are living in the 21st century, look at the past because it helps us determine what the present might mean.[147] However, as guardians of Santa Clara Valley, they changed the landscape, and established a settlement which was the basis for those who followed.

This chapter details how the original inhabitants, the Ohlones, although primitive compared to the immigrants who followed them, cared for the valley by preserving its pristine forests, streams and the wildlife that inhabited these places. They were a peaceful people who were easy to mould into the new society. In the next chapter, it will be shown how the new Spanish immigrants colonised the valley and changed the Ohlone way of life forever while the missionaries built their mission and the valley became a place where crops grew and orchards flourished.

[147] Kennedy, p. 26.

Chapter Three: The Spanish

A map of Silicon Valley, or any other part of California, shows a strong Spanish influence with obvious signs of its mission origins. Spanish names dominate; the official name of the area, Santa Clara Valley is synonymous with its origins; counties, cities, towns, streets and topographical features bear Spanish names, many of them being the names of saints. Evidence abounds to prove that this valley was at an earlier stage a centre of Spanish immigration, and it is obvious that Spanish immigrants eager to prove their ownership of their new land gave names that were relevant to their previous lives.[1] It is also apparent that these settlers in a strange land lived here long enough to establish their own culture.[2] Even the name of the state, California, although devised from an Arabic word, is associated with Spain being derived from a popular five-volume Spanish novel, *The Labours of the Very Brave Knight Esplandian* written by Rodriguez de Montalvo during the 1480s and 90s and published in 1510.[3] The fictional California was an island in the Indies replete with gold and treasure, and where its inhabitants were eager to embrace Christianity.[4] When immigration was finally planned for Alta California, these aspects were foremost in the minds of the Spanish authorities. They are not there in any time frame; their actions, their history are now there in the space they named Santa Clara Valley.[5] These Spanish colonisers were not immigrants in one sense, but they came into the place that the Ohlones were caring for determined to lay their imprint there.

This chapter examines how the Spanish over a period of two hundred years claimed the land they named Alta California for their king. But it was not until the English and Russian fleets appeared off the Pacific Coast that they made a show of colonising. The particular area dealt with is the Santa Clara Valley where they set up a mission, and a presidio, and brought in the first immigrants. They cultivated the

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[1] Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, p. 32.
[2] E. S. Casey, 'How to get from space to place in a fairly short stretch of time: phenomenological prolegomena', in S. Feld & K. H. Basso, [eds], *Senses of Place,* Santa Fe, NM, 1996, pp. 9, 34, also referenced by Ethington, 'Placing the Past', 48, http://www.bcf.usc.edu/-philipje/PDFs/Ethington/Ethington_et al_Placing_the_Past..pdf, accessed 19. 8. 2011.
[3] Beebe & Senkewicz, pp. 9 -11.
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 10.
[5] Ethington, p. 42.

land which would be used for farming to provide provisions for the other presidios which were not able to do so. Overall this is the story of the mission that started by the side of a river, endured floods but in the end became a very successful trading partner of American ships that were coming form the East Coast. Its main concern was to introduce Christianity to the Ohlones who would become loyal citizens of the King and, in return, would be given land.

In 1521, a Spanish army under the command of Hernan Cortes completed his campaign to conquer Mexico, and one year later, reached the Pacific Ocean.[6] In 1535, Cortes took possession of California for Spain.[7] However, there were other countries interested in the same area; Sir Francis Drake, the English explorer landed north of San Francisco Bay in 1579, and in 1725 the Russians entered the Pacific.[8] The Spanish plans to colonise California were facing opposition.

The Spanish appeared to be more concerned with the safety of their trading vessels than in colonising Alta California, their newest possession. It was in 1620 that Antonio de Ascencion, a Carmelite missionary and former naval officer, introduced the first plan for colonising California.[9] He provided a complete agenda that included arrangements for the voyage, advice on selecting the ships, their crews, the leader of the expedition, the priests to establish the missions which was a new concept in Christianising indigenous people, directions for building a church and presidio, suggestions on helping and rewarding the indigenous people, and materials and live stock to establish farms and orchards.[10] But the authorities made no move to explore Alta California until fear of the Russians and English forced them to make a decisive effort to show their presence there.

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[6] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 27.
[7] From 'The Eyewitness Testimony of the Royal Scribe', Martin de Castro, 1535, also referenced in Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 29.
[8] The Russian Expansion, Fort Ross State Historic Park, History, http://www.fortross2012.org/pages/History.htm, accessed 17. 10. 2011.
[9] A Report by Antonio de Ascencion, also referenced in Beebe & Senkewica, pp. 47-53.
[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 47-53.

On October 1st 1769, a Spanish land expedition searching for Monterey Bay arrived in the Montara Hills on the Alta California coast near the Gulf of Forallones. They were seeking sites for two missions, a presidio and a safe port which would accommodate the Spanish trading vessels.[11] However, the main purpose was to colonise Alta California in order to prevent the Russians and the English from taking possession before them. One of the party described seeing a group of Native Americans who were 'shouting…from joy at seeing us'.[12] This was an introduction that augured well for the future, although there were still no official plans for immigration.

However, in 1775 Juan Bautista de Anza, the commander of the presidio at Tubac near Tuscon in Spanish territory north of the Rio Grande River, was given permission by the Viceroy to take a party of frontier settlers and soldiers across the newly discovered inland route to Alta California, and to establish a presidio and two missions north of Monterey as a sign to the Russians and English that Alta California belonged to Spain.[13] He promised these immigrants that Alta California was rich in resources; land was readily available, and there was the potential for them to have a better life.[14] This was the first attempt at colonisation; 240 men, women and children, and more than 1,000 animals made the journey from Tubac to Monterey, a distance of 1,010 miles.[15] De Anza believed that his expedition was the beginning of a colonisation process.[16] With a party of twenty, he continued his journey to choose a site for the presidio before returning to Mexico.[17] Lieutenant Morago escorted the large group of immigrants through the future Santa Clara Valley to San Francisco,

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[11] *Historias: The Spanish History of Santa Clara Valley*, Vol. 20, essays written & translated by Students in Local History Studies, California History Centre, De Anza College, Cupertino, CA, 1976, p. 5.
[12] Bean, p. 14.
[13] Juan Bautista de Anza National Historic Trail, Arizona to California, http://www.nps.gov/history/m/travel/cultural_diversity/Juan_Bautista_de_Anza_National_Historic_Trail.html, accessed 19. 9. 2011.
[14] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 193.
[15] Herbert Bolton, [ed.], Juan Bautista de Anza, *de Anza's Diary of the Second de Anza's Californian Expedition, 1775-1776*, Vol. 3, Berkeley, 1930, pp. 123-126, also referenced in *Historias,* p. 42.
[16] Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective,* 2nd edn, Berkeley, CA. 1985 (1959), p. 9, http://books.google.com.au/books?id=xIE4hwWVqqwC&lpq=PA370&lPq-PA370&dq=mel+scott+the+San+Francisco+bay+area+source=bl&, accessed 18. 10. 2011.
[17] Stanger, p. 10.

and left them at the site de Anza had selected.[18] The original plan was for them to commence building but there were no provisions so they cut logs and made log houses to start the settlement.[19] These immigrants were very poor peasants who were supposed to not only support the soldiers on the front line of defence in Northern Alta California but at the same time provide their own quarters in the new pueblo.[20] On the way, these immigrants camped in the valley that later became known as Santa Clara Valley, and were the first settlers to do so. Finally, in 1777 a Spanish colonising party arrived at the site chosen for the future Santa Clara Mission. This group was made up of soldiers, missionaries and the members of their support group: the enlisted personnel who belonged to the poorest and lowest class in Spanish society in Mexico.[21] They were strangers planning to live in an unknown valley and they were prepared to carry out what their King and their religious superiors decided for them.

No one was anxious to serve in Alta California because it was so far from Mexico City which meant that obtaining supplies would be difficult.[22] It could be said that planning for colonisation was not a strong point of the Spaniards but in spite of these setbacks, the valley was going to be a space with a colony: an outpost of Spain.[23] The only advantage for Spain in its expansion on the West Coast of America was that England was too busy on the other side of America to be a challenge in its new settlement.[24] The news that Captain James Cook was in the Pacific increased

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[18] Meredith Hindley, 'Friars, Soldiers and Settlers: A New Website Traces Spain's Expeditions to California', *Humanities,* Jan/Feb, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1998, http://www.neh.gov/nues/1998/januaryfebruary/friars-soldiers-and-settlers, accessed 13. 4. 2018.

[19] Scott, p. 10.

[20] Juan Bautista de Anza, *Diary*, *October 23,1775 – June !st,1776,* Sunday, April 14 1776, Colonising Expedition 1775-1776, http://anza.uoregon.edu/Action.lasso?-database=A76-&layout=standard&-op=eq&Date=4/14/1776&-response=format/a76pg2first.html&-m, accessed 19.10. 2011.

[21] The California Missions, *The Lewis and Clark Journey of Discovery,* http://www.nps.gov/archives/jeff/lewisclark2/corca1804/WestwardExpansion/EarlyExplorers.CaliforniaMissions.htm, accessed 22. 5. 2011.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Dening, *Mr. Bligh's Bad language*, p. 9.

[24] Beebe & Senkewicz, pp. 67-8.

their fear.[25] Yet, although Captain Cook sailed along the coast in 1778 he did not intend to establish any settlements; his voyage was purely exploratory.[26] At this time the Spanish were consolidating their mission of Santa Clara and relying on their settlement to be a deterrent to any foreign vessels close by.

The missionaries noted the gifts His Majesty had generously given them: altar vessels, furniture, cloth from England and thirteen silver coins.[27] 1,000 pesos were provided for the purchase of other supplies, as well as an unknown number of cattle that were intended to be used for breeding purposes.[28] It was so important that the missions in Alta California succeed that the Spanish Government decided to contribute a total of one million piastres annually to the upkeep of the 21 missions in Alta California.[29] The missionaries were meticulous record keepers and their journals and diaries recorded every event and financial transaction that occurred; these were men who intended to stay in Alta California, and at the same time maintain a good relationship with their government.

The priests were planning for their mission from the time they arrived. They were about to establish their footprint on the space in a more obvious way than the Ohlones. By the end of the year, they were able to send the first of their annual reports to the 'Reverend Father President Juanipero Serra' showing their eagerness to begin the mission. They planned a church and sacristy with a dwelling next door with living quarters and a kitchen.[30] All tools, household goods, equipment for preparing the proposed farm, supplies for the new church, spoons donated by the

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[25] Mel Scott, p. 10.
[26] James Cook, *Cook's Journal,* Vol. 3, p. CCXX1, cited in Richard Hough, *Captain James Cook,* London, 1994, p. 281.
[27] Santa Clara Mission *Informes, 1777-1838,* translated by Veronica LoCoco (copy), Property of Santa Clara University, General Archives of the Nation, Mission of Santa Clara, Reports, signed by Fray Tomas dela Pena of Seravia & Fray Jose Antonio Murguia de Jesu Maria. Ist Report, 1777, pp. 1-3, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.
[28] *Ibid.,* p. 3.
[29] Julia G. Costello, [ed.], *Documentary Evidence for the Spanish Missions of Alta California,* Book 14, Spanish Borderlands Source Books, NY. 1991, *A Narrative of a Voyage, to co-operate with the Polar Expeditions: Performed in His Majesty's Ship, Blossom, under the command of Captain F. W. Beechey, R.V.F.R.S.& c, in the years 1825,1826,1827,1828.* Published by the Lords' Commissioners of the Admiralty. A New Edition in 2 Volumes, Vol. 1, 1831, Ethnic Studies Library, Stephens Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.
[30] *Informes,* pp. 4-5.

King and lists of their stock were recorded, as well as the details of their first harvesting of corn and bean crops planted earlier in the year. In addition, they dug out a dam and ditches for irrigation for the crops.[31] They were not only enjoying the benefits of living in the valley, they were putting down roots and improving their situation. The valley was not a highly cultivated space when the Spanish arrived but it was a fertile area capable of sustaining a larger population than was already there.[32]

The new mission was established near an Ohlone village. It was the eighth in the proposed chain of missions along the Alta California coast and was opened in January 1777, under the title of Santa Clara de Asis; the same name was given to the valley.[33] By endowing the area with its own name, the Spanish began their own history in the space where the Ohlones still lived.[34] The Spanish immigrants were now residents of the Santa Clara Valley.[35]

The prime purpose of the missionaries was to christianise the Ohlones, train them to become self-sufficient, and citizens of Spain.[36] The original plan for settlement in Alta California also included the premise that as both christians and labourers, the Ohlones would work in the fields and carry out duties that would be taught to them.[37] These new citizens would be the colonists that the Spanish would show other nations as proof that Alta California was now a Spanish colony.[38] This was a significant step forward in the development of the mission as a town or a centre where indigenous people would be segregated from any Spanish community. However, unknown to the Franciscans, Spanish immigrants were soon to arrive in the valley and establish a pueblo.

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[31] *Ibid*., pp. 6-13.
[32] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay,* p. 46
[33] Margolin, p. 160.
[34] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. 46
[35] *Ibid*., p. 337.
[36] *The Mission Period (*1769*-1833) and the Spanish and Mexicans in California,* http://quarriesandbeyond.org/articles_and_books/polf/ca-mission_period_full_version.pdf/, accessed 8. 4. 2018.
[37] Derek Hayes, *Historical Atlas of California: With Original Maps*, Berkeley, CA. 2007, p. 44.
[38] *The Mission Period.*

When the mission was established, the Franciscan order intended that all mission property would be held, at least theoretically, in trust for the indigenous people, while the government was to be responsible for all funding.[39] The Spanish wanted the Ohlones to be Spanish citizens in order to hold the territory but, at the same time, the Spanish government did not offer citizenship to native people who lived in their colonies, unlike the British whose policy it was to do so. Spain did not offer any incentives to immigrants either, so attracting citizens to establish pueblos was not easy.[40] The Spanish settlers were needed to produce food for the presidios at San Francisco and Monterey and they required housing.[41] Governor Don Felipe Neve chose a site on the Guadalupe River, three quarters of a league from the mission that would be suitable for a colony to supply the presidios with provisions.[42] This new community would be the first civil settlement in Alta California, a place to locate immigrants who would be working for the Spanish government.[43] It was to be the most northern civil community in the Spanish New World.[44] It was also where a new layer of advancement would be laid down over the floor of the valley that the Ohlones cared for during their long occupation.

The decision to build a pueblo close to Santa Clara was taken without the knowledge of the mission authorities who feared that a pueblo so near might entice mission people away from their new home.[45] Despite the opposition, the pueblo of San Jose was founded on 29 November 1777 with sixty-eight men, women and children from the Provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa in Baja California. They lived in huts made of woven branches and clay, until they were able to build more permanent homes from adobe.[46] There were no land grants; such grants were reserved as rewards for members of the military or aristocrats. The government owned all pueblo land and there was no support from the missionaries either, because they did not

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[39] *The California Missions.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Thompson & West, *Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County, CA*, compiled, drawn and published from personal examinations and surveys, in 1876, reprinted by Smith & McKay Printing Co, San Jose, 1973, p. 9, Santa Clara Central Library, Santa Clara, CA. (Christian names are unknown).
[43] *Historias*, p. 1,
[44] *Ibid*., p. 48.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 213.

approve of anyone else owning the land they wanted to use as open range for mission herds.[47] Any immigrants who travelled to San Jose were poor peasants, just like the earlier de Anza party that passed through the valley on their way to San Francisco.[48] They were totally ignorant of what their new life was to be. They knew nothing about the Ohlones and were in awe of the Spanish authorities.[49] They were perceived as providers of food for the presidios at San Francisco and Monterey, and a possible source of army recruits should the occasion arise.[50]

In 1779, de Neve drew up regulations for the government of both Baja and Alta California. He considered himself a man of the Enlightenment, and as such he had little respect for the missions and was determined to establish towns as alternative sources of supply for the presidios.[51] De Neve decided to choose settlers for the new towns from the original de Anza party who were living at the presidio at San Francisco.[52] De Neve hoped that eventually the number of missionaries would decrease and their importance to the communities would diminish.[53] He wanted a larger population to deter the colonial aspirations of Russia and England.

The Ohlones came to the mission, and their world that previously was centred in the valley and its immediate surrounds was altered forever; their environment as they knew it was being transformed, and physically they were overwhelmed by newly introduced diseases. From the time the first Spanish expedition came into the area in 1769 they saw large numbers of strangers arriving and introducing tools and equipment that for hunter-gathers like the Ohlones placed them at a disadvantage. They were coerced into working on the mission farm, caring for unfamiliar livestock, helping with the erection of strange buildings and dealing with a new and confronting

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[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Spanish Discovery and Occupation of Alta California*, http://elane.stanford.edu/wilson/html/Chap2/Chap2-sect4.html, accessed 21. 5. 2011.
[49] Carter, p. 205.
[50] *Historias,* p. 47.
[51] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 210-11.
[52] Filipe de Neve, 'Political Government and Instructions for Settlement', in Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 213; *Historias,* p. 48.
[53] De Neve, p. 211.

culture.[54] The latter came with the strangers and introduced the concept of two classes of people: the elite Spanish and the underclass of Ohlones.[55]

But what was most disturbing to the Ohlones was their new-found knowledge of a 'hidden supernatural power', something that bore no resemblance to the familiar animism and magic.[56] At the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, there was an element of God versus the Devil in religion, and in the mission that meant God would triumph over the Devil.[57] In the eyes of the Spanish they were being prepared to become Spanish colonists, but in reality they were potential citizens who no longer controlled their own space; that was now the domain of the Spanish.[58]

The Ohlones appeared to embrace this new religion and the nineteenth annual report from Santa Clara Mission contained lists of indigenous people who had been baptised.[59] This report included goods that arrived from arrived from Mexico: farm utensils, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, mares, stallions, fillies, colts and mules.[60] But later reports indicated that the Spanish immigrants and their Ohlone assistants were not always so fortunate. In 1779, there were devastating floods that swept the entire mission away. It was rebuilt a quarter of a league further away from the river, and the surrounding ditches were dug wider and deeper.[61] No help was given by those in charge of the colony. The Spanish authorities did not recognize the importance of the work Franciscans were carrying out in their mission, and as a result there were constant problems caused by unnecessary government intervention.[62] At the same time, there was continual friction between the Governor of Alta California

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[54] Constance Cortez, 'The Indigenous Presence in the Colonial Visual Culture of Mexico and the South-West', in *Telling the Santa Clara Story: The Sesquicentennial Voices,* Russell K. Skowronek, [ed.], Santa Clara, CA, 2002, p. 45.
[55] Casey, pp. 9, 34.
[56] Cortez, p. 45.
[57] Miliken, *A Time of Little Choice*, pp. 83-4.
[58] Carter, p. 349.
[59] *Informes,* Missions of Upper California, Series 2, Vol. 2, General Archives of the Nation, Number 19, n.d., p. 15.
[60] *Ibid*., p.16.
[61] *Informes,* Series 2, Vol. 2*,* No. 7, 1779, p.19.
[62] *Ibid.*

and Fray Serra, the President of the Missions, over the establishment of the three new presidios at San Diego, Monterey and San Francisco.[63]

In 1782, a missionary, Father Rena wrote about building a new church using sticks and mud and covering it with a flat roof. The workers were digging even larger ditches and adding a pond, because, even though the river remained deep, there was a drought and their irrigation system was no longer adequate for their purposes.[64] Twelve months later, the missionaries sent Fray Serra a book containing the names of Ohlones who were confirmed in the Santa Clara Mission; at the same time, they reported that there were many conversions.[65] Native people were still coming from further afield to the mission although the culture that was being enforced on them was completely strange to them.[66] The settlers in San Jose were facing problems also.

There were variations in the weather that made the work of establishing farms difficult; the summers were often dry and there was little water available, and in winter there was flooding.[67] But cultivating the soil was only one of the obstacles that faced them; there were language difficulties among the new immigrants. Some of them were former Mexican farmers with little experience of the Spanish language, while not all the Spanish were able to understand one another either.[68] Among the early arrivals were many Spaniards who were multilingual and multidialectal, while the missionaries spoke a number of Spanish languages. The soldiers who came from

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[63] California Mission & Church Miscellany-addition, 81/168 over C, 1780, Jan 5 (Mexico City) 81/168 over C. (3) p. L. S. 31 cm, also signed by Francisco Pangua, Miguel de la Campe, Jose Garcia, Antonio Martinez, Jose Ignacio Bocanegre & Andres Matheo. Purchased from Jenkins as the gift of Clarence E. Heller, June 16, 1981. Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[64] *Informes,* Series 2, Vol. 2, No, 33, 1782, pp. 23-24.

[65] 81/168 over C, No. 2, 1783-Aug 3-Sept 29, Serra, Juanpero 1713-1784, (Fragments of a book (libro) of confirmations), 22, p. 6, A. Ms. S., 30cm. Purchased as the gift of Clarence E. Heller, Oct 8, 1984, from George Howe Books, pp. 5 & 6 only, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[66] Dening, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language*, pp. 5-6.

[67] Historias, pp. 52-54.

[68] Maria Irene Moyna, Wendy L. Decker and Maria Eugenia Martin, 'Spanish/English Contact in Historical Perspective: Nineteenth Century Documents of the Californios', Selected Proceedings of the 7th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium, David Eddington [ed.], pp. 169-179, 3:1, Somerville, MA: Cascadella Proceedings Project, 2005, http://www.lingref.com/cpp/his/7/paper096.pdf, accessed 26. 5. 2011.

all over Mexico used regional dialects which added to the difficulties. Then, when there was increased contact with the Ohlones, the problem was compounded due to the complexity of the Ohlone language system. In the area, there were 22 Ohlone language families with 138 varieties among them.[69] Communication among the original and the most recent immigrant groups was proving to be problematical.

The Franciscan missionaries were part of the overall Spanish master plan to use the Ohlones to colonise their new territory but within that framework they had their own strategy for the triblets. It was never their intention to remain at the missions permanently; the missions were meant to be temporary only, so that after ten years, they would be secularised which meant becoming normal parishes with the priests in charge. At this time, the mission land would be handed over to the indigenous people who would then be able to take their place in Spanish colonial life as Spanish, Catholic farmers.[70] However, there were other groups to be considered.

The immigrants in Santa Clara Valley could be divided into four obvious categories. There were the Spanish missionaries whose prime objective was to establish a future colony, and the immigrant settlers at the San Jose pueblo who were to be part of this plan. Native Americans from outside Santa Clara Valley formed another group who came to the mission for many reasons and stayed. However, there were other immigrants in the area who were very different. These were the affluent colonials who were given large land grants by the Spanish provincial government, and, consequently, they were soon living in their own ranchos which were stocked with cattle, sheep and horses.[71] They made no attempt to introduce any agricultural improvements, but they did follow the practice of the mission by selling tallow and skins to trading ships.[72] They were only interested in themselves and the good life in Alta California.

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[69] *Ibid*., pp. 31.
[70] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 71.
[71] Spanish Discovery and Occupation of Alta California, http;//elane,Stanford.edu/Wilson/html/Chap2/chap2-sect3.html, accessed 21. 3. 2011.
[72] *Ibid.*

Life at the Santa Clara Mission was sometimes difficult. In 1786, there was such a severe mice plague that the grain harvest had to be rationed. That was followed by extremely heavy rain which caused the loss of crops, and later a hurricane devastated the region on January 13th.[73] But one year later the annual report was more cheerful. The missionaries and their Ohlone workers were able to build a house that had double walls of adobe bricks and measured 110 feet by nine feet. [74] It was a simple structure that owed any architectural merit it may have possessed to the observations of the Franciscans in their earlier travels through Spain and later Mexico.[75] Those at the mission were able to live in comfort. The Spanish tier in the valley was showing a distinctive change in living conditions as compared to that of the Ohlones.

The priests were able to report that the fruit trees they planted in 1778 produced an abundant supply of fruit.[76] The grain crops were successfully harvested, despite the difficulties associated with their cultivation.[77] However, a successful harvest did not preclude a future free of problems. The mission buildings burned down but yet again the people in the mission replaced these structures with new ones.[78] Despite these setbacks, new crops were sown with such good results that there were a number of varieties of lentils available for the workers.[79] The agricultural side of the mission was flourishing but not all the labour was confined to outdoors.

As part of their plan to train the Ohlones to become future Spanish citizens, the Franciscans planned to teach them trade skills that would stand them in good stead in later years. Weaving was the first occupation to be introduced. The indigenous people were taught to make the looms first, before learning how to weave. In one of their annual reports, the Fathers wrote about the 460 blankets that

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[73] *Informes*, Series 2, Vol. 2, No. 50, 1786, p. 38.
[74] *Informes,* Series 2, Vol. 2, No. 71, 1787, pp. 44-5.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 45.
[77] *Informes,* Series 2, Vol. 2, No. 89, 1785, p. 45.
[78] *Ibid.*, No. 82, 1788, p. 54; No. 116, 1790, p. 54.
[79] *Ibid.*, No. 142, 1792, p. 60.

were produced that year, as well as a quantity of sackcloth.[80] The women in the mission continued to work in groups, just as they had in their villages.[81] They learned to weave cloth that was of very good quality. The trades they were taught were calculated to enable them to become self-supporting when they were finally on their own without the assistance of the mission.[82] Eventually, the men were trained to be carpenters, tanners and cobblers, all basic trades for maintaining immigrant groups in their simple lifestyles.[83] There were quarries to be worked, and the Native Americans proved to be competent workers using clay from the quarries to produce basins, water coolers and fountains for the mission, skills that would help them find employment.[84] If they wanted, they would be able to live in the Spanish style.

The Ohlones were not completely happy. They disliked being regimented and being forced to follow routines.[85] Their health deteriorated almost from the time they came to the mission; overcrowding and lack of hygiene in the mission increased the death rate among Ohlones to twice that of those who remained in the villages.[86] Work on mission buildings continued with the erection of the new baptistery.[87] Fortunately for the Ohlones, there were some lighter moments, when entertainment was provided and they could take part in plays.[88] The Ohlones enjoyed gambling before they came to the mission but now there was a law that prohibited them from playing 'all games of chance' and the list was lengthy.[89]

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[80] *Ibid*., No. 160, 1793, p. 62.
[81] George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World: In Which the Coast of North-West America has been carefully Examined & Accurately Surveyed…Performed in the Years 1790-1795 in the Discovery Sloop of War & Armed Tender Chatham, Under the Command of Captain George Vancouver,* Vol. 2, London, 1798, p. 90, also quoted in Randall T. Miliken, *A Time of Little Choice,* p. 88, and Laurence H. Shoup and Randall T. Milikin, Inigo of Rancho Posolmi: The Life and Time of a Mission Indian, p. 12.
[82] *Informes,* Series 2, Vol. 2, No. 160, 1793, p. 62.
[83] *Ibid*., p. 62.
[84] The Mission Period.
[85] Miliken, p. 89.
[86] *Ibid*., pp. 89-90.
[87] *Informes,* Series 2, vol. 2*,* No 202, 1796, p. 70.
[88] Part of a play, 12 leaves, BANC MSS 81/168 c: 3.2, Mission related fragments, 1776-1852, n.d. found with "ME 13 Recon", on 11.11.1993, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.
[89] Manuscript concerning a law against all games of chance, may be mission-related, ca. 1776, BANC MSS 81/168 c: 3. 2, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

Although the missionaries continued to follow their original plan to educate the Ohlones to be independent citizens, the local Spanish government authorities with their central organisation based in Mexico City showed little awareness of the needs of the immigrants living in the San Jose pueblo. On October 15th 1792, a proclamation was issued by the government in Mexico to all presidios informing them that it was imposing a tax of three per cent on the whole of Alta California, including the pueblo of San Jose.[90] Such a tax would hurt these people considerably. With this tax over their heads, there was yet another one to contend with very shortly, when Macario de Castro, the Commissioner of San Jose, was notified of a Discussion of Indian Labour and Compensation that introduced regulations for taxes on the shipment of grain and concerned relations between the missions and the government.[91] At this stage, the citizens of the pueblo were employing Ohlones on their farms which meant there was now a blending of two of the major immigrant groups.

The Spanish government officials not only made demands on their citizens via taxes and defence but they produced orders that attempted to regulate the lives of some of the immigrants at San Jose. One Spanish document was intended for all bachelors and was addressed to Sergeant Macaric Castro. It explained that no bachelor would be given permission to 'emigrate' from San Jose, San Francisco, or Monterey, and the penalty for ignoring this directive was to be placed in the stocks.[92] No reason was given for this decree.

In 1793, the Viceroy sent a proclamation to Macario de Castro advising him that France had declared war on Spain and all citizens were required to come to the aid of the government.[93] The residents of the San Jose pueblo would be required to

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[90] A proclamation imposing payment of 3% taxes in Alta California, Oct. 15, 1792, Vol. 3, p. 332, Document No. F, Red No. 375, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA. .

[91] A Discussion of Indian Labour and Compensation: Regulations for taxes, shipments of grain and relations with the missions and the Government, Sept. 20, 1793, Vol. 3, pp. 233-237, Document No. 19, Red No. 257, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[92] Document addressed to Sergeant Macaric Castro, July 2, 1800, Vol. 3, pp. 532:533. Document No. 52, Red No. 594, San Jose History Centre San Jose, CA.

[93] A Proclamation from the Viceroy, Jose Aquello, Oct. 14, 1793, Vol. 3, p. 247-249, Document No. 10, Red No. 348, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, Ca.

use their horses and guns in defence of Santa Clara Valley.[94] Two years later, Gabriel Moraga, Commissioner of the Town of San Jose, was advised to take a census of all 'minor boys' for future recruitment to 'supply army needs'. At the same time, he planned to requisition twenty to thirty Ohlones to work at the presidio at Monterey.[95] This situation was not foreseen by the Franciscans when they drew up their plans before the founding of the Santa Clara Mission.

Ohlones were coming from areas that were more remote. While some lived in the Santa Clara Valley, others came from the Santa Cruz Mountains, the coast of San Mateo and the plains near Fremont.[96] In 1795, between January and May, 2,150 adult indigenous people were baptised. New immigrants came from Ohlone tribelets where there were many deaths from disease.[97] Some of them were actively recruited by the Franciscans to replace those who succumbed to disease; the mortality rate was ten percent, and, unfortunately, the new immigrants were more vulnerable to these illnesses.[98]

The Spanish considered that the original Ohlones who arrived in the beginning of the Santa Clara Mission's programme were now more Spanish than Indian; they spoke the new language; they worked like Spaniards and their belief system now conformed with that of the priests.[99] In spite of the problems, the mission continued to prosper; not only were their crops thriving but thirty years after they arrived, they reported to their President that they had 6,321 head of cattle.[100] These became the basis of a number of industries, all of which proved very productive for the mission; hides, tallow and grain were shipped to the East Coast by schooners from Boston.[101]

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[94] *Ibid*.
[95] No title, May 18, 1795, Vol. 2, pp. 592-594, Document No. 41, Red No. 63, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.
[96] Randall Miliken, 'The Indians of Santa Clara Mission', in Russell K. Skowronek, [ed.], *Telling the Santa Clara Story*, pp. 464-53.
[97] *Ibid*., p. 53.
[98] Laurence H. Shoup & Randall T. Miliken, *Inigo of Rancho Posoloni: The Life and Times of a Mission Indian,* Oakland, CA, 1999, pp. 62-65.
[99] *Ibid.,* p. 66.
[100] *Informes*, Series 2, Vol. 2, n.n., 1809, p. 75.
[101] Roger R. Olmstead, Nancy Olmstead, [eds], *Scow Schooners on San Francisco Bay,* Cupertino, CA, 1988, p. 8.

The former Spanish immigrants now settled in the pueblo did not use violence against the Ohlones and were warned they would be punished if they did. When the Native Americans ran away from the mission and attacked the settlers and members of the military, they were treated as any other law-breakers and punished before being returned to the mission.[102] At this time, life at Santa Clara Mission was not easy for anyone.

Already in Santa Clara Valley patterns were forming among the different groups. The Spanish occupied the valley and subjugated the Ohlones, using the missionaries to do this. They brought in Spanish settlers who were unlikely to challenge them; the soldiers also were from a poorer class than the authorities and were treated in a way that ignored the part played by them in the protection of the colony. The Franciscan priests were on the front-line at the mission coercing the Ohlones into becoming potential Christians and Spanish citizens, and at the same time turning the mission itself into a prosperous trading centre. At the uppermost point of the new Spanish social order were the Californios who lived off the land that was given to them but put nothing back into the system in return. This was the culture that was being introduced into the New Spain, and in particular into Santa Clara Valley. But it was not accepted by all the groups in the new society.

The Ohlones wanted freedom to be able to move between the mission and their villages but to do this they required a pass; some ran away and were brought back.[103] Pedro Fages, the Governor of Alta California blamed poor leadership on the part of the officers when violence occurred during arrests. He preferred that the priests went in search of the escapees.[104] However, there were cracks forming in the system; no longer were the subservient settler-immigrants observing every rule. They were offering loans to the Ohlones which were to be paid back by labour.[105]

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[102] Shoup & Miliken, pp. 73-4.
[103] Miliken, *A Time of Little Choice,* pp. 95-97.
[104] Philip Fages, Letter to Sabre Puntos del Governor de la Peninsula of California, Monterey, CA, 26.2.1791, C. A. 6 151-168, also referenced by Miliken, *A Time of Little Choice,* p. 97.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

The administrators of the Spanish Empire did not foster an immigration programme that could be of use in its far-flung dominions. By 1826, there were only 3000 Spanish-speaking people in Alta California, including soldiers, their families, priests and civilians who worked for the government; 1,000 of these lived in pueblos or private ranches.[106] Alta California was under-populated and isolated.[107] Spain was overwhelmed with problems throughout its Empire.[108] Mexico was preparing for revolution.[109] Santa Clara Valley and its immigrant population were left to their own devices.

Spain came into Alta California as part of an overall plan to both colonise and defend the territory they claimed. They assumed that the Native Americans were docile and would present no problem. Both the King of Spain and the Spanish Government gave the missionaries money and gifts suitable for their new establishment. They began work in a beautiful valley, building and farming, while encouraging the Ohlones to join them. The mission prospered despite setbacks from weather and fire, and a provincial governor who was not in favour of the work the missionaries were doing. There were periods when the Ohlones vacillated between wanting to stay at Santa Clara Mission and returning to their villages due, in some measure, to the differences in their cultures. There were four distinct groups of immigrants: the missionaries, the settlers at the San Jose Pueblo, the Native Americans who came from outside the valley, and the Californios who were wealthy and disinterested in working the land that was granted to them. By contrast, the other groups had difficult lives. The settlers at the pueblo were not treated favourably by the authorities but were expected to both supply two presidios with provisions, and defend the valley should the occasion arise. The Spanish were not well prepared to cope with immigrants, nor were they sufficiently prepared to encourage further immigration. Spain was finding that maintaining a colony over a long term, in a valley that was isolated and situated a long way from the central government, was proving difficult.

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[106] *Ibid.*
[107] California Missions.
[108] Robert M. Utley, general [ed.], *The Story of the West: A History of the American West and Its People*, London, 2003, p.108.
[109] Hayes, p. 49.

The Spanish were the first Europeans to enter the valley, the first people to immigrate there with a plan to colonise, and the first people to come with the financial support of their king. They were experienced colonists who showed what could be done in an unknown land; they were missionaries but also builders who were able to use their previous experience to establish a settlement, and traders who provided the produce required by visiting ships. They laid the foundations for what was to become in time a thriving city and county. In this thesis, they are the forerunners of a wave of immigration. Santa Clara Valley was the beginning of a series of triumphs that encouraged many other immigrants to emulate. The Spanish were not the first people there but they provided the foundation for all those who followed. They were immigrants and colonisers with plans that they were prepared to carry out; sadly, those who followed them were unable to continue their work in Alta California. The next chapter is the story of the Mexicans who were ill-prepared to take control of Alta California, and were without a strong supply line to their headquarters in Mexico City.

Chapter Four: The Mexicans

It will be shown in this chapter how the Mexicans came to take control of Alta California when they rebelled against their Spanish rulers. Distance from their main base in Mexico was a problem for them, as it had been for the Spanish. The original immigrants were a mixture of ethnic groups that began arriving in 1769 but the population was always sparse. After the revolution, they were forced to cope with the American immigrants who were gradually taking over the settlement at San Jose. At the same time the Mexicans were taking the land belonging to the missions and giving it to the Californios, while the Americans were immigrating in even larger numbers. Unable to cope, the Mexican government declared war on the United States, an action that they later regretted.

In Silicon Valley, people of Mexican descent form a large proportion of the population.[1] Many of them are descendants of Mexican immigrants who either accompanied the first Spanish expedition to Santa Clara Valley in 1769, or came later with the colonising expedition of Franciscan missionaries and Spanish soldiers that established the Santa Clara de Asis Mission on the 1st January 1777.[2] But it was Juan Bautista de Anza who in 1775-1776 led an overland expedition of 200 people from Mexico through Santa Clara Valley on his way to San Francisco who proposed the foundation of a pueblo on the East Bank of the Guadalupe River.[3] He selected fourteen families, sixty-six men, women and children from the de Anza party, because he believed they had the potential to succeed as farmers and settlers; consequently, they were given the responsibility of establishing the pueblo of San Jose de Guadalupe, 'Spain's most northern civil community in their New World', on the 29th November 1777. These early Mexican immigrants did not have much choice in their immigration plans, because their Spanish masters made the decisions for them, and, as many of the men were army reservists they could be called upon, if

[1] Joe Rodiquez, 'Valley growth shift into a slower gear', 2010 Census Report, *San Jose Mercury News,* 9. 3. 2011; 2010 Census Report, *San Jose Mercury News,* 22. 3. 2011.
[2] 2010 Census Report.
[3] *Historias*, pp. 39-49.

and when necessary, to serve in an emergency.[4] This method of colonising did not augur well for the future in Alta California.

Nevertheless, Mexicans were in the forefront of immigration to Santa Clara Valley from 1769, when Mexico was part of New Spain, so that, in spite of the setbacks in its attempts to initiate an immigration plan after 1821, it was at that time a major contributor to immigration in the valley. The layers of Mexican civilisation and traditions that were put down in Santa Clara Valley during its twenty-seven years in power still exist and are a visible reminder of its presence.

In 1777 when the Spanish arrived in the Santa Clara Valley to establish a colony, the immigrants who followed them from Mexico (New Spain) were not all of Spanish descent; after three centuries of Spanish rule, there were a number of diverse racial groups. The majority of the immigrants were from the lowest level of Mexican society and many were of mixed racial backgrounds: the *peninsular* were born in Spain, the *cirillo* were born in Mexico, but were of Spanish descent, the *mestizo* were of mixed Spanish and indigenous races, the *zambo* were of mixed Indian and African races and there were Native Americans and Africans, also. After settling in Alta California, the racial mixture of the settlers was further complicated by later waves of immigrants from Mexico and their subsequent integration with local Native Americans.[5] By the late eighteenth century, the same colonial status system that operated during the 700 years of the Spanish colonial empire was well established in Santa Clara Valley making it more difficult for recent arrivals to assimilate into their new environment, unless they belonged to the elite group.[6] By 1803, despite the new arrivals, the population was still sparse; there were only

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[4] *Ibid.*, p.. 48.

[5] A History of Mexican Americans in California, Five Views: An Ethnic Site Survey for California (Mexican), http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views5/htm, accessed 11.10. 2011.

[6] Linda Heidenreich, *This Land was Mexican Once: Histories of Resistance from Northern California,* Austin, TX, 2007, http://books.google.com.au/books?id=90XGsh3hCo4C&pg=PA43&dq=peonage&in&Alta&California&Source=bl&ots=wwc9skMO, accessed 24.11. 2011.

9,000 residents in the whole of Alta California.[7] But John Niles, writing at the same time, disagrees with this figure; he says that there were 15,600 people in Alta California, which equalled seven people per square league and was a much more encouraging figure.[8] Even this latter figure indicates that the population needed to be increased and immigration was the easiest way to do this.

When the French defeated Spain in 1808, it was an opportune time for Spain's colonies to secede, but Spain would not agree.[9] Nevertheless, the Spanish colonies in the Caribbean and South America began hostilities to gain their independence. This had an indirect effect on Santa Clara Valley, because the Spanish navy was preoccupied with the uprisings and was unable to provide safe passage to supply ships sailing for ports close to Santa Clara; supplies needed for the mission and the pueblo of San Jose could not be delivered.[10] Eventually, the Santa Clara Mission was almost out of medical supplies and money.[11] Although the missionaries' stipends arrived from Mexico, there was no mail from Spain and they feared for the future.[12] It was obvious the government was in disarray.

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[7] Joel Roberts Poinsett, *Notes on Mexico, made in the Autumn of 1822: accompanied by an historical sketch of the revolution, the translation of official reports on the present state of that country,* London, 1825, p. 237, e book, Google, University of Michigan, also American Libraries and Texts Archives, http://books.google.com.au/books?id=QfkmFrcNMED.C&pg=PA271&dqu&Mexican&regency&source=bl&ots=R3A9&2446, accessed 5. 4. 2018.

[8] John Milton Niles, *A view of South America and Mexico comprising their history, the political condition, geographical, agricultural of the republics of Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru, the United Provinces of South America and Chile, with a complete history of the revolution, in each of these independent states,* Vol. 1 & 2,1825, n.p., n.p.n., e book, Google, University of Michigan, http://books,google.com.au/books?=u-KewAAAAMAAJ*dq=Population&Santa Clara&1803&sources=gbs_navinks_5, accessed 5. 4. 2018.

[9] Christopher Minster, *Latin America: Causes of Independence,* About.com, Latin American History, http://latinamericanhistory.about.com/od/19thcenturylatinamerica/a/09independencewhy_2.htm, accessed 5.12. 2011.

[10] California History Collection: Mexican Californian, http://memory.loc.gov/ammen/cbhtml/cbMexico.html, accessed 9. 5. 2018.

[11] Letter to Father Jose Vinals from Father Narcisco Duran, 27 October, 1807, California Mission Letters, 1806-1825, BANC MSS, 2002/80 over C, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, Bancroft Library Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[12] Letter to Father Jose Vinals from Father Narcisco Duran, 31 October, 1807, 1:2 California Mission Letters, 1806-1825, BANC MSS,2002/80 over C, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA; Letter to Jose Guilez, 31st January, 1810, 1:2 California Mission Letters, 1806-1825, BANC MSS, 2002/80 over C, Box 1, Manuscripts Collection, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

From 1810 there were rebellions in Mexico but, in spite of the volatile political situation that affected all of Mexico and its territories, small numbers of immigrants did arrive in Santa Clara Valley. In 1814, John Gilroy arrived with the distinction of being the first 'foreigner' in the valley. Originally from Scotland, he arrived in Monterey on his way from the Hudson Bay Company in Canada with no intention of immigrating. Unfortunately, he was suffering from scurvy, and he was left behind by his ship.[13] He travelled north to the Santa Clara Mission, where his abilities as a cooper, builder, carpenter, equipment repairman and interpreter were a welcome addition.[14] Two years later, in 1816, Tomas Doak, the first American immigrant was recorded as arriving in the American ship, *Albatross,* and later making his way to Santa Clara Valley, where he worked as a carpenter.[15]

In 1821, after eleven years of revolution, Mexico won the War of Independence against Spain having achieved its aims of independence, the retention of Catholicism as the religion of the country and equality for its people.[16] But the country suffered severely; there was an extensive loss of life as a result of the revolution and the economy was destroyed.[17] There did not appear to be any advantage for Mexico; the government was divided, the military commanders continued to rule and the peasants were worse off than before, but the government still wanted to encourage colonisation.[18] In 1824, there was a change in policy and the Mexican government passed the Mexican Colonisation Law which was intended to encourage foreign settlers, particularly the Americans who did not fear going to 'remote lands'. Any immigrant who wanted land would find that land grants were

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[13] Christopher Minster, *Independence from Spain,* About.com, Latin American History, http://latinamericanhistory.about.com/od/Latinamericanindependence/a/independence.htm, accessed 6.12. 2011; Thompson & West, *Historical Atlas Map of Santa Clara County*, *California,* compiled, drawn and published from personal examinations and surveys, San Jose, CA, 1876, p.10.

[14] Santa Clara County Heritage Resource Inventory Update, Rancho Period 1794-1846, http://www,sccgov.org/sites/planning/Plans%20-%20P, accessed 4. 6. 2012.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 313; Robert McCaa, 'The Peopling of Mexico from Origins to Revolution', preliminary draft for Richard Steckel & Michael Haines [eds], *The Population History of North America,* New York, 1997, http://www.hist.umn.edu/-rmccaa/mxpoprev/cambridg3.htm, accessed 6.11. 2011.

[17] Theresa Salasar & Alegandra Dubcovsky, 'Celebrating Mexico', *Bancroftiana,* Newsletter of the Friends of the Bancroft Library, No 137, The University of California at Berkeley, Fall, 2010, p. 4.

[18] *Ibid*., p. 4; -Thompson & - West, pp. 10½-11½.

available, provided they adopted Mexican citizenship.[19] At this time, valley residents actually preferred the American and English immigrants to the Mexicans, because they were considered to be reputable; they also married local girls and were thought to be more energetic and inventive than Mexicans.[20]

Although New Spain (Mexico) was given its total independence in 1822, it remained part of the Spanish Empire, while Alta California became a Mexican dependency and later, a part of the Mexican Empire.[21] Mexico, after all its tumultuous years, feared that Alta California, a Spanish stronghold at the time, could become a centre for a counter revolutionary movement.[22] The mission priests were believed to be possible sources of disruption and were to be treated warily, while, to add to the government's concerns, the pueblo of San Jose in Santa Clara Valley and its immigrant settlers, as well as many other dissatisfied citizens were weary of the continuing uncertainty and constant political upheavals and refused to accept Mexico as the new government.[23] The situation did not improve; the Empire lasted only one year and then the government proclaimed a new constitution modelled on that of the United States. This augured well for the future, until Spain made a number of attempts to retake Mexico and the political instability that ensued diminished any possibility of Santa Clara Valley providing an attractive destination for potential immigrants.[24] However, during this period the government, following the lead of the mission, was involved in a lucrative trading operation supplying wheat to the

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[19] Michael De Groot, Spatial History Project, Spatial History Lab, The Struggle for Ownership of the San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-1972, Spatial History Lab, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA, http://www.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/pub.php?id=15#5, accessed 23. 3. 2012.

[20] *Ibid.;* Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California,1801-1835,* Vol. IV, Chapter XIV, p. 397, San Francisco, (New York), 1886, Ethnic Studies Library, Stephens Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[21] Bancroft, Vol. XIX, Chapter 11, 1801-1824, p. 451.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 455.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 456; Santa Clara County, http://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/santaclara/text.htm#history, accessed 9. 2. 2012.

[24] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 314; Heritage History, Mexican-American War, 1846-1848, United States vs. Mexico, http://www.heritage-history.com/www/heritage/.php?Dir=wars&FileName=wars_mexamerican.php, accessed 11.10. 2011.

Russians, despite the constant fear of a Russian invasion.[25] Accordingly, trading restrictions were relaxed, so that all citizens were permitted to trade openly with foreigners. At the same time there was another major improvement, when all immigrants were permitted to own land, provided that they first became Mexican citizens and members of the Catholic Church.[26] Despite the new policy's limitations, it was at least an incentive for those considering immigration and who were not unduly concerned with accepting the new regulations.

In spite of the government's failure to promote the valley as a destination for new settlers, there is evidence that there were occasionally new and unexpected arrivals. The census of 1822 shows that the first African-American immigrants, Clayman and Sarah Wilkinson and their three sons, came to Santa Clara Valley to take up residence in San Jose. In a blatant display of racial discrimination, a new policy of segregation was introduced into the pueblo soon after their arrival, thus effectively banning the Wilkinsons from schools and public places; it was obvious that the citizens of San Jose were selective in the immigrants they welcomed and coloured people were not wanted.[27] The situation remained static; there were few permanent non-Hispanic residents. There was still an obvious need for immigrants, but the Mexican authorities were unsure how to cope with new arrivals.[28] As with all changes, the Mexican authorities were ill-prepared to cope with any new situation.

In 1824, when the American, Jedediah Smith and his party of trappers arrived in Santa Clara Valley with the intention of settling, they were not welcome.[29] They were the first Americans to arrive after the Mexican government decided to increase restrictions on admitting American immigrants. Because they were unable to produce passports or documents proving that they had permission to enter the territory from either the United States or Mexico, the potential immigrants were forced to leave.

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[25] A Letter to the Alcade of the town of San Jose from Jose Estada to report an amount of government-owned wheat being ready for delivery to Russian ships in San Francisco, 26 October, 1824, Box - , Red No. 682, Vol. 5, pp. 752-753, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 314.
[27] Joe Rodriguez, 'Valley's Black History', *San Jose Mercury,* 2. 8. 2008.
[28] Spartacus Educational, www.spartacus-educational.com, accessed 1.11. 2017.
[29] *Ibid.*

They decided to go to Utah, but returned to San Jose the following year for a short period.[30] The travellers bought supplies at San Jose and blankets at the Santa Clara Mission, where Jedediah was given permission to visit a mission farm, before leaving on the 24 December for San Francisco.[31] Although their visit on this occasion was purely for trading with local businesses and the members of the party were unhindered, they had no desire to return as settlers. They knew they were not welcome.

On May 10 1825, the citizens of San Jose were told that there was a new constitution of the United States of Mexico and that there was be a fiesta to celebrate the occasion.[32] Despite the success of the mission since its establishment in 1777, the missionaries knew they were no longer wanted. They were remote from their headquarters in Mexico City, the political situation in Mexico was unpredictable and so there would be no further support for them; this would prevent them from continuing their work with the Ohlones.[33] They were not the only people experiencing a period of unrest.

Santa Clara Valley was in crisis with immigrant settlers acting outside the law; some of those in San Jose were trespassing in the fields normally worked by the neophytes and planting for their own use.[34] They were also unfairly punishing the Ohlone workers for cutting firewood without official permission.[35] But, when they removed mission cattle from the mission ranges to their own grazing grounds close to San Jose, the governor feared that the priests would take the law into their own

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[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Jedediah Smith's Journal and Expedition to California, 13. 7. 1827 to 3. 7. 1828, http://user.xmission.com/~drudy/mtman/html/jsmith/jedexped2.html, accessed 5. 4. 2018.

[32] A Proclamation to all residents of San Jose de Guadalupe, 10 May, 1825, Vol. 6, pp. 291-292, Box - Red No. 362 & 363, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[33] 1:11 California Mission Letters, Jose Viader, Santa Clara Mssion, 27 April, 1825, to Juan Cortes, 2012/ over C. Ethnic Studies Library, Stephens Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[34] A Letter from Father Viader to the Town Council of San Jose de Gaudalupe complaining about settlers using the mission fields and wanting the trespassing stopped, 2 July, 1823, No -, Red No. 714, Vol. 5, p. 786, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[35] A Letter to the Alcade of San Jose from Jose Maria Estudillo, Governor of Baja and Alta California, 9 December, 1825, Vol. 6, No - , Red 394-395. pp. 321-324,. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA; Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 277.

hands.[36] Settlers were no longer treating the mission, its staff or the Ohlones with respect. Families arriving from Mexico were given grants of land that were further away from the pueblo at San Jose and these newcomers were now seen to be more influential than the missionaries.[37] For the first time since the inception of the mission, the missionaries were competing against private settlers.[38] This was an indication that the balance between missionaries and settlers was changing.

However, Santa Clara Mission, the main trading venture in the valley continued to be successful despite the priests' anxieties.[39] Because trading with foreign ships was no longer illegal, the mission continued to trade its tallow and hides with ships of other nationalities without fear of being apprehended. This trading was an important part of both the economy of the mission and Alta California itself and enabled the missionaries to buy manufactured goods from other countries.[40] The valley was coming out of an extended period of isolation.[41] But the governor of Alta California's plans were about to change the lives of the priests.

The governor of Alta California, Lieutenant-Colonel Echeandria, who made no secret of his anti-clerical views, said he was coming to Santa Clara Valley to ensure that the priests took the oath of allegiance to Mexico, but the latter who planned to refuse to take the oath expected there would be repercussions.[42] The governor made no secret of the fact that secularisation was to occur soon, and that the dismantling of the mission would not only release land to be granted to potential immigrants, but the missionaries would be forced to leave. The Mexican government imposed new taxes

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[36] Letter to the Alcade; A Letter to Sergeant Luis Peralto from Jose Joaquin de Arrillaga, Governor of Alta California, 1809, Beebe & Senkewicz, p.280-281.
[37] De Groot.
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] Letter from Father Narcisco Duran to Juan Cortes, 26 September, 1825, 1:10, CA Mission Letters, 2002/80 over C. Ethnic Studies Library, Stephens Hall, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.
[40] History: A History of Mexican-Americans in California: An Introduction, http://www.ca.nps.gov/history/online_books/5views/5views5.htm, accessed 20. 2. 2012,
[41] *Ibid.*
[42] Letter from Father Narcisco Duran.

and duties on the missions and they were powerless to prevent this happening.[43] The government planned to replace the Santa Clara missionaries with Mexican-born priests who would be ignorant of the forthcoming secularisation of the mission and unaware that the Spanish priests planned to migrate to Manilla when they were removed.[44] The Governor's plans made no pretence of caring for the Ohlones, the original immigrants in Santa Clara Valley, nor did he give any consideration to the original plans the priests drew up originally to care for the Ohlones until they were able to take their place as citizens and owners of the mission lands.

The government's intention to introduce secularisation was not only to remove recalcitrant priests, but to distribute the land belonging to Santa Clara Mission and all the other missions in Alta California to immigrants. The government was not concerned that the Ohlones in Santa Clara Valley would no longer have a home and planned to ignore the missionaries' original plans which were to train the neophytes over a period of ten years to become Spanish citizens, and at the end of that period to divide the mission land among them.[45] Despite this policy, only a few small allotments were ever given to the Ohlones and the few who received land and attempted to farm were unsuccessful, eventually being forced to abandon their properties.[46] This was not surprising; they were not yet fully prepared for being on their own. The Mexican government proceeded to parcel out the mission land in large tracts, either to the Californios, or to the elite immigrants who arrived from Mexico, but not to local settlers.[47] However, some new American immigrants disregarded the plan for apportioning of land to the wealthy and influential Mexicans and Californios, and, taking the law into their own hands, occupied any property they considered

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[43] A Proclamation by Lieutenant-Colonel of Engineers, Commandant-General of both Californias, Jose Maria Echeandria, advising the missionaries of the appropriation of taxes and duties to be paid by the Mission, in agreement with the Rev.Father President, Vincente Francisco de Serra, and based upon the instruction issued by the late Rev. Father Mariano Payeras in September, 1821. No. -, Red No 273, Vol. 4, pp. 227-228. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[44] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 314; *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific,* p. 250, cited in Book 14, *Documentary Evidence for the Spanish Missions of Alta California*, [ed.] Julia G. Costello, Series Spanish Borderlands Source Books, New York, New York, 1991.

[45] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 395.

[46] California History Collection: Mexican California, https://www.loc.gov/collections/california-first-peerson-narratives, accessed 9. 5. 2018.

[47] *Ibid.*

suitable for their needs, regardless of ownership.[48] This was totally unexpected by the wealthy landowners.

Antonio Sunol, a Spanish immigrant who arrived in 1826 was appointed postmaster of San Jose; he opened the first store and saloon, and then the first bank. Because he was the only educated person in the pueblo, he was elected to be an attorney in the pueblo and registrar for the pueblo, prior to being appointed a sub-prefect of the district and finally an alcade in 1841.[49] His was an unexpectedly rapid rise to fame. Government policies changed frequently and, when later groups of settlers arrived, there were new problems; a Mexican decree in 1828 stated that all foreigners must own a passport to enter Alta California and, if any person wanted to stay longer than a month, it was necessary to obtain a licence that must be renewed annually. However, the laws were not enforced and trappers and traders continued to arrive.[50] It was obvious that the government vacillated between making laws and carrying them out. News of land grants for immigrants was widespread which was sure to encourage an influx of people wanting these grants and the government would need to be vigilant.

Hearing of the grants, groups of British, Canadian and American immigrants who originally planned to travel overland to Oregon changed their plans and arrived in Santa Clara Valley. Between 1831 and 1835, trappers and traders entered the valley from the United States, many of them travelling over the difficult routes across the Sierras.[51] Martial law was proclaimed in order 'to ensure peace, order and

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[48] A plea from Joaquin Bernat of San Jose to ask that Luis Peralta be stopped from occupying certain lands…which are claimed by the petitioner under a grant from former Governor, Don Luis Antonio Arguello, 21 August, 1826, No. -, Red No. 298 & 299, Vol. 6, pp. 236-237. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[49] Envision San Jose, 2004, A Brief History of San Jose, http://www.sanjoseca.gov/planning/gp_update/meetings/10-9-07/SJ_History_Agenda_No_3.pdf, accessed 10.11. 2011; Glory Anne Laffey, Architectural Archives, Historical Context Statement, City of San Jose, CA, Mexican Period 1822-46, http://www.laffeyarchives.org/contexts/sanjoseconti, accessed 31. 5. 2012.

[50] George Lockhart Rues, *The United States and Mexico 1821-1848- a history of the relations between the two countries from the independence of Mexico to the close of the* war *with the United States,* New York, 1968 (1918), www.archives.org/stream/unitedstatesand03rivegoog/unitedstatesand03goog_djvu.TxR, accessed 12. 4. 2018.

[51] Bancroft, Vol. IV, 1831-1835, Chapter XI, pp. 385-89.

tranquillity'.[52] But Santa Clara Valley was of little interest to Mexicans as a destination for immigration, because of its remoteness and not even the availability of land grants, when the mission lands were divided, could attract them. Consequently, the Mexican government, in its desperation, sent convicts to attempt farming.[53] Then, gradually, throughout the 1830s, as more trappers and adventurers continued to arrive, the rate of immigration increased so that, combined with a rise in the local birth rate, there was a substantial increase in the population.[54] The availability of land and the apportioning of land grants continued to be a major issue in encouraging immigrants. At the same time, the Mexican government was proceeding with its plans to secularise the Santa Clara Mission and all the other missions in Alta California; at Santa Clara, the priests maintained 80,000 acres of what was declared to be the best land in California, if not the world.[55] The distribution of this land was considered to be the ultimate solution to inducing settlers to come to the valley.

The Mexican government legislated to give non-mission land to settlers in an attempt to settle large groups as farmers and ranchers, but the Californios resisted any potential large scale settlements for fear the mission land they coveted would be taken over by newcomers.[56] Land was to be granted also to 'all heads of households' and males over the age of 20, provided they lived in the Bay Area, but settlers knew that land grants were unfair and unequal and, because there were few people with legal expertise in the territory, there was little help available to contest any disputes that might arise.[57] The Californios preferred to see more attention devoted to their own agenda which included the formation of yet another constitution and, although they did not generally care about the newcomers or the current settlers, they did see the need for education and schools. However, these schools were expected to put forward the new liberal opinions preferred by the Californios, particularly concerning

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[52] A Proclamation to all citizens from Santa Barbara to San Francisco from Military Commandant, 9 May, 1832, Vol. 2, pp. 656-659. Box 1, Pueblo Papers, 1792-1834, Red No.# 694-695,696-698, 2 pages. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.
[53] Robert M. Utley, General [ed.], *The Story of the West: A History of the American West and Its People,* London, 2003, p. 180.
[54] Shoup & Miliken, *Inigo of Rancho Posolmi*, p. 104.
[55] *Ibid*., pp. 104-108.
[56] De Groot; Beebe & Senkewiez, p. 314.
[57] De Groot.

'the advantages of the republican system'.[58] They no longer wanted to be associated with the life their immigrant parents led; they referred to themselves as 'sons of the country' (hijos del pais), or 'Californians' (Californios). They considered themselves to be 'liberals' and entered the territorial assembly in order to be able to remove 'the detestable system of the missions' and their oppression of the Native Americans.[59] When a meeting was held in San Jose for the residents of Santa Clara and San Jose to elect deputies to the Mexican Congress, it was these Californios who were elected, giving them the opportunity to introduce policies to make California a place where there would be more liberal ideas and trade would be increased. Of course, these policies would reflect well on them, while advancing their own particular cause: republicanism.[60] Although Mexico remained anxious to encourage immigration as a means to increase its population, improve its prosperity and become a more influential country, its endeavours to achieve these ends were not successful. While there was the constant threat of revolutions and wars, the government was in no position to introduce any order into an immigration programme.

But, in 1833, the Mexican government instigated its first determined attempt to send colonists to form a new Californian colony. The plan was not completely altruistic, as the colony was intended to act as a deterrent to the constantly feared Russian and American navies and ground forces who were known to be in the vicinity of its northern borders and were viewed as possible predators.[61] In this way, Mexico was emulating Spain, when it established new colonies to deter the same nations. The Mexican congress intended to pass a Bill to establish a new colony but, unfortunately, its passage was interrupted by further political unrest as various politicians and army officers vied for positions of authority in government.[62] But this did not deter the potential immigrants, 239 of whom left Mexico City in April 1834, for Monterey, in Alta California.[63] Their arrival was disappointing; while they were sailing to Alta California there was another change of government and this one reversed the

[58] Beebe & Senkewiez, p. 345.
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Records of the proceedings of the Town Council, drawn up on 17 August, 1828, including nominations for the coming selection of Deputies to Congress, No - , Red 665, 669, 670, 671. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA; Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 345.
[61] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 401.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 398.
[63] *Ibid.*

decision to secularise the mission lands.[64] The potential settlers were not welcome and were told that the mission lands were never meant for colonisation and were going to be returned to the Ohlones. Without anyone to direct them, the immigrants spread out over Alta California; some travelled to Santa Clara Valley and settled in San Jose, and while the few professional people and artisans among them found work there, the remainder continued on to San Francisco.[65] This first attempt at organised immigration failed because of the continuing instability of the Mexican government, a problem that prevented any progress anywhere in any region controlled by Mexico.

But the lack of success in any immigration scheme could not be contributed solely to the government's ineptness. Its attempt to correct the problem of lack of population in the 1830s coincided with the efforts and expectations of the Californios who expected to reap the benefits of the distribution of the mission lands after the imposition of secularisation.[66] The elite Californios, through their powerful positions as members of the Mexican Congress and their resulting influence on policy making, offered so much resistance to the idea of immigrants being brought into Alta California and potentially causing interference to their land acquisition plans that the government's intentions were not carried out. The introduction of an education system was abandoned, so consequently, there was never a professional class in Alta California that was capable of confronting the Americans who, at this time, were beginning to infiltrate the region and take control of commerce and trading.[67] The Californios' inability to see beyond their land claims lead to the demise of any workable immigration scheme that the government contemplated. Any law that inhibited the entry of further immigrants was unwise, but no laws were going to impede the arrival of the Americans.

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[64] *Ibid.,* p. 402.
[65] *Ibid.*; Agustin Janssens, *The Life and Adventures in California of Don Agustin Janssens,* reproduced in Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 404.
[66] Beebe & Senkewiez, pp. 314-5.
[67] *Ibid.*

In 1845, San Jose was changing from a Mexican pueblo, a small rural village with little commerce, to an American town as many of the American immigrants established businesses.[68] However, one German immigrant established a general store, a blacksmith shop, a flour mill, a bakery, a salt works, a soap and candle business and a restaurant and saloon.[69] It was not surprising that Governor Pio Pico was concerned about the onrush of Americans in San Jose, as they established farms, vineyards, mills, whatever was needed, but he could not stop them coming.[70] The pueblo was becoming prosperous because the so-called 'foreigners', mostly Americans, were working hard to be successful, land grants opened up land for new settlers and there was a steady trade with Russian, English and American ships.[71] San Jose was developing as both a business centre and a residential area for ranchers and farmers; consequently, the town expanded and the number of American immigrants continued to increase. [72] It was at this time that settlers found a new source of labour.

San Jose businessmen then became aware of the value of Mexican immigrants, especially those with previous agricultural skills who could be employed immediately. At the same time, the New Almaden Mine became a large employer of immigrants from Central and South America.[73] The settlers in San Jose assumed that these Mexican immigrants were only suited to manual labour, but many of them were already competent and experienced workers in their own countries; they included cattle hands who previously were employed on large ranches in Mexico, indentured farm hands escaping from bonded service which was tantamount to slavery, as well former small landholders who were forced from their properties, or their stock was stolen during raids by tribesmen from outlying areas.[74] Unfortunately, it appeared that white settlers planned to adopt the old Mexican economic system of debt peonage in

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[68] Envision San Jose.
[69] Laffey, The Mexican Period, 1822-1846.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] Basin Research Associates, Inc, for David J. Powers & Associates, San Jose, Appendix J, Cultural Resources, Envision San Jose 2010 General Plan, Santa Clara County, California, p. 12, http://www.sanjose.gov/planning/eir/ESJ2040-GP/ap, accessed 30. 5. 2012.
[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.
[73] Stephen J. Pitti, *The Devil in San Jose: Northern California, Race, and Mexican Americans*, Princeton, N J. p. 41.
[74] Mexican Immigrant Labour History, http://www.phs.org/kpbs/theborder/historytimeline/17.html, accessed 31. 3. 2011.

their dealings with Mexican workers, a process that they used earlier, when they were employing Ohlones from the Santa Clara Mission.[75] Peonage was equivalent to being a bonded servant, and in Santa Clara Valley the settlers used the system as a means of coercing the immigrants to work for them in return for paying their debts; they encouraged the new arrivals to enter into financial transactions that the latter would be unable to repay. As a result, immigrants from Mexico and the former Spanish colonies faced an inequitable and frustrating future, whether they worked in the mines, light industry, or the railroads. This was a convenient financial arrangement for the settlers, with only American and European immigrants being considered for higher-paying employment.[76] So from the outset of larger-scale immigration from Mexico and other former Spanish colonies, these people were perceived to be inferior to their white counterparts and were treated unfairly.[77] They came to work as field hands on the farms, but they also worked in the mines, in light industry and on the railroads but, in every instance, they were recognised as being no more than 'the hewers of wood and the drawers of water'.[78] The population of San Jose that was originally 80 in 1790 was 700 in 1848.[79]

In the 1840s, Santa Clara Valley was not a friendly place; aggression and hostility thrived in the atmosphere of mistrust between recently arrived immigrants, settlers and the government which constantly introduced new policies or cancelled existing ones. General Vallejo, who was in charge of the northern district of Alta California, described his district as having the potential to be 'a state of prosperity' but, he was unable to achieve that state due to the small population.[80] Yet, with immigrants arriving constantly he preferred to deter their advance, calling it an invasion in which all 'Californians will die'. He expected that the Americans would arrive 'raising their flag', while the Californians would 'bite the dust before kissing the enemy's hand'.[81] Throughout the 1840s, Mexico experienced difficulties in attempting

[75] Pitti, p. 41.
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] *Ibid.*
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] Daniel Garr, A Frontier Agrarian Settlement: San Jose de Guadalupe (sic), 1777-1850, *San Jose Studies 2:3,* November, 1976*,* p. 98*;* Bancroft, 1888, 2:133, p. 377; Bancroft, 6:4, also quoted in Pitti, p. 12.
[80] Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, A letter, also referenced in Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 425.
[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 426-27.

to control the influx of settlers, as Americans continued to cross the continent by the overland route.[82] These Americans would not be deterred by what the Mexicans thought of them, and when San Jose officials were ordered to provide recruits for the Mexican Army they, obviously influenced by the Americans, carried out a form of civil disobedience by sending only six men and promising more later.[83]

In their communities, Mexicans consoled themselves by singing their own national songs which made them feel superior to the American settlers who took their land. One song eulogised a well-known bandit who professed his superiority at being both a feared outlaw and a proud Mexican, claiming that, although

> 'I am not an American…any American
>
> I make tremble at my feet…
>
> California comes from Mexico,
>
> Because God wanted it that way'.[84]

Despite their treatment as unwanted and impoverished people, or perhaps because of it, the Mexican immigrants remained close to the Catholic Church, an association that provided them with not only a sense of belonging but re-affirmed their distinct culture.[85] However, the formerly elite and powerful Californios were affected in a different way; they felt remote from their former associations. They feared that the Catholic Church would soon be open to the inroads of the American immigrants and their dominant Protestantism.[86] As it was, the Church retained its

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[82] AGST, 3000, Lecture 4, CA Agriculture, Agriculture, Environment and Society, www.csustan.edu/agstudies/,,,/AGENSOCLecture4CalAgricBoyd.ppt, accessed 7. 6. 2012.
[83] An Order to the Constitutional Alcade of the Town of Alvarado demanding that San Jose send recruits to the Army, No. 2, Red No. 525-527, 29 March, 1838, Vol. 6, pp. 447-448, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.
[84] Maria Herrera-Sobe, *Northward Bound: The Mexican Immigrant Experience in Ballad and Song,* (a translation), Bloomington, IND, 1993, pp.16-18, also referenced in Pitti, pp. 45-46, & n. 29, p. 214.
[85] Pitti, p. 46.
[86] *Ibid.*

adherents, but it suffered economically, because it was no longer able to rely on the financial assistance of the Californios.[87] The elite members of Alta Californian society were thinking only of the difficulties of their position in what was becoming a new world to them.

The Mexican immigrants of Spanish descent who settled in the valley earlier, were not only stealing from other citizens, but encouraging the indigenous people to steal also.[88] On the other hand, the majority of the Californios were 'more favourably disposed towards foreigners' than the settlers, and were less prejudiced than the average Mexican immigrant. But, at the same time, they knew how to manipulate the system to obtain government aid; they knew that, if they wanted a favourable result for themselves, they could complain to the local alcade that foreign immigrants were encroaching on government land normally used by local congressmen, and their claims would receive immediate attention.[89] But their status was about to be challenged; the Mexican government would show it was in the ascendancy over former Spanish residents and American immigrants.

In the 1830s, Mexico expelled all Spaniards and foreigners regardless of the positions they held. The priests at the Santa Clara Mission and their associates at other missions along the Californian coast were among those deported, leaving only two of the original missionaries remaining in the area.[90] However, by 1845, the population of Alta California was between 11,000 and 12,000, the majority of whom lived near the coast. The entry of immigrants other than Spanish was lower than the Mexican government hoped for; in 1830, 150 arrived and in 1845, 600 arrived.[91] There was a division between the elite and the poor; those with Spanish ancestry like the Californios considered themselves superior to the Mexicans. There was no unity.[92] In Santa Clara Valley, there were no courts, police, schools or a regular mail

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[87] *Ibid.*
[88] Bancroft, 1831-1835, Vol. IV, Chapter XIV, p. 395.
[89] *Ibid.*, pp 397-98.
[90] *Ibid.*, p. 401.
[91] Spanish Discovery and Occupation of Alta California.
[92] Allan Nevins, Henry Steel Commager, Jeffrey Morris, [eds], *A Pocket History of the United States,* New York, 1992 (1942), p. 180.

service and the Mexican Government could no longer maintain or administer any services of any kind due to its inability to exercise control; it was obvious that its nebulous hold in Alta California was diminishing.[93]

The Governor-General of Alta California announced that the clergy and missions would be forced to pay yet further tithes and taxes, a move which did not improve relations between the government and the Catholic Church.[94] However, some of the influential citizens in San Jose, including the American, John Burton, 'demanded' that everyone in Santa Clara Valley conform to government regulations and controls.[95] But, although government demands like these were not likely to encourage immigrants to Santa Clara Valley, more Americans were arriving and proving to be aggressive in their demands. During the 1840s, African American seamen left their New England whalers and trading vessels and settled in the area.[96] In 1846, there were 1,200 foreigners in the territory, most of whom were Americans. At this stage, Mexico was considering withdrawing from Alta California and selling the whole province to Great Britain.[97] This was an indication of the desperate state of Mexico with its centre of government isolated from Alta California, its need for immigration, but its inability to cope with the new arrivals.

Mexico was considering going to war with the United States. In 1845 President Polk, hoping to avert war, offered to purchase Alta California and New Mexico but the offer was refused and, in 1846, Mexico unadvisedly went to war with the United

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[93] *Ibid*., p. 190.

[94] Proclamation to the religious and all citizens and in particular to Bishop Fray Francisco Garcia Diego prescribes new regulations for the collection of tithes and taxes…Issued by Governor-General Manuel Micheltorena and signed by Jose Ramon Estrada, Prefect of the First District of the Department of Californias, Monterey, No - , Red No. 698, F 9 of 20, 26 April, 1843, Vol. 2, p.. 662, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[95] Political document, a 'demand for obedience to the control of central government' signed by Dolores Pacheco and John Burton, San Jose, No. - , Red No. 82-83, 23 April, 1838, Vol. 6, pp. 61-62. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[96] Garden City Women's Club, *History of Black Americans in Santa Clara Valley,* San Jose. CA, 1978, p. xvi.

[97] Pitti, p. 190; Lester G. Engelson, 'Proposals for the Colonisation of California by England in Connection with The Mexican Debt to British Bond Holders, 1837-1846, *California Historical Quarterly,* n.d., pp. 136-148. Special Collections, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.

States.[98] The people of Santa Clara Valley were told to go to the Mexican Army Headquarters immediately to prepare to defend their country.[99] Americans through out the United States were enthusiastically volunteering to go to California; one example was in New York where a regiment of mounted riflemen was raised to defend the United States in the event of war.[100] Although American immigrants already domiciled in California claimed to be independent with no interest in the outcome of the controversy between Mexico and the United States, the Mexicans did not trust them and the fact that their numbers were increasing added to the discomfort of the Mexican government. Governor Pio Pico admitted that all Mexicans felt 'threatened' by them.[101] General Castro, in charge of the Mexican Army contingent quartered at Santa Clara, called on all Mexicans to fight, but promised foreigners, the majority of whom were Americans, that their lives and property would be safeguarded, if they remained in their homes and did not assist the American forces.[102] The Mexicans were overwhelmed; the United States Navy was standing off the Pacific Coast preparing to land, while the American Army was already making arrangements to handle Mexican prisoners.[103] But Mexico was ill-prepared for war and continued its preparations amidst a background of political volatility.

Governor Pio Pico was proved to be correct in his earlier assumption that he could not trust the American immigrants, when a group of the latter in Santa Clara Valley decided to pursue the war themselves. They formed a small group, the American Volunteers, whose 'harsh and arbitrary measures… exasperated' the

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[98] Heritage History, United States versus Mexico, http://heritage-history.com/www/heritage.php?Dir=wars&FileName=wars_mexamericanphp, accessed 11.10. 2011.

[99] General Manuel Castro's request for the Justice of the Peace and neighbours to attend Headquarters to be ready for the defence of their country, 23 June, 1846, Box 3, No - , No other details. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[100] A letter to William C. Campbell, (2) p. C & S, from Edgar Kitcham and Issac Adrianci, thanking him for his speech in the House of Representatives on a bill to raise a regiment of mounted riflemen, 9th May,1846, New York, 86/56 over CM:6. Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[101] Thompson & West, p. 10.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 10 ½.

[103] Letter from the Commander in chief of the U. S. Fleet in the Pacific, (Commander Pacific Squadron), during Mexican War, 18th August, 1847, San Francisco Bay, M. U. S. Ship, *Independence,* 86/56 over cps, No 21. Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA; Major General Scott issues General Orders,1 October, 1847, No. 305, (1), p. D. S., printed Mexico (City), Mexico, Scott, H(enry) L(ee), [sic], 1814-1886. Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

Californios who lived in the valley.[104] For two weeks, while the Californios waited to be armed by their compatriots, an American force assembled; there were 60 sailors who were stationed at San Jose, 70 local volunteers, 'between 50 and 60 immigrants' living at San Jose, and marines and sailors from Monterey and San Francisco, making a total of 400 men.[105] The Californios 'encamped in the plain of Santa Clara' on 1st January and the Battle of Santa Clara, also known as the Battle of the Mustard Seeds, began on 2nd January 1847.[106] The immigrant population of Santa Clara Valley was there, either involved in the battle, or watching from the rooftops.[107] It was a skirmish rather than a battle and lasted only two hours. The leader of the volunteers was a German immigrant, and the acting lieutenant was from Ireland.[108] On January 6th the Commander of the American Naval Forces promised the Californios that, if they laid down their arms and returned to their homes, all American immigrants would be ordered to treat them and their property with respect.[109] The treaty that concluded the battle was officially drawn up on 7th January.[110] The war in Santa Clara Valley was over but the Mexican-American War continued on other fronts.

The Mexican-American War ended in 1848 and as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, the United States paid Mexico $20,000,000 for the purchase of Mexican territories.[111] In 1850, California was admitted into the Union.[112] The Santa Clara Valley was now American territory and about to become a centre for intense immigration. Land grants continued to be issued during the war, and when peace

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[104] James Alexander Forbes, *The Battle of Santa Clara,* an unpublished letter of James Alexander Forbes, British Vice-Consul to Mexican California with a sketch by William H. Meyers of the Battle of Santa Clara, 1847, British Vice A Station, 15 January, 1847. Special Collections, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.

[105] *Ibid.*

[106] Alan K. Brown, *Reconstructing Early Historical Landscapes in the Northern Santa Clara Valley,* Research Manuscript Series, No. 11, 2005, Santa Clara, CA, 2005, p. 14.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] *Ibid*.

[109] Forbes.

[110] *Ibid.*; The Historical Marker Database, The Battle of Santa Clara January 2nd-7th, 1847, http://hmdb.org/marker.asp?marker=24320 , accessed 1. 11. 2017.

[111] Heritage History: United States versus Mexico.

[112] 'An Act for the Admission of the State of California into the Union', Document 12, 'Out of Crisis, Compromise in the Form of Five Laws (Statutes at Large)', from *The Statutes at Large and Treaties of the United States of America, (Boston), (1848- -),* ix, pp. 447-88, 462-65. 467-68, from Holman Hamilton, *Slavery and Expansion: The Crisis and Compromise of 1850, Major Crisis In American History, Documentary Problems,1680-1861,* [eds], Leonard W. Lee Levy & Merrill D. Peterson, New York, 1962, p. 452.

resumed the American government declared that all Spanish and Mexican government grants were to be honoured by the United States, or its agents.[113] Already, some of those who were defeated were planning to demand their new rights.

The Californios asserted themselves, demanding that the promises that were enshrined in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo be respected and that they be permitted to share the same judicial system as the American settlers.[114] Racism by white Americans and Europeans in Santa Clara Valley was worse than ever.[115] Life was so difficult for Mexican immigrants that they referred to California as their 'territories perdido', their 'lost land'.[116] However, the flow of immigrants continued, and eventually with the establishment of local industry, there was a new market for low-paid workers.[117] The American government assured Mexican nationals that they would enjoy 'the rights of citizens of the United States' while being 'maintained and protected without restrictions'; this also applied to their ownership of land.[118] The terms were generous and applied not only to current landholders, but to their heirs, or anyone who bought the property later with all persons being treated as if their land 'belonged to citizens of the United States'.[119] As a result, there would be 'universal peace' between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic.[120] The political situation being stable, it appeared that this would be an ideal climate in which to encourage new immigrants.

It was expected that only American and European immigrants would settle in California, but no one envisaged that large numbers of Mexicans would also

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[113] Petition to John Burton by S. Rachel, for land grant on El Camino Real, signed by J. S. Rachel, 29 June, 1847, Box 5, 1841-1856, Synopsis Pueblo San Jose de Guadalupe. San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA; - Thompson & - West, p. 11 ½.
[114] Pitti, p. 49.
[115] Guadalupe de Jesus Vallejo, Country Club, *History of Washington Township,* p. 121, no other details, also referenced in Pitti, p. 49 & n. 38, p. 215.
[116] Pitti., p. 49.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.
[118] Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman law Library, The Avalon Project, *Documents in La*w, *History and Diplomacy, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,* 8 February, 1848, Article IX, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/igm_century/quadhida.asp, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[119] *Ibid.*, Article VIII.
[120] *Ibi*d., Article 1.

immigrate.[121] At the beginning of the Gold Rush, between 10,000 and 20,000 Mexicans who were unsuccessful on the gold fields moved to Santa Clara Valley to avoid the violence that they incurred in the gold mining areas. While many of them came to San Jose, others settled twelve miles further south in the Almaden Mine area, where provisions were made to accommodate them and, eventually, there were 2,000 Mexicans and Chileans working in the mine.[122]

Despite the Mexican government's unsuccessful attempts to encourage immigration, there was one very successful programme in Santa Clara Valley that was sponsored by a private mining company in the 1840s and continued into the second half of the twentieth century. In 1824, two Mexicans found the old mercury mine that was used by the Ohlones in their trading with the cinnabar pigment but, being unaware of its potential, neglected to develop the site further. However, in 1845, a Mexican army officer recognised what it was and formed a partnership with a family from San Jose, a priest from the Santa Clara Mission and General Castro, the former commandant at Santa Clara.[123] When the mine was sold to a British company, the new owners established an organisation unlike anything seen in the valley previously; for the first time, there was an industry capable of employing hundreds of Mexican workers on a full time basis and for wages.[124] Of course, the whole scheme was planned with an eye to profit and was not intended as a charitable organisation for the employment of Mexican immigrants but, nevertheless, it was a business that did not discriminate on the basis of race.

In 1848, prior to the Californian Gold Rush, large groups of immigrants wanted to enter Santa Clara Valley; there were trappers, deserting sailors, Mormons looking for a safe place to live, intrepid overland travellers from the Western Frontier and Easterners from the Atlantic coast of the United States. Adventurers came from overseas: from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Spain and the Hawaiian

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[121] Pitti, p. 40.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] *Ibid.*, p. 53.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

Islands.[125] The Mexican government always wanted to achieve these numbers of immigrants but, in spite of its good intentions, the results did not eventuate. Now, when immigrants were arriving in larger numbers, the territory belonged to the United States. Santa Clara County was inaugurated in 1851 and its population rose to 6,000.[126] This was the beginning of a massive overland immigration to California and the valley.

Mexico was unable to successfully conduct any immigration scheme of its own. This was due, in part, to wars, revolutions, changes of government and the constant provocation of the Californios who were more interested in obtaining mission land than in helping their government. The Spaniards established the Santa Clara Mission with the intention of maintaining it for ten years, prior to the land being passed on to the Ohlones, but the Mexican government saw fit to change this. It secularised the missions in order to use the land for its own purposes, one of which was to provide land grants to potential immigrants. But the elite Californios were the only people who benefited by this arrangement. Only a small number of Ohlones, the first immigrants in Santa Clara Valley received any land, while the missionaries, the original Spanish immigrants, were quickly replaced by Mexican-born priests.

Constant unrest, frequent changes of government and lack of preparation for any large-scale immigration meant that there was little increase in the number of new arrivals. The earlier Spanish settlers were not interested in immigrants to San Jose, where it was possible for them to dominate the Mexicans so as to keep them in the lowest strata of pueblo society. Later American immigrants were no better; they believed they were superior to the Mexicans. The privately-owned Almaden Mine was a prosperous venture that encouraged and supported immigrants. Mexico wanted immigrants, but it was selective and wary of Americans. Constant changes of policy were confusing to both potential immigrants and those who administered the laws. The one constant factor in attracting immigrants was the availability of land.

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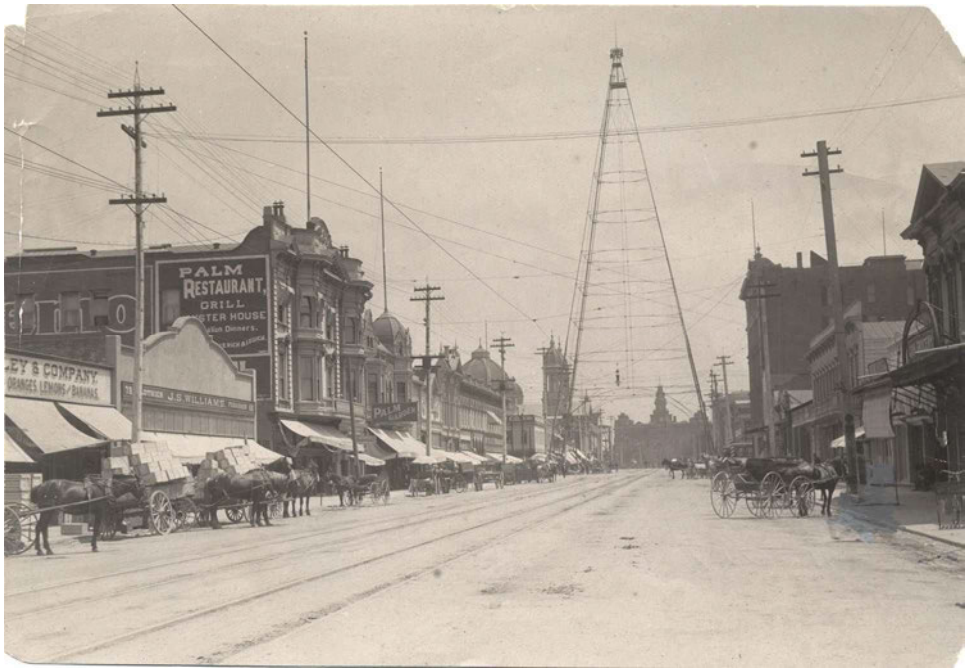
[125] Bancroft, Chapter 1, Vol. V1, 1848, pp. 2-4.
[126] Thompson & West, p. 11 ½ [sic].

Mexico went to war with the United States in an action that saw the country ill-prepared beforehand and worse off afterwards. The Californian gold rush brought wealth to many and made Santa Clara Valley an economically sound region. Former gold miners travelled there and remained, and other Americans came later; the valley was no longer a Mexican community, but a centre of immigration, something that Mexico during its time of government was unable to achieve. However, the valley was about to be overrun by more immigrants than the Mexicans thought possible; people of great determination were crossing the plains and intending to settle in Santa Clara Valley. But the routes were not easy and it took men of exceptional ability to cross the Sierra Mountains safely. Their leadership was essential to establishing Santa Clara Valley. In the next chapter the Americans will arrive in the valley in large numbers acting in an aggressive manner, and with a total disregard for the Mexican authorities.

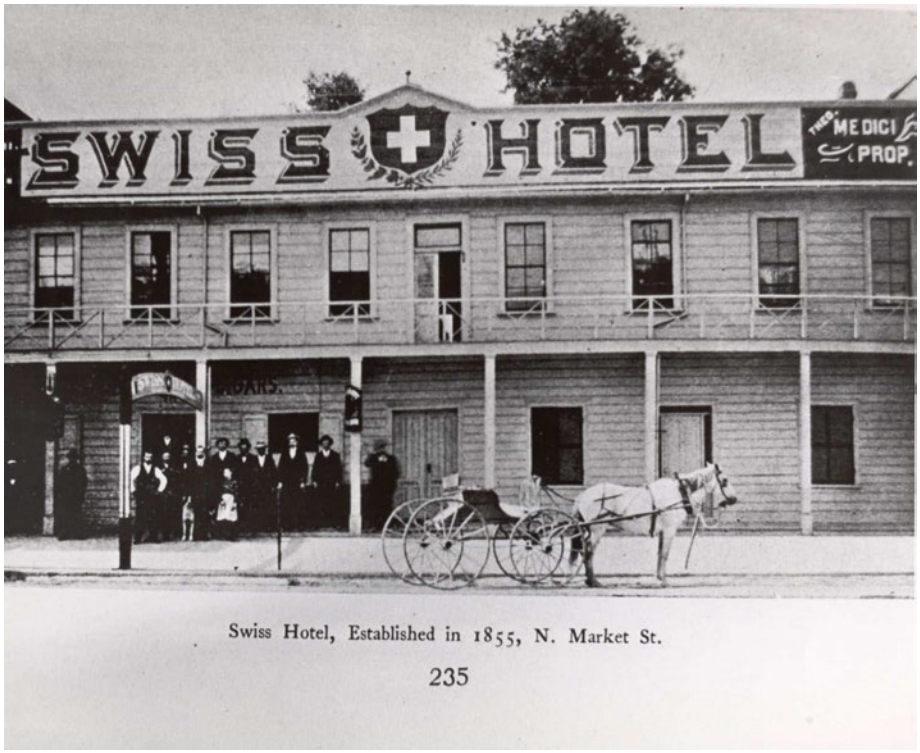
Mirassou Vineyards, Aborn Rd, San Jose 1875. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose.

Englishtown, New Almaden, date unknown. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose.

Kirk's Orchard, 1890. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose.



Market St from John St, San Jose, circa 1890. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose.



Swiss Hotel, date unknown. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose.

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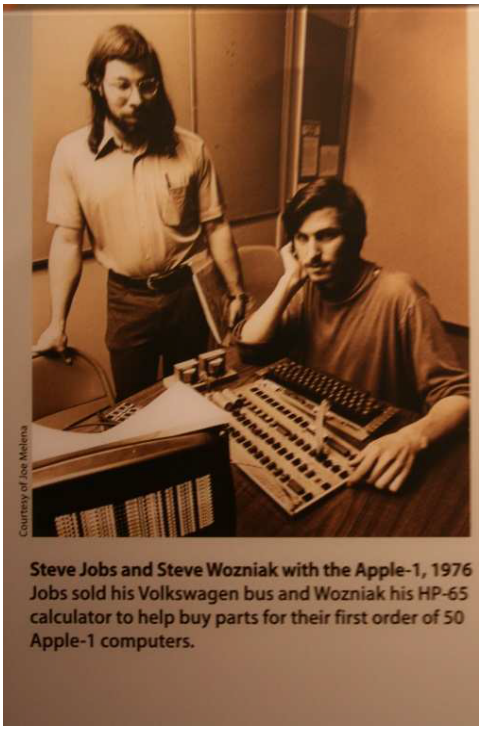
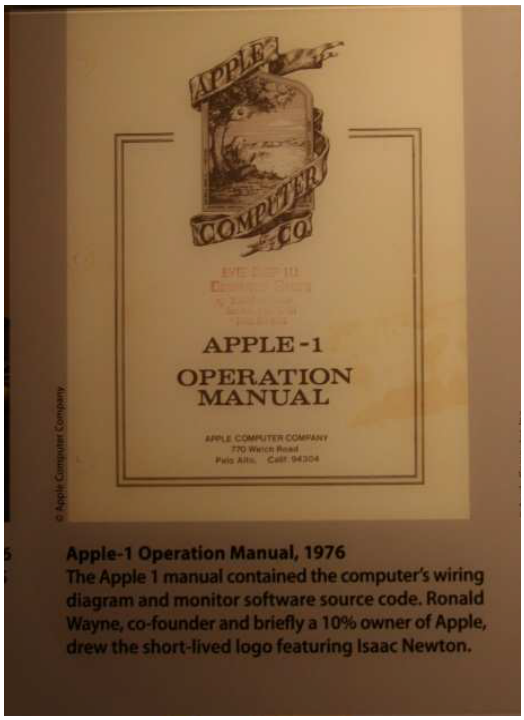
Market St at Park St, San Jose, 1955. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose.



Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak with the Apple – 1, 1976. Permission given by Carina Sweet, Computer History Museum.



Apple – 1 Operation Manual with short-lived logo featuring Isaac Newton, 1976. Permission given by Carina Sweet, Computer History Museum.

Atari 2000 “Combat” game cartridge, Atari, US, 1978. Permission given by Carina Sweet, Computer History Museum.

Sun – 1 Workstation, Sun Microsystems, US, 1982. Permission given by Carina Sweet, Computer History Museum.

Robot – Omnibot 2000. Permission given by Carina Sweet, Computer History Museum.

Chapter Five: The Americans

The Signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2nd 1848 signalled the end of the Mexican-American War, and at that time the United States was legally in charge of the whole of California.[1] Immigrants were bringing in trees and plants and were planning to make a horticultural success of the land that was neglected since the Mission was closed. The American Government was aided by all the immigrants who brought their skills with them. The state flourished. The railroads took the produce to not only local markets but to the East Coast. California was becoming a success in many other fields; inventors developed equipment to improve production. Housing was no longer made in the Spanish style but followed what was built on the East Coast. California was developing as a new state of America. This chapter will explain how the United States oversaw the change from Mexican rule, and coped with the difficulties of maintaining law and order in the region, while immigrants continued to arrive with expectations of acquiring land.

Santa Clara Valley was already home to American settlers in 1848, when the Mexican-American War ended with the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.[2] These early immigrants crossed the Sierras in their wagons, followed old Native American trails, and arrived by sea having made the long voyage from the East Coast via Cape Horn. They came when Mexico controlled the valley believing that Santa Clara Valley and all of California was rightly theirs. They believed in Manifest Destiny which promised all Americans, without any legal prerequisites, the right to any land between the East and West coasts and they were not deterred by the vagaries of the Mexican political situation.[3] Nothing deterred them. Those who crossed the plains and attempted to pass through the mountains often came to grief, but those who followed the same path and survived became settlers and patriarchs of the valley society. Even prior to the Mexican War, when the arrival of seventy American immigrants in one year was a cause for concern, the Mexican governor declared that he and his people were 'threatened by hordes of Yankee immigrants'

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[1] Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, www.history.com/topics/treaty-of-guadalupe, accessed 26. 4. 2017.
[2] Pitti, p. 32.
[3] John O'Sullivan, *Democratic Review,* also referenced in Howard Zinn. *A People's History of the United States,1492-Present,* 5th edn, New York, 2003, (1980), p.151.

who 'scaled the almost inaccessible summits of the Sierra Nevada, crossed the entire continent' and dared to enter the Mexican pueblos.[4]

When the Mexicans achieved independence from the Spanish and the valley was under their control, they wanted immigrants to fill the remote spaces in Alta California, and from the 1820s established land grants to encourage potential American settlers.[5] The latter believed that the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific was theirs.[6] Therefore, they were prepared to take the land that was rightly theirs.

Manifest Destiny was not given a government mandate; it was a simple catch cry from John L. O'Sullivan in 1845 referring to an editorial he wrote in 1837, when he advised his fellow Americans that California would be the next Mexican province to be freed from Mexican authority.[7] He claimed that 'already the advance guard of the irresistible army of Anglo-Saxon immigration has begun to pour down upon it' and 'a population will soon be in actual occupation of California'.[8] A United States Senator spoke of white supremacy and his expectation that 'a great population' would extend over the Rocky Mountains and to the Pacific Ocean.[9] But there were other factors that drove people to cross the continent: the economy and the rapidly increasing population on the East Coast which necessitated the need to open up new land. Two depressions on the East Coast, one in 1818 and another in 1850, encouraged people to look to the frontier, where there was the expectation of low-priced or free land and the opportunity for individuals to improve themselves by becoming independent.[10] Any person who was prepared to cross to the west did so with the intention of owning their own land.

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[4] Thompson & West, (Christian names unknown).
[5] De Groot, p. 1.
[6] John L. O'Sullivan, Editorial on Manifest Destiny and Texas Annexation, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review,* October,1837, reproduced in Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman & Jon Gjerde, [eds], *Major Problems in American History, Vol. 1: to 1877*, Boston, 2002, pp. 240-41.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 240.
[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 240-41.
[9] Thomas Hart Benson, Speech before the U.S. Senate, *Congressional Globe,* May 28, 1846 & January 26, 1848, pp. 181-82, reproduced in Hoffman and Gjerde, Vol. 1, p. 241.
[10] Manifest Destiny, US-Mexican War, 1846-1848, http://www.pbs.org/kera/usmexicanwar/prelude/md_introduction.html, accessed 12. 4. 2018.

The first American immigrants, many of whom were itinerant trappers, began to enter Alta California singly and in small groups at first. At this time, the arrival of immigrants was not a problem for the Mexicans but, with increasing numbers and larger groups, the Mexican government was unable to cope, especially as the new arrivals insisted on staying permanently, and were prepared to settle on any land, whether it was available for occupation or not.[11] Land was always the reason why people travelled the long distance.

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the Mexican Congress passed the Act of Secularisation of the Missions in 1833 by which all mission property was to be taken over by Mexico and the land made available in grants to those who pleased the authorities, but this was of no concern to immigrants.[12] San Jose was still only a small pueblo with 524 people, 166 men, 145 women, 103 boys and 110 girls, and in no position to cope with large groups of Americans.[13] When 700 new immigrants arrived, the only accommodation available was in the mission buildings which were dilapidated after years of neglect following secularisation.[14] In 1841, immigrants came by the overland trails; California, as a Mexican province, was considered a foreign country and travellers avoided it, instead following the trail to the American territory of Oregon.[15] Gradually, as wagon trains became more commonplace, immigrants travelled to California. John Bidwell was the leader of the first wagon train to the west, knowing little of the terrain, or direction other than to travel west.[16] When

[11] Lorie Garcia, George Giacomini, Geoffrey Goodfellow, *A Place of Promise: The City of Santa Clara 1852-2002,* Santa Clara, CA, 2002, p. 11.
[12] The Mission Period (1769-1833) and the Spanish and Mexicans in California, http://quarriesandbeyond.otg/articles_and_books/pdf/ca_misssion_period_full-version.pdf/, accessed 8. 4. 2018.
[13] The Valley of Heart and Delight, First American Settlers, Santa Clara Valley, California, www.santaclararesearch.net/SCBIOS/firstamsett.html, accessed 9. 4. 2018.
[14] Envision San Jose, A Brief History of San Jose, http://www.sanjoseca.gov/planning/gp_update/meetings/10-9-07/SJ_History_Agenda_No_3.pdf, accessed 10. 11. 2011.
[15] The Valley of Heart and Delight.
[16] David Colbert, *Eye Witness to the American West*: *from the Aztec Empire to the digital frontier in the words of those who saw it happen,* London, 1998, pp. 108-9, books.google.com.au/books?id=fkAUAAAAYAAJ+q=John+Bidwell#search-anchor, accessed 10. 5. 2018.

the first women made the trip, they were recorded as 'foreigners'.[17] This large-scale procession across the plains was soon to become commonplace.

The route across the plains became famous for the wide-ranging immigration of Americans from East to West in a movement known as the Western Frontier, a feature of American life until 1890. It was then officially declared closed by the Superintendent of the United States Census who reported that the recent Census showed that the population on the Frontier which was formerly less than two people per square mile was now 'in excess of that'; the frontier line no longer existed with most of the population in the west living in cities.[18] This Frontier was not new. It was there from the inception of the original thirteen American colonies, when people continually pushed out the boundaries to claim more land.[19] Unfortunately all movement to the west was declared illegal, until after the Revolutionary War.[20] But the reality was that, before Americans began heading west, California was already populated, although sparsely, and was benefiting from a powerful mission economy under the Spanish.[21] The economy was in a good state at this time.

The movement west was accelerated in the 1840s, when farmers in the east began moving further west, after the implementation of additional infrastructure of railroads and canals. This was a time of prosperity; government and business made finance available for major projects and technological developments were advancing to a stage where they contributed to an increase in productivity.[22] There were people from all walks of life crossing the plains looking for a better life.

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[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Digital History ID3154, Closing the American Frontier, www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=27psid=3154, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[19] Frederick J. Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', from *The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893.* http://www.learner-org/workshops/primarysources/corporations/does..., accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 5; The Royal Proclamation of 1763, www.edu-blocks.com/doi/lesson/royalproc.asp=blocks, accessed 10. 5. 2018.
[21] Allan Nevins, et al, *A Pocket History of the United States,* 9th edition, New York,1992 (1942), p. 3.
[22] Mary Beth Norton et al., *A History and a Nation*: *A History of the United States*, 7th edn, Boston, 2005, p. 240.

Frederick J. Turner, the author of an essay that eulogised those who were part of the massive movement of the Western Frontier, described the frontier as being 'the meeting point between savagery and civilisation, the place that formed the American character'.[23] He believed that the frontier was a place of peaceful immigration, while David Potter wrote that people who immigrated did so when conditions were better in the west than they were at home.[24] But many of these immigrants were encouraged by the *Homestead Act* that offered free or cheap land. The government also offered generous subsidies to developers who planned to establish railroads across the plains to make the journey easier and sent the United States Army into these areas to provide protection.[25]

From the beginning of the movement to the west, immigration followed a pattern: Native-American guides would set out with parties of traders and trappers, and, when routes were established, they were followed by the ranchers, the farmers and the manufacturers, a sequence that was common to all frontiers.[26] Santa Clara Valley with its fertile soil, moderate climate and low population was a place that would provide for all their expectations.[27] Unfortunately, in Santa Clara Valley, the Californios and the missions controlled the land and there was no equality for the neophytes and poorer settlers. At the same time, the new arrivals were described as being strong, inventive, wanting to improve themselves, restless, vigorous, not afraid of hard work and eager to make the most of themselves.[28] Santa Clara Valley needed people with these characteristics as it developed after secularisation.

The frontiersmen did not believe the frontier was for anyone other than white men.[29] The immigrants who came into Santa Clara Valley were sure of themselves; they believed they could flout Mexican laws, particularly land laws, disrupt the lives of

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[23] Turner.
[24] *Ibid*.; David M. Potter, 'The role of abundance', in Ray Allan Billington, *The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History,* London, 1966, p. 99.
[25] Norton et al., p. 477.
[26] Turner.
[27] Norton, et al., p, 453.
[28] *Ibid*., pp. 49-51.
[29] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West,* New York, 1987, pp. 259-264, 277-291, also referenced in Hoffman & Gjerde, p .57.

the Californios, usurp their land, and squat wherever they chose, while behaving as if the free land promised to settlers in the United States was available to any American who chose to settle in Santa Clara Valley which was still Mexican territory.[30] Whatever the reason for immigrating west, the Mexican government's decision to make land available was to change many lives.

The *Homestead Act of 1862* played a large part in inducing people to leave their homes and trek to the other side of the country. The Act was signed by President Lincoln during the Civil War and came into force immediately.[31] Any citizen over the age of 21, or anyone who intended to become a citizen and who did not fight against the United States government at any time was eligible to claim 160 acres of Government land, provided the claimant built a dwelling on the land and cultivated the soil. After five years, the property was theirs free of charge, except for the payment of a small registration fee.[32] There was an alternative, whereby the new land holder could, after six months, pay $1.25 an acre, provided small improvements were already carried out.[33] There were 50,000,000 acres available for the public, and during the Civil War the government gave the railroads 100,000,000 acres free of charge. The entire project was to act as a means of relieving pressure from labour intensive areas of the East Coast and therefore avoiding political and social unrest.[34] This was a smart move by the government as it resulted in large-scale emigration away from the east, where there was a continuous influx of Europeans.

Although Mexico controlled the entire Santa Clara Valley, some of the more forceful American immigrants were already involved in the administration of civic affairs in the pueblos, and, by the 1840s, a number of them were in prominent positions in San Jose. One of these was John Burton, a native of Massachusetts,

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[30] Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage,* pp. 51-57.
[31] Homestead Act of 1862, www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false+doc=31, accessed 12. 4. 2018.; Allan Nevins, et al, p. 249.
[32] Homestead Act of 1862.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United State: 1492-Present*, New York, 2003 (1999), pp. 238-282.

who deserted from a New England vessel in 1830.[35] He was totally uneducated, but the settlers in the pueblo believed him to be honest, sensible and trustworthy and were satisfied, when in 1846 he was appointed as the first American Alcade of San Jose by Captain Montgomery, the military commander of the Northern District of California, at a time when Mexico was collapsing and there was no formal legal system.[36] Burton knew nothing about the law, consequently the legal situation did not improve; few records were kept, and if Burton took any testimony, it was done after he thought about the case in question and made up his mind in advance.[37] While the Mexicans were in charge, the Alcades did not worry about confidentiality and passed on documents from one to another.[38] Burton retired from his position in September 1847.[39] But he continued to receive petitions from potential land holders, one of which concerned land with the usual vague details that showed it was bordered on three sides by El Camino Real, the Rancho Sousac and the ranch owned by Inigo, a former neophyte from the Santa Clara de Asis Mission, one of the few Ohlones who received a land grant.[40] Land was the valley's most important asset, because it was the reason why immigrants made the long journey; they came with the intention of farming, a new concept and another layer in the development of the valley, where the Californios, the principal landholders, were essentially ranchers.[41] This was a time when new methods of agriculture and business were to be introduced; there were going to be changes in Santa Clara Valley.

Immigrants with skills other than farming came to the valley and were able to provide services that improved the lives of fellow settlers. George Washington Moody

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[35] Oscar T. Shuck, [ed.] 'The Early Bench and Bar of San Jose' in *History of the Bench and Bar of California:* Being Biographies of Many Remarkable Men, a Store of Humorous and Pathetic Recollections of Important Legislation and Extraordinary Cases Comprehending the Judicial History of the State, Clark, NJ, 1901, pp. 1101-1110, books.google.au/books?id=9XaU8GY32hVC&pg=PA1152&lpg=PA1152&dq=The+Early+Bench+and+Bar+of+San+Jose, accessed 10. 5. 2018.

[36] *Ibid*.

[37] *Ibid*.

[38] The United States Vs. Andres Castillero, Andres Castillero Vs. The United States, December Term, 1862, 67 US.17, 2 Black 17l17L. Ed. 360, http://opemjurist.org/67.us.17/the-united-states-v-andres-castillero-andres-castillero, accessed 5. 4. 2018.

[39] Shuck, pp. 1101-1110.

[40] 1841-1858, Synopsis Pueblo San Jose de Guadalupe, 29. 6.1847, Box 5, San Jose History Centre, San Jose, CA.

[41] Beebe & Senkewicz, p. 279.

left Missouri to emigrate to California in 1847, while the other members of his family followed two years later.[42] This was a family that saw opportunities immediately on arriving in Santa Clara Valley; they began two essential industries, a sawmill and a flour mill in San Jose. They took part in civic affairs; one of the brothers became San Jose's City's treasurer and later Santa Clara County's treasurer. Oil was found on their property at Alma and in 1879 they produced 300 barrels of high grade paraffin oil that was shipped daily to the nearby Alma station on the South Pacific Coast Railroad. When the oil supply was depleted, the area was inundated by the local water authorities to form the Lexington Reservoir.[43] Any immigrant with initiative proved to be an asset to the community.

At a time when many immigrants received little education in their earlier lives, any new arrival with educational qualifications was welcome and was almost certain to rise to prominence and power in Santa Clara Valley. Judge Redman was a minister of religion who previously studied law and medicine simultaneously, and worked as an army surgeon during the battle of New Orleans. He lived in both Kentucky and Indiana before immigrating to California, where he worked in mines prior to going to Santa Clara Valley in 1849.[44] With his background, he was an ideal immigrant to assist settlers in the growing pueblo of San Jose in a number of ways; however, he was selected to be the first county judge of Santa Clara County.[45] This was a great opportunity for the county to establish a proper legal system.

It was a time of prosperity in the valley. The economy was good and there was ample employment for those who wanted to work; even former American soldiers who enlisted in the United States Army in New York and served in the Mexican-American War, were able to find employment with the State of California.[46]

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[42] Pat Loomis, 'Pioneer Moody family ran the county's first sawmill', *Mercury-News,* n.d., California Room, Martin Luther King Library, San Jose State University, San Jose, CA.
[43] *Ibid.*
[44] The Story of Redman Park, *Mercury-News,* 26 December, 2004, California Room, Martin Luther King Library, San Jose State University, San Jose, CA.
[45] *Ibid*.; Frederick J. Turner.
[46] Jack Douglas, 'San Jose Pioneers Who Came with Stevenson's Regiment in 1847'*, Historical Highlights of Santa Clara Valley: History of San Jose*, San Jose, CA, 2005, p. 6.

The Gold Rush of 1848 increased the number of newcomers dramatically both at the beginning of the rush to find gold, and in the years immediately following, with the greatest increase in 1849.[47] When gold was discovered, three-quarters of the men in Santa Clara Valley left for the gold fields.[48] A visiting sea captain described the flood of new arrivals as 'thousands of human beings'.[49] The population of California in 1848 was 26,000, but, by the end of 1849, it rose to between 95,000 and 100,000.[50] The discovery of gold in northern California would mean a further rise in the population.

Although gold was not found in Santa Clara Valley, there was a large influx of potential immigrants there as a result of the discoveries further north, and many shrewd arrivals who were unsuccessful in the goldfields made their fortunes in the valley by providing for the growing commercial market.[51] The Americans now formed the majority of the population, being three times more numerous than the Californios who were attempting to cope with the problems of a new language and strange customs.[52] These Americans demanded land whether legally or otherwise but there were problems they did not expect. Immigrant Americans demanded the right to own land, but found they were fighting against the Church and State monopoly.[53] They considered they should be given 'squatters' rights' which they regarded as entitling them to legal possession, and, after the proclamation of the *Homestead Act of 1862,* when the Federal Government opened up the country for homesteaders to chose land at little or no cost, they were confident that land would be freely available. Despite Mexico being in control of the whole of Alta California, these Americans showed their disrespect, when they registered their land claims under United States laws.[54] These transactions were declared false by the American authorities after

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[47] Shoup & Miliken, p. 127.
[48] A Report of a Research Study Made by Authorization of the Board of Governors of the Commonwealth Club of California, 1946, San Francisco, www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/ san-francisco-from-old-catalog-commonwealthclub-of California/the-population-of-california-a-report-of-a- research-study, accessed 28. 8. 2012.
[49] Commander Cadawaller Ringgold, 'Charts of San Francisco Bay & the Sacramento River', 1851, in Roger R. Olmstead, [ed.], Nancy Olmstead, *Scow Schooners of San Francisco Bay,* Cupertino, CA,1988, p. 3.
[50] A Report of a Research Study.
[51] De Groot, p. 4.
[52] 'A Visit to the Santa Clara Valley', September 19, 1846, *Historias,* p. 129.
[53] Stanger, p. 47.
[54] *Ibid*., pp. 47-48.

1848, when they investigated all land claims that were transacted during the period of Mexican government, many of which resulted in long drawn-out legal cases.[55] When the United States was in control in Alta California and introduced their own legal systems, the American settlers were no longer able to demand their rights in their former lawless way.

The number of American immigrants continued to increase, despite knowing virtually nothing about the journey, or where they were going. The area they were entering was a space, a landscape, nothing but a series of geographical features which may or may not be suitable for living in. However, this landscape would provide the opportunity for the immigrants to make their new lives.[56] Their new space would then become a place that was inhabited and developed.[57] The common factor that inspired the Americans to travel was the offer of land. From 1817, land was sold on credit for $2 an acre on a four-year plan with recipients being permitted no more than 80 acres. Those who settled in states nearer to home and began farming rather than continue on to the Pacific Ocean were able to enjoy boom times in the 1840s when their wheat crops were sold in the East for record prices.[58] But many of those who continued on found what they were seeking in Santa Clara Valley, on the far Western side of the continent.

American immigrants wasted no time in buying land in the valley; Turner described them as 'men of capital and enterprise'.[59] Peter A. Bennett and his wife Harriett, James B. Hopper and his wife Lucy and Robert Belteigh paid $1,800 dollars to Kimball H. Dimmick for the purchase of 8 blocks of land in the town of Alviso on 18th February 1850.[60] James C. Conroy, the First Alcade of the District of San Jose, signed their statements and the transaction was filed on the 26th March.[61] The Alcade was present on 16th March 1850 when Mr. Hopper 'bargained, sold and conveyed' to

[55] *Ibid*., p. 48.
[56] Geddis, p. 34.
[57] Carter, p. xxiii.
[58] Norton et al, p. 304
[59] Frederick J. Turner.
[60] Deeds A, Santa Clara County, 18. 2. 1850. Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.
[61] Deeds A, Santa Clara County, 5. 3. 1850. Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.

Mr. B. Manning a piece of land in the Pueblo of San Jose for $75.[62] Mr. G. W. Chesley of San Francisco, on 21st March 1850 'granted, bargained, sold and conveyed to W. B. Stacker and his heirs' a tract of land in the Pueblo for the purchase price of $34.[63] As always, land was an important factor in the economy of Santa Clara Valley, but transactions were not always straightforward and many of them were open to dispute.

One of the most prolonged and tedious claims to ownership of land in Santa Clara Valley concerned the ownership of a former Santa Clara Mission orchard, the title of which was disputed many times and was an example of the complications that accompanied any land transactions in the valley.[64] The plaintiffs included a number of citizens, both Mexican and American, who believed their claims were legitimate. The Widow Bennett, a former squatter on the land, believed that she was entitled to possession because of her illegal squatting. Three Mexicans claimed that General Pio Pico gave them a deed in 1846 and they later sold the title to Judge Redman and three of his friends. Three years later, Antonio Osio took possession of the property, declaring that he held a title given to him by General Castro of the Mexican Army, in either 1849 or 1850.[65] Osio moved away from the orchard, leaving Father Real as his agent. The land was subsequently leased by one agent to Joel Taylor, and to another unnamed person by a second agent. In the ensuing legal case involving the Catholic Church, the alleged owner of the land, the judgment went against the mission; the orchard was sold by auction and bought by James Reed. When the latter registered the new title, James Clayton, the county clerk, leased the orchard.[66] Litigation continued in the San Jose Court, until finally, Clayton and Redman obtained joint legal possession, and named the property, Redman Park. After the death of Judge Redman, the Catholic Church persisted with further proceedings which were resolved with Redman's family members being permitted to lease the property for six years.[67]

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[62] Deeds A, Santa Clara County, 16. 3. 1850. Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.
[63] Deeds A, Santa Clara County, 21. 3. 1850. Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.
[64] The Story of Redman Park.
[65] *Ibid*.
[66] *Ibid*.; Guide to the James A. Clayton Family Papers, circa 1850-1905, Online Archives of California, 28.48.120.46/view?doc1d=kt4d5nf32t&chunk.id=bioghist- 3.4&query=ClaytonandJudgeRedman&brand=oac4, accessed 17. 9. 2012.
[67] The Story of Redman Park.

The American Government found that due to the inefficiency of Mexican laws there were many claims to verify.

Mexican land laws were notoriously difficult to resolve but, in this example, the problem was more complicated, because it concerned both Mexican and American laws, citizens of both countries and the Catholic Church. The Land Commission which was appointed by the Federal government to prove the validity of all titles knew that many of them were fraudulent, but the onus of proof was on the holders of the titles.[68] Eventually, the Commission assumed that all titles were false, so that the right to every title was taken to court with appeals continuing to higher courts. This led to investors and speculators taking over properties, when the Californios could no longer afford to fight their cases. The land was sold by the Sheriff, or foreclosed with up to 50 investors owning one rancho.[69] The overall result was that the rancheros were often treated unjustly and, because of the constant litigation, California's development was held up.[70] Many Californios who were wealthy when the war ended were living in poverty after fifteen years and many lost their land.[71] This was not the original intention of the Land Commission, but it is an indication of the ongoing effects of the introduction of American efficiency and bureaucracy in an era and in a territory where lax laws, years of revolution and corrupt land grants meant few owners could prove the legitimacy of their ownership.

In 1846 the Spanish Governor, Pio Pico, made four land grants to Ohlones, one of which was given to the applicants, Marcello and Christobel. It was known as Rancho Ulistac and consisted of 2,217 acres of flat land between Saratoga Creek and the Guadalupe River. The land was taken from the Ohlones after the Mexican-American War and reassigned to Jacob D. Hoppe, an American immigrant and the first American postmaster of San Jose, but seven years after his death his family sold the property.[72] The land continued to change hands and be developed for various

[68] Stanger, p. 48.
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] *Ibid.*, p. 51.
[71] *Ibid.*, p. 47.
[72] Ulistac, From Rancho to Orchard to Golf Course, p. 7.

purposes, but there were no further Ohlones among the title holders.[73] This was not what the missionaries intended when they started the mission.

Mexican settlers were also buying and selling land in Santa Clara County. Under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, they were assured by the American government and its Board of Land Commissioners that they would be given the same treatment by the law as American citizens.[74] The 'true and lawful attorney', Jacob D. Hoppe, the former postmaster, arranged a sale of land at the corner of Santa Clara and San Pedro Streets, in the Pueblo of San Jose on 1st June, 1850, from Maria Sanchez to Jose Manuel Pinto and his wife Maria Cecilia Anisquelito, with the purchase price being $3000.[75] While the Mexicans did not realise the potential of the South Bay Area, the new immigrants did; consequently, land values rose, as land speculators and developers entered the valley and sales increased dramatically.[76] The Mexicans relied on the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo for the legal exchange of land to be just.

When land sales involved property that was previously given by a grant from the Mexican government, patents were issued in accordance with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo after surveyors from the United States Surveyor-General's Department appraised the land. In one instance, William J. L. Lewis, surveying for the Department, confirmed on the 4th February 1851 that Rancho de los Coches comprising 2,219 and 341/1000 acres and owned by Don Antonio Sunol 'and others' could now be sold.[77] The President of the United States and the Assistant Secretary signed the 'Agreement of Sale', after it was passed by an Act of Congress on 3rd March, 1851.[78] But, in many cases there were unforseen problems. Mexicans could not supply proof as required by American laws, because they had few records of

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[73] *Ibid*., p. 7.
[74] Cris Perez, *Grants of land in California made by Spanish and Mexican authorities,* Ranchos of California State Lands Commission, 23. 8. 1982, pp.1-9, http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/EART/rancho.html, accessed 10. 5. 2018.
[75] Deeds, A, Santa Clara County, 1 .6. 1850, Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.
[76] De Groot, p. 3.
[77] Records of Patents, Book A -1, pp. 1-4, Santa Clara County Archives, San Jose, CA.
[78] *Ibid*., p. 6.

claims and rights.[79] Immigration continued throughout the nineteenth century with immigrants bringing new ideas with them.

It was not uncommon for some immigrants to attempt settlement a number of times.[80] James Clayton was born in England in 1831 and his parents brought him to Wisconsin in 1839.[81] He made four round trips to California prior to deciding to settle in the Valley in 1850 when he brought American cattle to enhance the cattle herds then on the local ranges.[82] He and his brother arrived with a group of ten wagons, a trip that took 87 days. He then tried gold mining in Australia, but returned to San Jose, where he established a photographic studio, a real estate business, and a part owner of the first electricity plant in Santa Clara County and was responsible for the opening of the First National Bank of San Jose in 1874. By the end of the 1850s, the former pueblo was a rapidly developing town with new buildings being constructed in the style that was popular on the East Coast.[83] As the number of American settlers increased, there were gradual changes as they used their ideas to put down layers on the landscape already prepared by the Mexicans and Spanish before them.

Immigrants were arriving in 1851 intending to establish farms in the valley, a new layer for Santa Clara Valley's utilisation of the land. As noted earlier, farming was new to Santa Clara Valley; the Californios who were the recipients of earlier Mexican land grants were essentially ranchers, not cultivators. The cattle ran loose on the ranges and there was only a short period yearly, when the Californios were fully employed during mustering, slaughtering and harvesting.[84] The immigrant settlers squatted on any land that was unfenced, so that from 1851 there were many court cases involving ranchers and squatters over the legitimacy of land titles.[85] Despite their bravado and attempts to manipulate the land laws, many American

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[79] De Groot, pp. 4-5.
[80] Turner.
[81] The Valley of Heart's Delight, www.santaclararesearch.net, Los Gatos, CA, Forbes Mill, Forbestown, www.mariposaresearch.net/santaclararesearch/LOSGATOS.html, accessed 9. 4. 2018. .
[82] Turner.
[83] Ulistac, From Rancho to Orchard to Golf Course, p. 7.
[84] Stanger, pp. 44-49.
[85] Shoup & Miliken, pp. 127-9.

immigrants staked their claims to land asserting their self-proclaimed 'squatting rights' and made no attempt to determine whether land was public or privately owned; as a result, they were sometimes left without land, when the United States Board of Land Commissioners made its official findings as to the division between public and privately owned land.[86] American squatters were selective about where they wanted to live; they were fortunate that their government was prepared to accommodate them.

Turner eulogised the frontiersmen for wanting democracy but, many of these immigrants showed no understanding of this concept in their dealings with other races in the valley; both new immigrants and their civic leaders showed their complete disregard for the Ohlones by denying them both their legal and constitutional rights as citizens of the United States.[87] Americans did not like to be challenged in regard to the land.[88] The Ohlones were no longer a force in the Valley; diseases introduced by the Spanish reduced their numbers during the Mission Period, and the break up of the missions meant many left the area.[89] While Mexico ruled Alta California, Ohlones were officially accepted as citizens, but, in reality, were perceived to be in Santa Clara Valley to provide labourers for the settlers.[90] When the United States gained control, they were not given any basic rights.[91] Injustice on a large scale was being practised in the valley.

In 1850 the new Californian legislature passed a law that affirmed Native Americans as 'vagabonds', who, if they were unemployed, could be taken into custody and 'sold as labourers'.[92] There were no land grants for them; some of them claimed to be Mexican in order to receive better treatment, and the poor, local

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[86] Los Altos Historical Society, www.losaltoshistory.org, accessed 1. 5. 2010.
[87] Turner; Pitti, p. 43.
[88] Turner; George W. Pierson, 'The Frontier and Frontiersman of Turner's essays', *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 64, October 1940, pp. 454-78, referenced in Billington, *The Frontier Thesis,* p. 34-8.
[89] Stanger, p. 30.
[90] Shoup & Mliken, p. 116.
[91] Jack S. Williams, *The Ohlone of California,* New York, 2003, p. 50.
[92] Ulistac Natural Area, Restoration and Education Project, Americans, Santa Clara University, College of Arts and Sciences, Environmental, Americans, p. 7. http://www.scu.edu/cas/environmentalstudies/ulistac/about/history.cfm, accessed 11. 9. 2010.

Mexicans accepted them, because many of them were of North American Indian ancestry.[93] The situation deteriorated. The Alcade of San Jose, an American citizen, gave permission for any resident to shoot any Ohlone who was presumed to be stealing horses.[94] Ohlones who worked in the pueblo carried certificates to prove they were engaged in lawful work, while others who were not employed there were only able to visit the town, if the Indian subagent issued them with a pass.[95] Newspapers called for local indigenous people to be 'exterminated'. Many fled the valley, but conditions were even worse elsewhere; in 1852, the census recorded 450 Native Americans living in Santa Clara County.[96] The town of Santa Clara with its close bonds to the mission of Santa Clara de Asis was the largest centre for local Ohlones but, by 1860, only 79 of them remained.[97] The census for that year recorded 160 Native Americans in the whole of Santa Clara County, 290 less than eight years previously, an indication that they no longer formed a visible layer in the landscape.[98] They were not the only people whose lives changed.

The Californios were also disadvantaged. When they arrived in the valley originally, they were outnumbered by the Ohlones, but later, when they took up their grants of land and distributed their horses and cattle on the open range, they were the dominating force in the valley. Now the economy was no longer a simple agricultural one and it was being replaced by a resources boom.[99] Gold exploration continued on a larger scale, silver was being mined, the timber industry was expanding, the fur trade enlarged, and, due to the railroad expansion, there were new markets available for local beef and wheat.[100] The Californios were being left behind while the American immigrants imposed their own layers of progress in Santa Clara Valley.

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[93] Williams, pp. 50-1.
[94] Pitti. p. 43.
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] *Ibid*.
[97] Federal Manuscript Census,1860, 'Santa Clara', end/note 25, p. 214, referenced in Pitti, p. 43.
[98] Ulistac Natural Area, From Ranchos to Orchard to Golf Course, p. 7.
[99] Utley, p. 192.
[100] *Ibid.,* p. 197.

Each rancho was a self-contained community with the principal house, workers' housing, corrals for the animals, a grist mill, tannery, vineyard and some cultivated fields.[101] The Californios employed the Ohlones on their ranchos, while hoping to benefit from the break up of the Santa Clara Mission that trained these neophytes.[102] The Californios were outnumbered, and disempowered by their constant legal battles with their land grants and land titles.[103] The Ohlones were not the only people who suffered after the Americans were in charge of Alta California.

Americans did not respect Mexicans; they referred to them as coloured people.[104] Racism was rife and discrimination was introduced at every opportunity. American settlers believed their actions were justified and appealed to their supporters' sense of patriotism and desire to maintain the American way of life they enjoyed in Santa Clara Valley.[105] They said that advances in Santa Clara Valley were due to American administration.[106] That was correct but the way it was carried out was unfair to those who were there before the Americans. Only white settlers were selected as sheriffs, justices of the peace and police officers, a state of affairs that was common in other cities at that time.[107] Vigilante committees were active in enforcing frontier justice in Santa Clara Valley in the 1850s with settlers at San Jose pueblo recruiting more than a thousand members in twelve months.[108] In 1853, the *Santa Clara Register* cautioned its readers that there was 'a very dangerous feeling' among Mexicans living in the valley, and that the future would show how the American conquerors suppressed those they defeated, coercing them by using the

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[101] Laffey Archives, www.laffeyarchives.org/contents/CampbellCity/Context.htm, accessed 11. 9. 2012.
[102] Picture This, California Perspectives in American History, Early California: pre 1769-1840s: Mexican War, http://www.museumca.org/picturethis/timeline/early-california-pre-1769-1840s-Mexico…, accessed 4. 6. 2012.
[103] M. Irene Moyne, Wendy Decker & M. Eugenia Martin, Spanish/English Contact in Historical Perspective: Nineteenth Century Documents of the Californios, 3:1, http://lingref.com/cpp/his/7/paper1096.pdf, accessed 10. 5. 2018.
[104] Pitti, p. 42.
[105] *Ibid.*, p. 43.
[106] *Ibid.*, p. 44.
[107] *Ibid.*
[108] *Ibid.*

law, when all other forms of intimidation failed.[109] The law that was imposed by the government of the United States failed those who were not on the winning side.

In 1852, American settlers established Santa Clara Valley's first commercial orchards and nursery with fruit trees from the East Coast, and by 1853 they were able to supply valley farmers with a variety of apples, peaches, plums, nectarines, apricots and strawberries.[110] Further stock was brought from England and pear trees were introduced. [111] Although experiments were conducted using stock from within the United State, new varieties from Europe and Asia were used also.[112] Prunes were grown; the cultivation and drying of the fruit was labour intensive, but the drying process in Santa Clara Valley was superior to that used anywhere else and the processed dried fruit was popular throughout the country.[113] The new ideas and methods were to change the whole valley in a very short time.

Land sales in Santa Clara Valley were not always simple. There was often litigation when foreclosing a mortgage due to inadequacies in the earlier Mexican title system. In 1861, $6,000 was owed on land that was granted to Jose Joaquin Esterdille by Juan B. Alvarado, who was the Governor of California in 1842; this problem was caused by the common use of extremely vague directions in the original title. The boundaries of the property were described as being 'northerly of the creek of San Leandro; easterly from the spillings from the springs on the lands occupied by Indians that were then established there… without embracing the lands cultivated by the Indians'.[114] The land was divided and sold, but the plaintiff claimed he was underpaid which resulted in a complaint issued by the 3rd Judicial District Court,

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[109] *Santa Clara Register,* reprinted in *Alta California,* 2. 10. 1853, also referenced in Pitti, p. 45.
[110] San Jose Mercury News,15th September,1966, also referenced in Local History Studies, De Anza College & Charles A. Baldwin, c. 1900 by Marilyn Miller, Cupertino, CA. n.d. p.82.
[111] H. S. Foote, 'Louis & Pierre Pellier' in *Pen Pictures of the Garden of the World or Santa Clara County, California, Illustrated,* Chicago,1888, p. 172, also referenced in *Santa Clara County Biographies*, p. 1, http:/www.calarachives4u.com/Biographies/santaclcara/sc …, accessed 2. 8. 2007.
[112] Yvonne Jacobson, *Passing Farms, Enduring Values: California's Silicon Valley*, Cupertino, CA, 1984, p. 65.
[113] Tim Stanley, *The Last of the Prune Pickers: A Pre-Silicon Valley Story*, Irvine, CA, 2010 (2009), p. 70.
[114] Murphy Folder 5, Martin Murphy Legal Papers, 23. 1. 1861, Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA.

Alameda County, California.[115] Problems like this held up the issue of rightful ownership of land in Santa Clara Valley for many years, resulting in hardship for many Mexicans.

In the town of Saratoga, there were additional setbacks for immigrants who believed that they legally owned their land, but land titles were unclear, and in some cases the land was public land acquired by the United States government as part of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.[116] In Los Altos in the 1850s, when the United States Land Commissioner officially declared what was public land, some settlers lost everything that they believed they owned previously.[117] Problems with land ownership and sales were always vexatious.

The entire landscape was changing as new towns were being settled in Santa Clara Valley. Saratoga was a small settlement originally known as Campbell's Gap, where the settlers grew wheat and prepared lumber in the local saw mill.[118] William Campbell, the original immigrant in the area realised the potential of providing wooden houses similar to those used on the East Coast for new immigrants.[119] As more immigrants came to the area, previously uncultivated land was cleared and used for the propagation of imported prune trees; success with these French prunes encouraged others to plant apricots, cherries, walnuts, almonds and grapes.[120]

In this fertile valley, American immigrants were able to increase the variety of primary industries. During the Spanish missionary period, agriculture was mostly self-sufficient, although the Santa Clara de Asis mission conducted a thriving economy in

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[115] *Ibid.*, Folder 5.
[116] They called it Saratoga, www.saratogahistory.com/History/called_Saratoga.htm, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[117] Los Altos Historical Society.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] *Ibid.*
[120] *Ibid.*

the sale of hides and tallow.[121] The Americans introduced cattle and sheep and prospered.[122] Dairying flourished along the South Bay and round Gilroy, but wheat remained the primary crop in the valley in the 1870s.[123] By 1872, the Californios were no longer a force in the cattle industry.[124] Immigrants were introducing new technology to Santa Clara Valley that created a demand for local products.

Irrigation was introduced in the 1850s; railroads came through the valley in the 1860s and were followed by the transcontinental railroad in 1869. Orchards were spreading out across the valley; in 1871 Doctor Dawson experimented with canning fruit and became the forerunner of the new fruit canning industry for Santa Clara Valley.[125] Charles Morse, an immigrant from Maine, began a very successful seed growing business, the Ferry-Morse Seed Company in the latter 1870s.[126] Urbanisation and the provision of roads led to improved transportation and, by the 1880s, San Jose and Santa Clara were connected by the first electrical intersuburban street car in the west.[127] Santa Clara Valley was changing; its architecture was no longer Spanish but followed the distinctive styles from the East Coast.[128]

American immigrants were prepared to buy land, grow crops that suited conditions and take advantage of new opportunities. When Benjamin Campbell arrived in California from Missouri in 1846, he waited five years and bought 160 acres of former Mission Santa Clara de Asis grazing land, before returning to his former state to lead a wagon train with 36 adults and children travelling to Santa Clara Valley. He grew wheat, the principal crop of the valley at that time.[129] This was

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[121] Whither California Agriculture: Up, Down or Out? A Stylised History of California Agriculture from 1769-2000, Giannini Foundation Special Report 04-1,1872, Giannini.ucop.edu/pdfs/giannini04-1b.pdf, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[122] *Ibid.* 1848-1860.
[123] Laffey Archives.
[124] Giannini, 1872.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Santa Clara County, www.nps/gov/nr/travel/santaclara/text.htm, accessed 12. 9. 2012.
[127] Laffey Archives.
[128] Santa Clara County, San Jose Downtown Historic District, www.nps.gov/nr/travel/santaclalra/sjd.htm, accessed 12.9.2012.
[129] Campbell Historic Museum and Ainsley House, a Brief History of Campbell, www.cci.campbell.ca.us/museum/briefhist.htm, accessed 10.9.2012.

a fortunate decision, because the farmers in the valley decided to give the builders of the South Pacific Coast Railroad access to their land and, in return, the railroads transported their wheat crops to distant markets. When the transcontinental railroad was completed, it provided transport for the produce of the increasing number of orchards.[130] Railroad transportation further changed the landscape of the Valley. Gradually, where roads were built to link the farms with the railroad, a small town would develop. There was a union for fruit growers and a canning industry that, by the end of the 1890s, was using mass production methods to cope with their increased output.[131] Santa Clara Valley was moving into another stage of development.

The story was the same throughout Santa Clara Valley. During the Mexican period, the Californios did very little to develop their ranchos, but the newcomers took advantage of the ideal climate and the fertile soil, and when the new railroads were built, their crops were ready to be transported to markets in other states. Once fruit production became dominant, even unused government-owned land that was always considered unsuitable for growing crops was cleared for orchard expansion.[132] The area was concentrating on its horticulture development.

In 1850, William Campbell surveyed the site selected for the town of Santa Clara; citizens were offered very generous land deals with lots of 100 square yards available for every person who was interested, with the proviso that a house was to be built within three months, or the land was to be surrendered.[133] As part of the boom, 23 houses were imported from Boston and a school house, a church, hotels and commercial businesses were established. By 1851, the Jesuits priests opened Santa Clara College on the former mission site. Santa Clara was growing; it was now two miles long and one and a half miles wide and was incorporated as a town in 1852.[134] The tannery established in 1849 continued to prosper; farmers developed

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[130] *Ibid.*
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] The Valley of Heart's Delight, santaclararesearch.net, Los Gatos. CA.
[133] City of Santa Clara, CA, santaclara.gov/index.aspx?page=506, accessed 10. 9. 2012.
[134] *Ibid.*

fruit and vegetable seed production, and as well as distributing their fruit throughout the United States, the orchardists developed successful dried and canned fruit products.[135] Santa Clara was becoming known as a supplier of fresh and processed fruit products; wheat, hides and tallow were no longer the main sources of its economy.

It is obvious that, from the beginning of these valley towns, settlers intended to introduce the standards with which they were familiar, rather than adopt those established by the Spanish and Mexicans. When each town developed to the stage of defining residential and commercial areas, the sites were surveyed and laid out on a grid system, thus beginning the urbanisation the immigrants wanted to replicate.[136] This began in San Jose with the surveying of 70 blocks in the pueblo in 1847 and was followed by Santa Clara, with other towns demonstrating the same interest in establishing successful centres for residential and commercial growth.[137]

When the Americans defeated the Mexicans in the Mexican-American war of 1846-1848, they were many problems to be faced. American settlers were arriving in large numbers, and expecting to find land. The Californios who were the Mexican elite were losing their land to aggressive immigrants. Previous governments were inefficient in dealing with land titles; and the American authorities were attempting to establish the legality of them. The landscape was changing as immigrants introduced new methods for use in agriculture and horticulture. The railroads were built and the settlers found new markets for their produce. Santa Clara Valley was no longer isolated by distance. California became a state of the union, and the Americanisation of the valley proceeded as prosperity continued. But there was no prosperity for the Ohlones; very few of them were given the land they had been promised and the Missions were no longer there to protect them. The next chapter will introduce immigrants from Asia who came to work and were treated badly as racism became rampant in the valley.

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[135] *Ibid.*
[136] Laffey Archives.
[137] *Ibid.*

Chapter Six: The Asians

A new wave of immigration was coming to the west coast of California, people who had not been seen in the state before. In 1848, the first Asian immigrants began to arrive. The Chinese were the first to come; there were 54 of them.[1] They were poor, mostly illiterate peasants with nothing to offer the United States except their labour. The Japanese followed but they were educated and skilled in the occupations they pursued in Japan. Racism became a feature of life in California. Both Chinese and Japanese were treated very badly, and various societies were formed to persecute them. Yet the Chinese performed the tasks that the Americans did not want to do. They worked on the new railroad systems risking their lives in the process. Both Asian groups formed societies where they could meet, and again, the racist groups caused trouble. Politicians protested, and there was constant political pressure applied by all governments: Chinese, Japanese, and United States to make sure that each of their countries was satisfied. Then China and Japan opened their doors to the United States and trade commenced. In this chapter I will show how the Chinese and Japanese immigrants were not accepted in California; some Chinese came to work in the Gold Rush but most immigrants from China arrived with no intention other than to work as labourers. They were all looking for a better life.

Unlike the Americans who preceded them, the Chinese immigrants did not plan to own land. They came with the sole intention of earning money to support their families but from the outset they were treated differently. They were the first race to be excluded from the United States and the first residents to be refused citizenship.[2] Any attempt by these new immigrants to add a layer to the landscape that would show their association with their former homeland was met with new laws that discriminated against them. They were assaulted by mobs and vigilante groups.[3]

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[1] Connie Young Yu, *Chinatown, San Jose, USA,* 3rd edn, San Jose, CA, 1991, p.1.
[2] Countries and their Cultures, Chinese Americans, Bu-Dr. www.everyculture.com/multi/Bu-Dr/Chinese-Americans.html, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[3] Pellow & Pak, p. 21.

This violence mirrored what happened to the earlier residents of the valley, when aggressive American immigrants overwhelmed anyone who stood in their way.

The Chinese came to the United States willingly and in peace with no intention of colonising, or of taking land from those who were there before them. They did not come from a land of opportunity; China was a land where there were few prospects for poor people, particularly in rural areas, and neither their government nor that of the United States offered them the opportunity of obtaining land that was either free, or available at small cost to anyone who was prepared to come to California to settle. Americans did not know if the Chinese would fit in with American society, and if they would be 'menial workers' or people from a 'great centre of civilization'.[4] But, in line with Western thinking of the time, and, in particular, 'Western optimism', the potential problem was deferred.[5]

Originally China was reluctant to trade with other countries, but in 1757 the Emperor of China, bowing to pressure from western nations, declared the port of Canton open for trade with the west.[6] The United States made its first attempt to enter the profitable China trade in August 1784 when it sent its ship, the *Empress of China*, to Canton, in Guangdong province, in a bid to establish an enterprise that would include trade in tea, porcelain and silk.[7] From 1810, the British began trading with China by introducing opium which they brought in from India, and American companies started trading it soon after.[8] American protestant missionaries sent by the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in Canton in 1830 and established a dispensary.[9] As a result of the trading activities and the entry of Westerners, the Chinese in Kwangtung, the nearest city to Canton, knew about the western world, unlike the majority of their fellow countrymen and women.[10]

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[4] Limerick, p. 57.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[6] Yu, pp. 1-2.
[7] United States Department of State, Office of the Historian, Chronology of United States, 'China Relations, 1784-2000', history.state.gov/countries/issues/china-us-relations, accessed 15. 10. 2012.
[8] Yu, p. 3; United States Department of State, Chronology.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] Yu, p. 1.

Unfortunately, the port was eventually closed to outsiders due to the continued importation of opium by the British, and the subsequent Opium War of 1839-42, but after the war, more ports were opened to foreign trade.[11] In 1844, the United States Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, sent Caleb Cushing to China to negotiate a treaty which began the official diplomatic relationship between the two countries.[12] Within three years, the so-called 'coolie traders', the ships carrying Chinese contract labourers, began arriving in American ports.[13] At this stage, the Chinese entered with complete freedom, and the American government did not apply any restrictions regarding their movements.[14]

The first recorded arrival of Chinese immigrants to the United States was in 1848, when two men and one woman arrived in San Francisco on the American brig *Eagle.*[15] Later that year, a group of fifty-four immigrant Chinese came to California from South China for the Gold Rush but, during the next 20 years, 100,000 labourers, attracted by the promise of good wages, arrived to work as labourers for major projects: the construction of new railroads and the mines, as well as the menial occupations that were unattractive to white Americans.[16] At the same time, the United States was enhancing its 'most favoured nation status' with the Chinese government which continued to open up further ports for American trade.[17]

For the rural workers and farmers, emigration to California was an opportunity to leave their homeland temporarily, and earn money; they had no standing in their communities and were treated more like serfs or slaves.[18] Those who were

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[11] *Ibid.,* p. 3.
[12] United States Department of State, Chronology.
[13] Moon-Ho Jung, 'Outlying "Coolies": Race, Nation and Empire in the Age of Emancipation', *American Quarterly*, Vol. 37, No. 3, Sept. 2005, pp. 677-701, www.jstor.org.ezproxy.une.edu.au/stable/400693127&Search=yes&searchText=Trade&SearchText=Coolie&list=hide&searchurii=%2FAC, accessed 10. 12. 2012.
[14] United States Department of State, Chronology.
[15] Chinatown, San Francisco, www.sanfranciscochinatown.com/history/index.html, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[16] Yu, p. 2; United States Department of State, Chronology; Lorie Garcia, 'The Immigrants Who Built Santa Clara', in *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices,* Russell K. Skowronek [ed.], Santa Clara, CA, 2002, p. 100.
[17] United States Department of State, Chronology.
[18] Yu, p. 2.

successful in their applications borrowed money as an investment, with the expectation of making a big return when they found gold.[19] On reaching San Francisco, many of them came to Santa Clara Valley on foot.[20] In this valley, they played an important role in the orchards: ploughing, planting, harvesting, packing and distributing the produce.[21]

Chinese immigrants who travelled to the gold fields in the 1850s were forced to pay a mine tax that made it difficult for them to subsist on their small earnings. In Santa Clara Valley, there was segregation in schools, intermarriage was banned, and even the law was prejudiced against them.[22] However, the Chinese who became successful merchants in Santa Clara Valley did not want to continue to allow white Americans to treat them as ignorant coolies, and they fought back when possible by using the law to defend themselves. They formed the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (Chinese Six Companies) to protest against the intolerance shown to them; they negotiated between their own people and both federal and state governments, hired lawyers to oppose unfair practices in court and handled minor disputes within their own communities.[23] But at the same time as the Chinese immigrants were consolidating their position in Santa Clara Valley, workers' groups in the area were planning to oppose them and were warning white settlers of the 'yellow peril'.[24]

By 1852, there were 25,000 Chinese in California, forming the largest minority group in the state; they were employed in the mines, in laundries, as labourers and servants.[25] Hostility towards them was becoming obvious in both political and legal

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[19] *Ibid.,* pp. 2-4.
[20] *Ibid.,* pp. 4-5; Jean Pfaeizer, *Driven Out: The Forgotten War Against Chinese Americans*, New York, 2007, p. 233, books.google.com.au/books?koQalf4HiZ4C&pg=PAZ233&1pg=PA2337dq=Anti-Coolie+Association+Int+Santa_Clara+Valley&sour, accessed 8. 5. 2018.
[21] Lillian Gong-Guy & Gerry Wong, *Chinese in San Jose and the Santa Clara Valley: Chinese Historical and Cultural Project,* Charleston, SC, 2007, p. 7.
[22] Teaching with Documents: Affidavits and Flyers from the Chinese Boycott Case, www.archives.gov/education/lessons/chinese-boycott, accessed 8. 4. 2018.
[23] *Ibid.*
[24] *Ibid.*
[25] Gong-Guy and Wong, p. 9.

circles; the California Supreme Court ruled that the Chinese could not testify in a court of law, because to do so entailed giving them all the rights of citizens.[26] But, by the 1860s, when the Civil War was at its height and there was a labour shortage throughout the country, there was a demand for more labourers to work on the Transcontinental Railroad and on farms. More labourers immigrated, and the Chinese population in California rose to 35,000.[27] Between 1865 and 1869, 12,000 additional Chinese immigrants labourers were contracted to complete the western section of the railroad which passed through Santa Clara Valley.[28]

There was a proliferation of treaties. Any gains made by China for its immigrating labourers were offset by American promises to safeguard the Chinese without acknowledging that the anti-Chinese feeling was spreading, and nothing was being done to curb the violence; intolerance was rife in San Jose, where business-men said that they only employed 'first class white labour'.[29] The *Burlingame Treaty of 1868* was yet another attempt to boost the position of the United States as a powerful nation and a trading partner with China.[30] This time, Chinese immigrants were to be given freedom to travel from China to the United States for travel or study, while its citizens already in the United States would be protected. Citizens of both countries were to receive education and schooling in each other's countries in an attempt to show equality between the two nations.[31] However, the conditions also made certain that there would be a continuous supply of cheap labour from China, a major outcome for American businesses.[32] The treaty guaranteed the rights of Chinese labourers to immigrate, travel, trade and study, and China agreed to 'respect the rights of American travellers and residents'.[33] But, in spite of these fine words and agreements, the Chinese working on the railroad in San Jose were ignored by

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[26] Countries and their Cultures.
[27] Yu, pp. 4-5.
[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 5-7.
[29] History, Early Development of the Santa Clara Valley, www.sonoma.edu/asc/projects/sanjose/Part-of-San-Jose-History.pdf., accessed 5. 5. 2017.
[30] United States Department of State-Office of the Historian, Milestones:1866-1898, 'The Burlingame Treaty,1868', history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/Burlingame-seward-treaty, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] Yu, p. 7.

the government.[34] There was no compensation for death or accident for any workers, whether it was on the railroads, in the mines, or in the fields.[35]

In 1862, the California Legislative Committee calculated the Chinese contribution to the state economy. The tax raised from licence fees, shipping fares, and goods bought by the immigrants was $14,000,000.[36] Yet, in spite of this, the Chinese were given none of the privileges granted to other immigrants; they could not vote, or take legal action in court, yet, as a group, they did not give the settlers in Santa Clara Valley any cause for alarm; they were a peaceful people who obeyed the law.[37]

The immigrants were employed on large farms, where 100 of them would work at a time, but by 1870 some of them were able to lease land and grow strawberries, while others began share farming in equal partnerships with American landowners.[38] Some of them were interested in horticultural improvements, and one became well-known in the production of cherries; Ah Bing worked in San Jose with a former horticulturist from Oregon in the development of a large, sweet cherry which became known as the 'Bing' cherry.[39] Occasionally, a white farmer would defy local convention and assist his workers.[40]

Not everyone in the valley was pleased that the Chinese remained in their area.[41] Previously, the civic leaders in San Jose maintained good relationships with the Chinese labourers because they needed them to work on their farms.[42] The

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 8.
[36] *Ibid.,* p. 8.
[37] Report on the Joint Select Committee Relative to the Chinese population of the State of California, March 11, 1862, also referenced in Yu, p. 8.
[38] *Ibid.,* p. 9.
[39] *Ibid.*
[40] *Ibid.*
[41] *Ibid.,* p. 12.
[42] Plaeizer, p. 233.

Santa Clara Democratic Committee asked if the people of the valley wanted white rule or tyranny by 'blacks and Chinamen'.[43] This committee was also against intermarriage between Americans and Chinese, and suggested that a tax of $2.50 per month be imposed on every Chinese immigrant.[44] When the Transcontinental Railroad from east to west across the United States was completed in 1869, there was no public outcry for the 1,200 Chinese labourers who died during its construction.[45] The South Pacific Railroad was another railroad that used Chinese labour; it was also one of the powerful groups of railroad companies which created empires for themselves, and was controlled by the largest land owners in the state; they charged high shipping rates which the local farmers could no longer afford and, during a period of economic uncertainty, only the wealthy settlers could afford to pay the high rates to transport their produce to markets in the East. By the end of the 1870s, there was a depression in Santa Clara Valley and throughout California.[46] This was an opportunity for the racist workers' movements to deflect the state of the economy back on to the Chinese labourers.

From the middle of the 1850s, anti-Chinese workers' groups instigated mob-violence that was directed indiscriminately against all Chinese in Santa Clara Valley. The Anti-Coolie Association and the Supreme Order of Caucasians boycotted all Chinese businesses, refused to employ Chinese labourers, and organised their own riots.[47] *The Page Act of 1875* contradicted the Burlingame Treaty by refusing entry to any further coolie labourers or women prostitutes.[48] The Legislature passed the *Anti-Prostitution Act* in 1870. It was introduced under the guise of guarding the moral welfare of California.[49] As always, politicians and industrialists acting in their own interests encouraged anti-Chinese sentiments, whenever it suited them.[50]

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[43] Report on the Joint Select Committee, p. 12.
[44] *Ibid.*
[45] Pellow & Pak, p. 40.

[46] Report on the Joint Select Committee, p. 12.
[47] *Ibid.*
[48] United States Department of State, Chronology.
[49] *Anti-Prostitution Act of 1870*, www.sanfranciscochinatown.com/history/1870antiprostitutionact.html, accessed 3. 4. 2018.
[50] Countries and Their Cultures.

The formation of the Workingman's Party in 1877 by the Irish immigrant, Denis Kearney, encouraged further outbursts of racism.[51] Kearney, a racist activist, concentrated on the dangers of the Yellow Peril and came to San Jose to incite hatred against the Chinese, and encourage support for his party which planned to vote against Chinese being permitted to remain in the United States.[52] In San Jose, it became dangerous for any members of the public to oppose the racists and offer help to the Chinese.[53] The Federal Government was accused of being anti-Chinese.[54]

When the California legislature voted for a law that made it an offence for any corporation to hire a Chinese worker, there was an immediate rush by ranchers, farmers and cannery owners to dismiss their Chinese employees.[55] However, this proposed legislation was challenged by both the presidents of the Sulphur Bank and the Quicksilver Mining Corporation who said that it contravened the state constitution, the *Burlingame Treaty*, and the 14th amendment. The legislation was subsequently found to be unconstitutional.[56] Whenever there was a downturn in the economy, the Chinese immigrants were discriminated against by the settlers in Santa Clara Valley.[57] By 1890 the number of immigrants employed in agriculture and horticulture in Santa Clara Valley was three-quarters of the workforce.[58] They were essential to the economy.

Immigration figures showed an increase in the number of Chinese workers at this time due to a rise in the American economy, and the availability of greater employment opportunities; however, when there was a downturn, the number of new Chinese immigrants fell accordingly.[59] In 1879 the local economy was not equitable; in Santa Clara Valley, settlers who lived on land formerly owned by the Ohlones and

[51] Report on the Joint Select Committee, pp. 13-14.
[52] Pfaeizer, p. 233.
[53] Gong-Guy & Wong, p. 7.
[54] Yu, pp. 13-14.
[55] *Ibid.,* p. 233.
[56] *Ibid.,* p. 16; Pfaeizer, p. 233.
[57] Gong-Guy & Wong, p. 9.
[58] Teaching with Documents; Pfaeizer, p. 231.
[59] Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labour and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California,* Berkeley, CA, 1971, p. 173.

Californios were prospering, while the smaller farmers were unable to compete against them, and were facing hard times.[60] At the same time, shipping companies and the businesses who recruited labourers from China continued to send new immigrants to Santa Clara Valley, where the total population was 35,000 of which eight per cent were Chinese.[61] In San Jose, racists took the law into their own hands in order to hasten the removal of the unwanted Chinese labourers by burning down their Chinatowns. This was done six times, and each time, the Chinese rebuilt them.[62] San Jose proclaimed its own local laws in order to limit the number of Chinese laundries which the settlers believed to be not only commercial premises, but venues where social gatherings were held. Fireworks were banned, the use of Chinese prostitutes was forbidden, and labourers were prohibited from carrying baskets on shoulder poles. There were no protests from the residents of San Jose; they were prepared to accept the new laws.[63]

A Presidential Proclamation was issued in 1881 to announce that a treaty between the United States and China concerning immigration was one of 'peace and friendship'.[64] Once again, it guaranteed that all Chinese in the United States would be protected by the government of the United States, but there was a stipulation that the latter retained the power to not only control the number of labourers who entered the United States but also to suspend their immigration entirely, if it wished. All 'other classes' of immigrants: teachers, students, merchants, or tourists would have no restrictions on their travel at all, and would be treated with all the rights and privileges granted to 'the most favoured nation'.[65] These were fine words, but intended for more affluent Chinese travellers, and of no consequence for the labourers who were in Santa Clara Valley, the victims of organised abuse.

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[60] Pfaeizer, p. 233.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] Presidential Proclamation, 1880, www.sanfranciscochinatown.com/history/1880proclamination.html, accessed 19. 4. 2018.
[65] *Ibid.*

The *Chinese Exclusion Act* was proclaimed by the United States government in 1882, and was the only *Exclusion Act* in the country to restrict entrance of a particular people. It began by declaring that 'the coming of Chinese labourers to this country endangers the good order of certain localities within the territory thereof', and 'the words "Chinese labourers"…means both skilled and unskilled labourers and Chinese employed in mining'.[66] As a result, all further immigration by Chinese labourers was cancelled, and the masters of all ships arriving at United States ports were forbidden to permit any Chinese to land.[67] Chinese labourers currently in the United States were permitted to remain provided they could produce evidence of their residence, and those who wished to leave America temporarily would be issued with a certificate of identification allowing them to return legally.[68]

The Act was discriminatory; only labourers, both skilled and unskilled, and those who worked in mines were mentioned, classifications that would be favoured by white labour associations.[69] In another case of discrimination, the Chinese Government was able to issue its own certificates to persons other than labourers in order for them to be able to enter the United States lawfully.[70] Chinese found in the United States illegally would be deported, but there would be no restrictions on any officers of the Chinese Government.[71] The Act was to be enforced until 1892, and during that period no Chinese immigrant would be able to apply for naturalisation; all Chinese would have to carry a photo-passport, or a certificate of eligibility to be in the United States at all times.[72] The *Geary Act* extended the *Exclusion Act* for a further ten years, and reinforced the regulation that any Chinese found to be in the United States unlawfully during that period would be imprisoned and deported at the end of the sentence.[73] This Act added to the uncertainty felt by all Chinese.

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[66] Pfaeizer, p. 264; *1882 Chinese Exclusion Act*, 47th Congress, Session 1, 1882, Chapter 126, 'An Act to execute certain treaty stipulations relating to Chinese', https://www.loc.gov/law/help/statutes-at-large/47th-congress/session-1/c47s1ch126.pdf, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[67] *1882 Chinese Exclusion Act*.
[68] *Ibid.*
[69] *Ibid.*
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Yu, p. 17.

The *Exclusion Act* was a simple and direct way to deal with the immigration problem that was causing political and social upheaval, but it was not the means of finding a lasting solution.[74] All the American labour organisations backed the Act; their spokesmen explained that there was no racial prejudice in their support, and that they were not against the Chinese as individuals, but they were concerned about the cheap labour they provided.[75] The Chinese were scapegoats for labour organisations.

Because of the new restrictions and their effect on further immigration, the Chinese immigrants already living in Santa Clara Valley were left in a society that was almost entirely a male one.[76] Due to the strong anti-Chinese situation, the immigrants continued to work to support their families in China, while planning to return home when they retired.[77] They were helped by people like John Heinlein, a local farmer and businessman who leased land to Chinese farmers on a 44 year lease, suggesting it would be a home base for all Chinese in the Santa Clara Valley.[78] In San Jose, Chinese merchants built a nine foot picket fence around the Chinese section of the city, and added notices warning against trespassing.[79] Two new Chinatowns were built in San Jose, one near the Guadalupe River and one at the San Jose Woollen Mills, but the building regulations were changed when the developers realised that the buildings were for Chinese. The civic authorities stated that the merchants could not determine the size of the area to be set aside for their businesses, because local ordinances forbad public land being used to assist any Chinese or Mongolians.[80] With the assistance of John Heinlen, the area was converted into an enclosure.[81] Despite this, the *San Jose Daily Mercury* expressed its

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[73] *Ibid.; 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act; Geary Act of 1892*, 52nd Congress, Session 1, 1892, Chapter 60, An Act to prohibit the coming of Chinese persons into the United States', www.sanfranciscochinatown.com/history/1882exclusionact.htm, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[74] *Ibid.,* p. 247.
[75] *Ibid.,* p. 246.
[76] Gong-Guy & Wong, p. 7.
[77] Countries and their Cultures.
[78] Gong-Guy & Wong, p. 7; History-Early Development of the Santa Clara Valley, p. 21.
[79] Pfaeizer, p. 230.
[80] *Ibid.,* p. 236.
[81] *Ibid.*

concern that the high fence and barbed wire might not be sufficient to 'keep out objectionable visitors'.[82]

Both the new Anti-Coolie League, and the California Non-Partisan Anti-Chinese Association were active in San Jose in 1885.[83] Extremists controlled the group, and arson attacks followed.[84] The United States wanted to suspend all immigration for 30 years and declared that any Chinese-American who travelled to China would not be permitted to return to the United States. China responded by suspending immigration for 20 years, and obtained an agreement from the American government that the labourers could return to the United States provided that they owned property, or their families resided there.[85] The *Bayard-Zhang Treaty* was agreed to in March 1888, but China was still not satisfied with the conditions. Seven months later, there were further changes; the *Scott Act* was passed which imposed a permanent ban on all Chinese labourers attempting to return to the United States, or applying for visas to immigrate from China.[86] The vote was unanimous and effectively cut off the entrance of 20,000 potential Chinese immigrants.[87] China claimed that the act was unconstitutional, but Congress maintained that it was able to introduce the new act regardless of any previous international treaties.[88] Finally, China refused to recognise the Act.[89]

In 1890, one quarter of Chinese in San Jose were female which was very different to other towns in the West. Anti-Chinese groups were alarmed at this because they feared the number of children who were likely to be born and become citizens.[90] One year later, there were further disturbances. San Jose police began to harass all Chinese workers, including those who owned shops and businesses; people were hired privately to stay in the latter from 8 am to 11pm to intimidate not

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[82] *Ibid.*
[83] *Ibid.,* p. 235.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] Bayard-Zhang Treaty, 'The Chinese-American Experience 1857-1892', http://immigrants.harpweek.com/ChineseAmericans/2KeyIssues/ScottAct.htm, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] *Ibid.*
[88] United States Department of State.
[89] Bayard-Zhang Treaty.
[90] Pfaeizer, p. 231.

only customers, but people who lived in the vicinity.[91] However, the Chinese fought back, but within the law; they went to court (Quen Hing Tong v. City of San Jose et al) to ask that police harassment be withdrawn, and that they be paid $5000 assistance money, thus effectively fighting the City of San Jose.[92]

Although they were denied their constitutional rights, they made use of the law in their efforts to maintain a better standard of living than what was considered sufficient for Chinese coolies.[93] They bore the racial discrimination directed at them; they continued to live in an unassuming manner, and they sent their children to school either in China, or enrolled them in the American school system in the valley.[94] They realised that there were difficulties in being accepted in the local education system because of the prejudices of the white people but they persisted and, in the process, became more integrated into the local social system and less insular. Gradually, they founded their own churches and schools, produced their own newspapers and joined political parties.[95] Matters were being resolved for the local Chinese but there were other Asians who wished to settle in the Valley, and be treated fairly.

The Japanese saw steamships for the first time in 1853 when Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Edo Bay (Tokyo Bay), Japan with his squadron of four steamships.[96] After being isolated from the West for more than 200 years, Japan was under pressure from Western countries. Until this time, it was able to control its contact with foreign traders, but now it realised that, if it continued to maintain its isolation policy, it risked war with any powerful country.[97] In 1854, Japan finally

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[91] *Ibid.,* p. 229.
[92] *Ibid.,* p. 230.
[93] Countries and their Cultures.
[94] *Ibid.*
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] U.S. Navy Museum, 'Commodore Perry and the Opening of Japan', www.history.navy.mil/branches/teach/ends/opening.htm, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[97] Anthropological Studies Centre, Sonoma State University, p. 29, https://www.history.navy.mil/research/library/exhibits/commodore-matthew-c-perry-and-the-opening-of-japan.html, accessed 12. 4. 2018; Edwin O. Reischauer & Marius B. Jansen, 'The Meiji Restoration', quoted in *The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity,* Cambridge, Mass, c. 1995.

opened its doors to trade and diplomatic relations with the United States with the signing of a treaty arranged with Perry, by which there was to be continuing peace between Japan and the United States, and Japan gave permission for American ships to enter two of its ports.[98] By 1868, Japan was modernised and industrialised with a westernised military service. Immigration to the United States began in 1869, when young Japanese men came to California for an education, so that they could bring back new skills to Japan; they were followed by peasants who were hoping to find a better life than they could aspire to in their own country.[99]

Most of the original immigrants came from South Japan.[100] They were literate and better educated with most of them with at least an elementary education while the peasants from rural districts only received a basic education.[101] They possessed a code of behaviour: they believed that they must have pride in themselves, and never disgrace their family names; they must remain law-abiding and useful members of society, and always consider education as being of great importance.[102] At the beginning of the 1880s, the United States Government relaxed some of its immigration laws to permit more Japanese immigrants to travel to the United States.[103] Between 1880 and 1884, the Japanese Government issued 456 passports to immigrants who were travelling to the United States, and this number increased rapidly, so that the United States Census for 1890 showed that there were 2,000 Japanese living in the United States, but it also indicated that there were 107,000 Chinese.[104]

The Gold Rush was responsible for an increase in the population of Santa Clara Valley, and providing food was a major problem even after the Gold Rush was

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98 U. S. Navy Museum.
99 Anthropological Studies Centre, p. 29; Reischauer & Jansen.
100 'Immigrants from Japan', Pacific Link – The KQED Asian Education Initiative, www.kqed.org/w/pacificlink/history/angelisland/japan.html, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
101 Gerard J. Kettermann & Mark Thomas Jr., *The American Odyssey of the Immigrant Japanese: A Tribute to Judge Wayne M. Kanemoto,* San Jose, CA, 2008, p. 1.
102 *Ibid.*
103 Alex Yamato, *Farming in the Santa Clara Valley*, Chapter 1, [ed.], Wendy Ng, *Return to the Valley,* San Jose, CA, n. d., n.p.n., www.returntothevalley.org/chapter 01.html, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
104 Kettermann & Thomas, p. 2.

over. After the introduction of the 1882 *Chinese Exclusion Act*, when no further Chinese immigrants were to be admitted to the United States, there was a dearth of labourers for agriculture, and Japanese immigrants were recruited to take their place in the fields.[105] The same problem occurred in the orchards. At first, fruit growers attempted to replace the Chinese with Portuguese and Italian workers, but found they not only lacked the organisational skills of the Chinese, but their performance was not as good; they only wanted to work in Santa Clara Valley on a seasonal basis which was not to the liking of those who employed them.[106] Japanese and Filipino immigrants were employed instead, because it was assumed that they all came from agricultural backgrounds, while the Europeans were retained in supervisory positions. By the beginning of the 20th century, the number of Japanese in the valley increased, and they were working in orchards, seed farms and strawberry fields, often with the Chinese who continued in their former employment despite the problems they experienced.[107] The Chinese were well organised; wherever they worked, they established their own labour monopolies in both the orchards and fields, but later the Japanese began their own societies and attempted to continue their normal activities, while providing local farmers with cheap labour.[108]

The first generation of Japanese immigrants, the Issei were rural people and mainly bachelors who came to Santa Clara Valley to work for a set time only.[109] They left Japan at a time when economic conditions were poor, and, being agricultural workers, they expected to work on a seasonal basis in Santa Clara Valley but instead, stayed to farm for themselves.[110] In 1900 there were 284 Japanese immigrants in Santa Clara Valley, and, in the same year, there was an influx of immigrants from Europe.[111]

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[105] *Ibid.*
[106] Anthropological Studies Centre, p. 29.
[107] Yamato; Anthropological Studies Centre, p. 29.
[108] Timothy J. Lukes & Gary. K. Okshiro, *Japanese Legacy,* Local History Studies, Vol. 31, Cupertino, CA, 1985, p. 41.
[109] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[110] JAMS, Japanese American Museum of San Jose, 'On Common Ground, Chinatown and Japantown', San Jose, www.jamsj.org/exhibit/pioneers-of-san-jose-japantown, accessed 19. 11. 2012.
[111] Glenna Matthews, *Silicon Valley, Women and the California Dream: Gender, Class and Opportunity in the Twentieth* Century, Stanford, CA, 2003, p.18.

This was a time of expansion for agriculture. Most of the problems that involved old Mexican and Spanish land grants in Santa Clara Valley were resolved; the introduction of irrigation, and the carrying out of land reclamation ensured higher yields of wheat, the mainstay of agriculture, while the extensive system of recently completed railroads created new markets throughout the country.[112] Chinese labourers formed the majority of the work force in this labour intensive area of agriculture, but early in the 20th century due to the effects of the *Chinese Exclusion Act* and other racist policies, the number of Chinese workers decreased alarmingly; Farmers began to rely on Mexican and Japanese farm workers to take their place.[113]This was now the labour pool from which local farmers expected to draw on for their workers: a supply of immigrants who would be satisfied to work for low wages. They did not expect that the Japanese and Mexicans would be uniting in a bid to obtain better wages and conditions. In 1903, 1200 Mexican and Japanese workers in the sugar-beet industry formed their own union, the Japanese and Mexican Labour Association (JMLA), and organised a successful strike in California.[114] White farmers were forced to state their views on how they would organise Japanese and Mexican workers on their farms, while unions were required to demonstrate how they would include agricultural workers among their members.[115] However, hostility to Japanese agricultural workers continued, and distinctions were made between different groups of immigrants; Mexicans were feared less than Asians, because they were Christians, and consequently, they were seen as being less foreign.[116] It was not until much later, when the number of Mexican immigrants increased that anti-Mexican feelings were shown.[117]

The Japanese in Santa Clara Valley were tormented constantly. Fees were charged for shipboard passengers who were declared to be 'ineligible for

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[112] Tomas Almaquer, *Racial Domination and Class Conflict in Capitalists Agriculture: The Oxnard Sugar Beet Workers' Strike of 1903*, U. C. Press E-Books Collection 1982-2004, Tamien, San Jose, CA, 1984, https://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft9x0nb6g&chunk.id=d0e6200&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e6200&brand=ucpress, accessed 5. 4. 2018.
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] *Ibid.*
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] *Ibid.*

citizenship'.[118] However, not all people in Santa Clara Valley were racist or anxious to remove immigrants. One Japanese family that leased land north of San Jose and grew vegetables and berries later moved to the west of San Jose where there was little discrimination shown to them, and where the local people considered the *Alien Law Act* to be unjust.[119] Subsequently, these people formed a farming corporation, in which the majority stockholders were citizens who were not affected by the *Alien Law Act,* and could not be punished for their new venture. [120]Later, a farming family befriended the immigrants, advising them that when their children reached legal age and were entitled to be citizens, they could then own land legally, something their parents had no opportunity of achieving.[121] This opened new possibilities.

Due to the hostility that was directed at them, the Japanese would find some relief in their own Japantown where, in a similar fashion to the Chinese immigrants, they could socialise, buy all their food and other requirements, as well as take advantage of the boarding houses, employment agencies, social clubs, bath houses, stores and restaurants.[122] But, at the same time, they also built wooden shops and boarding houses in Heinlenville Chinatown.[123] Further distress was caused for the immigrants, when in 1906 the San Francisco Board of Education introduced segregation into its public schools for both Japanese and Chinese students. This was in direct violation of the 1894 agreement, and led to an exchange of a number of 'notes' between the two countries during 1907 – 1908.[124] The ensuing *Gentleman's Agreement* was arranged with a promise from the United States to ask San Francisco to change this new rule of segregation, and for an assurance from Japan that there

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[118] Bill Ong Hing, *Making and Remaking Asian America Through Immigration Policy, 1850-1990,* Stanford, CA, 1993, p. 18.
[119] Kettermann & Thomas, p. 6.
[120] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[121] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[122] Timothy J. Lukes & Minh T. Hoang, 'Open and Notorious: Adverse Possession & Immigration Reform', *Washington Journal of Law & Policy,* Vol. 27, 2008, p.124, St Louis, Mo, https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_journa_-law_policy/vol27/iss/1/6, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[123] Goldsea Asian Air, 'Is San Jose the Asian American Heartland? goldsea.com/Air/Issues/SJ/sj.html, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[124] *Ibid.*

would be a restriction on the number of labourers immigrating to the United States.[125]

Despite the restrictions, the Japanese immigrants who remained continued to pursue their claims to land tenure; by 1910 they owned or leased 194,742 acres of farmland in California and grew 70% of America's strawberries.[126] They were oppressed but they were resilient, and resisted where possible through court action and strikes.[127] At the same time, the immigrants were developing Japanese-American communities, where they established co-operatives and language schools, despite the constant harassment of the white supremacists.[128] The tier of development that the Japanese put down into the landscape of Santa Clara Valley was carried out despite a great deal of opposition. Japan was now becoming more adept at making use of the American political system.

In a deal with the United States, Japan promised to send its immigrant labourers in future to its Manchurian territories provided that the United States agreed with Japanese control of Taiwan, the Pescadores and its interests in Manchuria. This agreement was more concerned with Japanese territorial ambitions, and less about any American intentions in the Pacific, while the welfare of Japanese immigrants in California appeared to be of little consequence except when they could be used in the bargaining process.[129]

As farmers, the Japanese proved to be an asset to Santa Clara Valley, as they developed techniques that increased the yields of flowers, fruits and vegetables.[130] However, when they began their own farms, they were unable to provide labour for local farmers as they did previously, and this caused a labour shortage for white

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[125] *Gentlemen's Agreement*,1908, Fragment for a Pacific History, www.facultygeorgetown.edu/Gentlemen's-Agreement-REP107-04-2.pdf, accessed 12. 4. 2018.
[126] Goldsea Asian Air.
[127] Lukes & Okshiro, p. 6.
[128] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[129] Goldsea Asian Air.
[130] *Ibid.*

farmers in the valley; at the same time, the Japanese farmers were perceived as introducing the threat of competition.[131]

The *Gentlemen's Agreement* included giving permission for Japanese immigrants to bring their wives to the United States.[132] The *Agreement* was an unofficial pact between the governments of the United States and Japan to slow, or stop entirely any further Japanese immigration, with the exception of wives and children of men already in the United States; the Japanese government agreed that it would not issue any more visas for Japanese labourers to travel to the United States.[133] Only educated Japanese were to be given visas.[134] Some details of the Agreement were kept secret; the American government suggested that, if Japan voluntarily restricted the number of unskilled immigrants, then the United States would not impose an *Exclusion Act* as it had with the Chinese.[135] But the Japanese immigrants would not be able to join labour unions; their children could not attend public schools and would only be accepted in Chinatown schools.[136]

It was at this time that the movement against the Japanese immigrants commenced, instigated by the same people who wanted to exclude the Chinese.[137] But, the number of Japanese immigrants increased, and there were soon more of them than Chinese. By 1910, there were 41,356 Japanese residents and Japanese Americans in California, and many of them were now assimilated and considered to be members of middle class American society.[138] White racists found this difficult to accept, and the fact that Japanese children attended the local high schools made the situation worse.[139] In actual fact, all this social progress showed how the Japanese

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[131] Kettermann & Thomas, p. 2.
[132] *Ibid.*
[133] Alex Yamato.
[134] Immigrants from Japan.
[135] Kettermann & Thomas, p. 2.
[136] *Ibid.*
[137] *Ibid.*
[138] Prejudice against Japanese Americans, www.calisphere.universityofCalifornia.edu/calcultures/ethnic_groups/subtopic20.html, accessed 21.11. 2012.
[139] Matthews, p. 32.

community adapted to life in their new country, regardless of the difficulties they experienced because of their race.[140]

What was not obvious was that any changes to immigration laws were open to the influence of the requirements of particular United States foreign policies. Consequently, the resolution of any racial problems in Santa Clara Valley and elsewhere in California was determined by the effect on America's neighbours in the Pacific.[141] Before the welfare of immigrants and their value to their adopted country were taken into account, factors concerning territorial designs and trade were given prior consideration by the government, and then later, the possible tensions building up within the community, all of which were detrimental to the immigrants.[142] From the end of the Mexican-American War, the United States intervened in and took a territorial interest in a number of island groups in the Pacific: the Alaskan island territories, the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands and Guam. All these interventions were of value to the United States: they increased the value of international trade; by the beginning of the 20th century, the United States was the world's major exporter of grain.[143]

The California Legislature passed the *Alien Land Act* in 1913, by which aliens who were not eligible for citizenship were banned from buying property.[144] They could not own or lease land for more than three years, a restriction which led to more tension between the United States and Japan.[145] This was an act directed against the Japanese in particular; all Asians were refused citizenship, but Japanese were

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[140] *Ibid.*
[141] U.S. Foreign Policy and Asia, Pacific Link – The KQED Asian Education Initiative, www.kqed.org/w/pacificlink/history/usforeignpol/, accessed 3. 4. 2018.
[142] *Ibid.*
[143] *Ibid.*
[144] Yamato; Kellermann & Thomas, p. 2.
[145] U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, Milestones:1890-1913, 'Japanese-American Relations at the Turn of the Century, 1900-1922', history.state.gov/milestones.1899-1913/JapaneseRelations, accessed 12. 4. 2018.

the only immigrants who bought land at that time.[146] They were also successful with every crop they introduced, and by the 1920s, they were growing the majority of local produce: celery, tomatoes, spinach, strawberries and fruit.[147] They were adding another layer to the landscape in Santa Clara Valley with their cultivation of crops, and, in a similar fashion to the Americans who came before them, they also wanted to own the land on which they toiled.[148] However, the *Alien Land Law* initiative was introduced in 1920 to prevent immigrant Japanese from leasing farm land.[149] But there was another setback for them in 1921, when all further female immigration from Asia was banned.[150] This did not deter those who lived in the valley; the men continued to work on farms and in private homes, as well as establishing profitable fishing and agricultural enterprises. Despite the law that forbade them from owning land, they built their own houses, their churches and established commercial enterprises.[151]

In the early 20th century, the *Alien Land Laws* that were legislated in California were motivated by discrimination against Japanese alien residents, with the principal aim being to prevent the continuation of immigration, and to make life difficult for those Japanese who lived there.[152] In the second half of the nineteenth century, the legislation was anti-Chinese with the *Chinese Exclusion Act* bringing an end to Chinese immigration, but causing an increase in immigration from Japan.[153] Whereas Chinese who worked on the railroads moved to cities on completion of their contracts, Japanese field workers in Santa Clara Valley remained in the same area, leasing land until prevented by the *Land Laws*.[154] The United States did not want problems with racism against the Japanese in California, as the government was anxious to continue strong, diplomatic relations with Japan, a country that was becoming more powerful after the two wars in which it defeated both China and

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[146] Yamato.
[147] *Ibid.*
[148] Golden Asian Air.
[149] Kettermann & Thomas, p. 2.
[150] Golden Asian Air.
[151] Prejudice against Japanese Americans.
[152] Brian J. Gaines & Wendy K. Tam Cho, 'On California's 1920 Alien Land Law: The Psychology and Economics of Racial Discrimination',*State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 4 (3): p. 271, University of Illinois, IL, 2004.
[153] *Ibid.,* p. 273.
[154] *Ibid.*

Russia.[155] But California was an obstacle with its continual intervention to limit Japanese immigration during 1907-1908, until President Roosevelt was forced to call for a veto on the extremely discriminatory *Anti Japanese School Bill of 1909*; succeeding bills of a similar nature were overturned by either the California governor or the United States President.[156]

The Japanese themselves ignored a *1913 Land Law* that added further restrictions to their owning or leasing land, and 'openly and widely evaded' the new regulations by continuing to buy and lease land.[157] A fear campaign was organised during the 1920 general election, when an even more restrictive *Land Law* was proposed arguing that Japanese were attempting to control America's agricultural land.[158] Japanese immigrants in Santa Clara Valley were the victims of both international diplomacy and local discrimination. They were abused by local politicians and unions, but their services were required to maintain the efficiency of the valley and its agricultural and horticultural industries. It was this contribution by which they left their mark on the landscape.

The tension and controversy between the United States and Japan continued for the first 20 years of the 20th century.[159] Both countries were determined to extend their territorial and commercial interests; Japan was concerned with the way in which the Americans dealt with Japanese immigrants, while both countries were closely watching their own economic and commercial interests in China. They both wanted to expand into the latter without interference from one another, or from China.[160] The United States was afraid that Japan would increase its already strong commercial hold in China through its persistence and competitiveness.[161] But, all the time, Japan was disturbed by the continuing situation in the United States, where the

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[155] *Ibid.,* pp. 273-4.
[156] *Ibid.,* pp. 274-5.
[157] *Ibid.*, p. 275.
[158] *Ibid.,* pp. 275-6.
[159] U. S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, Milestones: 1890-1913.
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] *Ibid.*

Gentlemen's Agreement of 1894 which was to ensure the protection of Japanese immigrants by giving them the same rights as United States citizens was ignored.[162]

However, China asked the United States for assistance in 1915, when Japan issued its 'Twenty-One Demands' of China which included wanting China to recognise its territorial claims, demanding that no other country would obtain concessions on the China Coast, as well as a number of other stipulations that were for Japan's economic benefit only.[163] The United States refused to recognise any new agreement that would threaten the old Open Door Policy by which China must remain open to world trade with all countries to be treated equally.[164] Britain was the only other government that supported the United States, while the European governments ignored the policy.[165] The United States government was in a situation, where it needed to protect its own interests in Asia, as well as give consideration to the war in Europe and the on-going racial problems in California.[166]

Japanese residents were interned after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in December, 1941; they returned to their homes when the Japanese were defeated and resumed their former lives.[167] In 1969, when there was a complete change of attitude to Japanese citizens in California, the state celebrated the centenary of the arrival of the first group of Japanese. This was the Wakamatui Colony, the members of which planned to start a business; they brought 300,000 three year old mulberry trees to commence silk production, plants that would produce tea and also seeds.[168] Unfortunately, the venture did not last and, after its collapse, there was no further support available.[169] A Proclamation was issued by Governor Ronald Reagan to honour the occasion and a brochure in English discussed the good will between the United States and Japan at the time of the celebration. A monument was built close

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[162] *Ibid.*; *Gentlemen's Agreement*, Fragment for a Pacific History; *Gentlemen's Agreement*,1908.
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] *Ibid.;* U. S. Foreign Policy and Asia.
[165] U. S. Foreign Policy and Asia.
[166] U. S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, Miles 1890-1913.
[167] Personal reminiscences of author.
[168] Cupertino History Centre, Brochure commemorating the centennial of the Wakakatui Colony in 1869, Cupertino, CA.
[169] *Ibid.,* Kettermann &Thomas, p.1.

to the burial site of Okei-San who was the first Japanese woman to immigrate to California and the area was declared an historical site.[170] An *Assembly Concurrent Resolution* relative to the commemoration was proposed by the Honourable Eugene H. Chapple, in which he described the group's arrival on the sidewheeler vessel, *China*, owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company.[171]

The Chinese and Japanese immigrants were treated badly when they arrived in California. The Chinese came first and showed their eagerness to work, playing a major role in building the railroads without any obvious recognition. They were not ambitious to own land; their main aim was to send money home to their relatives. The Japanese were literate because education was considered to be important in Japan. Immigration became political as the United States Government was eager to make trade deals with both China and Japan. When the Chinese were excluded, the Japanese were required to perform the tasks they usually performed. Racism was rampant but both Chinese and Japanese coped by setting up their own facilities. They learned how to use the law to suit their needs. They were an example of immigrants who were reviled, but who retained their ability to survive and improve their situation. The tiers they added to the landscape of Santa Clara Valley are still in place. In the following chapter we will see the arrival of immigrants from Europe. They came to find a freer way of life, with no compulsory military service; land was available, they could display their talents, find employment, and bring further changes to the space that was the Valley.

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[170] *Ibid.*

[171] A Copy of the Assembly Concurrent Resolution relative to commemorating the Centennial of Japanese Immigration to the United States, by the Honourable Eugene H. Chapple of the Sixth Assembly District (co-authored by Senator Stephen D. Teala of the Third Senatorial District), 1969.

Chapter Seven: The Europeans

Immigrants who came from Great Britain, Europe and European settlements in the Atlantic did so for a number of reasons, all of which were concerned with improving their quality of life. Governments that enforced national service unwittingly encouraged young men to leave their homes in order to avoid military service.[1] Families looking for a better life, unable to increase their meagre acreages, or improve the quality of the soil looked to a new land to provide them with the opportunity to be self sufficient. But overall, it was the opportunity to own land that motivated immigrants to cross the Atlantic to the United States of America; they believed that they could satisfy the requirements set down by the American Government in the *Homestead Act of 1862*.[2] This chapter explains how at first some of the immigrants moved from one place to another unable to settle but, when they did, they made their mark on their new country. Santa Clara Valley was the scene of many inventions and improvements in agriculture and horticulture because of their pioneering work.

In the years after the Civil War, agriculture was no longer the most important industry in the United Sates, because the process of industrialisation was under way.[3] At that time, immigrants from Northern Europe were welcomed as being able to provide unskilled labour, 'entrepreneurial energy and technological talent' and they continued to do so as the century drew to a close.[4] New waves of immigrants came from the British Isles and Northern Europe, but later intakes arrived mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe: Italians, Slavs and Russians, none of whom met the expectations of either Americans or Northern Europeans. The American Party (the Know-Nothings) with its policy of nativism that promoted a fear of newcomers and

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[1] Oral interview with John Torres, 5. 6. 2011, Santa Clara, CA.
[2] The Homestead Act Provides Free Land to Settlers, 1862, *The Statues at Large, Treaties and Proclamations of the United States, 1859-1863,* Vol. 12, Boston, p. 392, also referenced in *Major Problems in American History: Volume 11 Since 1865,* [eds], Hoffman & Gjerde, p. 40.
[3] Immigration in the Gilded Age, www.sjusd.org/leland/teachers/sgillis/immigration/pde/gilded_age.pdf, accessed 13.1. 2015.
[4] *Ibid.*

Catholics, in particular, was still flourishing.[5] Northern Europeans who were feared by native-born Americans, when they first arrived, were later perceived to be assimilated into their local communities, so that the former hostility directed towards them, was transferred to the newer immigrants.[6] This is not unusual; once immigrants become ensconced in their new country, they identify with the new environment and those who arrive after them are foreigners.[7]

When immigrants entered the United States on its East Coast, there were no apparent racial problems, no Exclusion Acts like those that challenged the Asians attempting to enter the country on the West Coast. One intention of Manifest Destiny was to advise Europe of the superiority of both Americans and their institutions and to proclaim these same institutions to the world, so that everyone in the Western hemisphere knew they would be able to find freedom.[8] It was obvious that the United States was seen as a place of refuge.

Migration is described as being 'a permanent or semi- permanent change of address' and for many who came to Santa Clara Valley that was not applicable; not everyone who entered the United States knew if this move would match his or her expectations, and if they would stay.[9] Reasons for immigrating varied from economic: looking for better employment possibilities to finding a better way of life. Some were fleeing war or persecution, or following a relative who would offer assistance in securing a job and accommodation.[10] But when a large group of immigrants arrived together from one particular country or city, there was often 'an adjustment problem' for both the new arrivals and those who preceded them.[11] Some travelled extensively looking for 'a new field of opportunity' that satisfied them before

[5] Norton et al, p. 368.
[6] Immigration in the Gilded Age.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Westward Expansion, www.historynet.com/westward-expansion, accessed 28. 2. 2017.
[9] Paul R. Erlich, Loy Bilderback & Anne H. Erlich, *The Golden Door: International Migration, Mexico and the United States*, Ist edn, New York, 1979, p. 10.
[10] *Ibid.,* p. 10.
[11] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

coming to Santa Clara Valley..[12] Quite often, when they finally arrived there, they were ready to settle. The knowledge they accrued on the way was invaluable in their new situation.

In one such case the Murphy family travelled before settling in the Valley. Martin Murphy's experiences as a boy in Ireland during the failed rebellion of 1798 influenced him.[13] He was aware of the penal code and the harsh life the peasants were forced to lead under the British authorities and how they were driven off their land and either sent to prison or forced to immigrate.[14] In 1820, he took his family to Canada, where he planned to start an Irish settlement near Quebec.[15] Unfortunately, neither the climate nor the soil was suitable for farming, so the party moved to Missouri in the United States, where they settled in a place they named Irish Grove.[16] Although the soil was fertile, the climate was not good enough to grow wheat and corn; many travellers were ill and there were no schools or churches in the area.[17] A former immigrant to California advised them to travel to Santa Clara Valley.[18] With a wagon trail one mile long, the group set off on their next journey of almost 2,000 miles.[19] They were the first travellers on the route to take American-made wagons and American-bred horses to California.[20] The wagon-trail they pioneered over the mountains was later selected as the route for the first railroad from the east.[21] At Lake Tahoe, they sheltered from the severe winter conditions in log cabins which

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[12] Frederick Jackson Turner Articulates the Frontier Thesis, 1893, reprinted in Billington, [ed.], *The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History?* Boston, Mass, 1977, pp. 10-20, also cited in *Major Problems in American History: Volume II Since 1865,* [eds], Hoffman &Gjerde, p. 50.

[13] G. W. Fowler, A Biographical Sketch of the Murphy Family, 71 Ms, in the handwriting of G. W. Fowler, 1888, p. 1, Hubert Howe Collection, C-D 792:8, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University Berkeley, CA.

[14] Edwin H. Fowler, A Biographical Sketch of the Murphy Family, 35 Ms, in the handwriting of Edwin H. Fowler, 1888, p. 1, Hubert Howe Collection, C-D 792:9, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA; G. W. Fowler, p. 1.

[15] Edwin H. Fowler; G.W. Fowler, p. 1.

[16] Alfred Bates, A Biographical Sketch of the Murphy Family, prepared for the Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth, in the handwriting of Alfred Bates, 1888, p. 3, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, C-D 792:1, 461 MS, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.

[17] *Ibid.,* pp. 2-3.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 6.

[19] Howard Winters & Colman McDonough, *The California Trail: Opening of the Road West 1844-1845,* Sunnyvale, CA, 1994-1995, p. 3.

[20] Bates, p. 7; Notes for the correction of the Murphy biography, 21 typescript (leaf 2 cut off), p.1, Murphy Family, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, C-D 792:6, 1888, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA; Turner.

[21] Notes for the correction of the Murphy biography, p.1.

they built themselves, before moving on to Santa Clara Valley, arriving in March, 1845. They bought land 30 miles south of San Jose.[22] A lawyer they knew in Missouri described them as being the 'the 'very earliest of white immigrants'.[23] Turner described people like the members of the Murphy Party as possessing traits that were 'called out … because of the frontier'.[24] It was a place where people often realized their worth.

The Murphys' son, Martin, bought land and set up a ranch near Sacramento, but during the Gold Rush sold most of his cattle and land.[25] He returned to San Jose which was still a small pueblo with 20-30 adobe huts, the style of which was not to his liking; he ordered a frame house from Boston which was delivered to San Francisco by ship via Cape Horn, and he assembled it himself.[26] Cattle raising was the major primary industry in the valley, because the summers were hot and the land was covered with wild mustard, but the Murphys wanted to try growing cereals to prove that they could be grown in these conditions.[27] The family was generous;, they supported the local community, and the new Santa Clara College at Santa Clara.[28] They were pioneers in all their endeavours, and their efforts contributed to making the area thrive.

Edweard Muybridge was a man with advanced ideas who came from England in 1855. He became a successful bookseller, then a photographer who developed fast film processing techniques which he introduced to Leyland Stanford.[29] He

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[22] Murphy Family, C-D 792:1, pp. 10-16.
[23] W. R. McQuoid, A letter to Hurbert Howe Bancroft 7 1.A.I.S., p. 1, Hurbert Howe Bancroft Collection, C-D 792:5, p. 1, September 13, 1888, Bancroft Library, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA; Turner; Missouri Digital Heritage Collections, Letter No.106, cdm.sos.mogov/odm4/results.php?CISOOP+any, accessed 3.11. 2012.
[24] Frederick Jackson Turner Articulates the Frontier Thesis, 1895, reprinted in Ray Allen Billington, [ed.], *The Frontier Thesis: Valid Interpretation of American History?* New York, 1977, pp. 10-20, also cited in *Major Problems in American History: Volume II: Since 1865,* [eds], Hoffman & Gjerde, p. 50.
[25] Murphy Family C-D 792:1, pp.17-20.
[26] *Ibid.,* p. 20; Turner.
[27] Murphy Family, C-D 792.1, pp. 20-21; Third correction, notes for the corrections of the Murphy Biography, 21 typescript, 1888, p. 2, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, Berkeley University, Berkeley, CA.
[28] Murphy Family, C-D 792:5, pp. 2-3.
[29] Douglas, n.p.n.

invented the zoopraxisscope, a device that used multiple cameras, whereby pictures were projected extremely rapidly from rotating glass discs giving the effect of movement. With this machine, he was able to show Stanford that, at one stage when one of his horses was racing, it had all four feet off the ground simultaneously, something that previously puzzled Stanford.[30] He also produced a fast camera-shutter which enabled him to show a succession of movements; this was the forerunner of the modern movie.[31] His books on human and animal movement are still being published. At a time when technology was rising in popularity, he and his inventions became well-known, thus drawing attention to what was being done in Santa Clara Valley.[32] It was an early example of the introduction of a new technology, something for which the area was to become famous.

Immigrants from Spain continued to come to Santa Clara Valley, even after California was an American state. Antonio Saperra ran away from home when he was twelve, and became a cabin boy on a merchant ship, because he wanted to travel.[33] Leaving his ship in New York in 1903, he was taken by a labour contractor to work in Sacramento and the San Joaquin Valley. By that time, he spoke Italian and English. In Santa Clara Valley, he started a business selling fish, pigs and fruit, drove his truck for a cannery and owned a fruit stand.[34] His place on the landscape was earned by his energy and business acumen.

Some of the future citizens of Santa Clara Valley came by way of Hawaii. The Sanchez family from Spain were originally farmers and owned a bakery.[35] The father first travelled to the United States, but returned home, and, in 1907, took his family to Hawaii, travelling via the Horn. Despite purchasing property there, he and his family moved yet again, this time to California, choosing the Santa Clara Valley for their new home. His son, John, became a foreman at the Sunsweet cannery, one of the

[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Mitchell Leslie 'The Man Who Stopped Time' in *Stanford Alumini*, May-June, 2001, https://alumini.stanford.edu/get/page/magazine/article_id=39117 , accessed 31. 1. 2018.
[33] Austen D. Warburton, *Santa Clara Sagas,* California History Centre and Foundation, Cupertino, CA, 1996, pp. 66-7.
[34] Warburton, p. 68.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

main providers of employment in the valley.[36] After all their travelling, they found their place in the valley.

In 1919, the Ruiz family left Spain and settled in Hawaii where they worked in the cane fields for six years, before moving to Santa Clara County, where the father worked in an apricot orchard and the others picked prunes.[37] The daughter, Mary, married Luis Menacho, another Spaniard whose family moved to Hawaii prior to leaving for Santa Clara Valley. Luis worked in a cannery before opening a grocery store, a beer parlour and a liquor store.[38] These Spanish families were hard working and took advantage of their opportunities in their new land to establish their own place in the landscape.

Antonio Rodriguez was another Spaniard whose family travelled to Hawaii where his father was an overseer for a sugar cane company.[39] Like so many others of his countrymen, he and his family travelled to California, arriving in San Francisco in 1913 and moving to Santa Clara Valley in 1918. Antonio bought a grocery store and entered local politics, serving twice as mayor of Santa Clara.[40] In this way, one of the Rodriguez family was involved in the management of an important city in the valley. Many of Santa Clara's immigrants became involved in civic affairs, something that would not be possible in their native country.

In the late 1840s, Portuguese came to California to search for gold, and later moved down to Santa Clara Valley to farm. They all wanted land which was denied to those who came from the Azores, a group of islands in the North Atlantic Ocean belonging to the Portuguese but later arrivals wanted to work in the whaling industry. Most of the men were avoiding military service.[41] They were employed in dairies and

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[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 71-73.
[37] *Ibid.*, p. 76.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 63.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[41] Meg Rogers with support from the Portuguese Historical Museum. *The Portuguese in San Jose,* Mount Pleasant, SC*,* 2007, p. 7.

on farms, were able buy land, build homes and set up societies to help their communities.[42] But in 1917, President Woodrow Wilson called for a literacy test for people from the Azores, eighty percent of whom were uneducated. This was to be a test, supposedly to give would-be immigrants an opportunity to enter the United Sates, not hinder them.[43] The literacy test became law in 1917, but in 1921, 1924 and 1929, Congress set a limit of 150,000 immigrants annually fearing an influx of people who might become a burden on the country; this effectively decreased the Portuguese quota even more with only 440 being allowed to enter the United States annually.[44] However, those who were desperate to immigrate found other ways to enter the country; they came through Canada, Brazil, or were helped by their relatives.[45] A descendant of two eager immigrants described how they boarded a ship in the Azores and jumped overboard when their ship was approaching New York. They found employment while they were on the East Coast, and eventually made their way to Santa Clara Valley; they learned new skills, became well-known business men in their adopted country, and employed and assisted Americans who were there in that space before them.[46] By 1920, Santa Clara was one of the counties with a large number of Portuguese.[47] However, not every Portuguese came to California willingly.

Joseph Soares, born in Portugal in the 1860s, was kidnapped by his uncle and taken to sea to be a whaler. He escaped when his ship arrived in Boston, later making his way to Santa Clara Valley, where he worked in the Lick Mill, and later on the Southern Pacific Railroad; his family were employed in the orchards.[48] In spite of his unhappy start in life, he was a useful citizen in the New World.

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Nevins, et al, p. 296.
[44] *The Immigration and Naturalisation Act of 1924,* immigrationtoUnitedStates.org/590-immigration-act-of-1924,html, accessed 6. 2. 2017; Nevins, et al, p. 296.
[45] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[46] Oral Interview with John Torres, 5. 6. 2011, Santa Clara, CA.
[47] Rogers, p. 67.
[48] Warburton, p. 44.

The King of Hawaii travelled to both the Azores and the Madeira Archipelago which are situated in the North Atlantic Ocean to find people who would bring their families to Hawaii and work on farms growing sugarcane and pineapples.[49] Beginning in 1880, 4,000 Portuguese went to Honolulu, where life was very difficult. After ten years, some of them left Hawaii and came to Santa Clara Valley and, in the early twentieth century, another wave followed, all of whom found employment harvesting fruit and working in the canneries. Others came independently from the Azores seeking similar opportunities, while those who did not want to work in the fruit industry developed the first dairies in the valley.[50] In this way, the Portuguese, after following an indirect path to the valley, were making a place for themselves in the rapidly developing area. But, in the early twentieth century, Portuguese residents did not become American citizens, and showed no interest in doing so.[51] This was not unexpected seeing that in the Azores they were not treated as citizens.

Life in the Azores was difficult; from the 15th century, one family on each island owned all the land, and the peasants could only work on the steep, rocky margins that remained.[52] Jose Pires Azevedo left the Azores in 1872 and came to California via Massachusetts; he was eighteen, illiterate, and he wanted to own land.[53] He anglicised his name to Joe Peters and received 160 acres of public land under the *Homestead Act*, while planning to become a citizen.[54] He prospered and bought another farm in partnership with a friend.[55] This farmer showed his appreciation of his new country by following his dream to own land and cultivate it. His story was typical of those who came from the Azores.

In 1883, Paul De Souza, a young man from the Azores, was about to be called up for service with the Portuguese Army, so, taking the name of a recently deceased

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[49] *Ibid.,* p. 10.
[50] *Ibid.*
[51] U.S Bureau of the Census, Immigration and their children, 1920, pp. 262-63, 265, cited in Rogers, p. 70.
[52] Rose Emery Peters, *Footprints in the Soil: A Portuguese-Californian Remembers,* Portuguese Heritage Publications, San Jose, CA, 2003, p. 21.
[53] *Ibid*.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 18-21.
[55] *Ibid.,* pp. 32, 40.

brother, he fled on a ship sailing for the United States.[56] Off the coast of New York State, he dived into the ocean, made his way to land and travelled to California. He met up with friends and started farming with them; he bought land, and continued to add to add to it.[57] His son, Paul, became a successful realtor in the South Bay area.[58] They took their place in the space that was known as Santa Clara Valley farming and producing the crops that made that area famous.

The Moore family, originally from England, arrived in Santa Clara, via Canada. Their son was a yard foreman for Pacific Manufacturing Company in Santa Clara Valley, but in 1928 he became the superintendant of Santa Clara Catholic Cemetery, while, at the same time, managing a prune orchard and a berry farm to raise an income for the Parish.[59] Here was an example of one person developing a range of skills and making a difference to the changing layers that made up the valley.

William Campbell from Scotland came to Santa Clara Valley in 1846 with a party of 175 people travelling overland from Missouri to Oregon and California via the Oregon Trail.[60] He lived in an adobe house at the former Santa Clara Mission and joined the California Riflemen. This enabled him to serve in the Battle of Santa Clara during the Mexican-American War. Later he bought land and grew wheat and, when he was appointed the land surveyor for San Jose, he drew the town plan.[61] William Campbell was one of the plethora of talented immigrants in Santa Clara Valley.

Alberto Porta was born in Italy in 1852 and trained as both an engineer and an architect, before travelling to Guatemala and later Santa Clara Valley in 1900, where he was a member of the professorial staff of the Santa Clara University from 1907-

[56] Oral Interview with Paul De Souza, 19th May, 2010.
[57] *Ibid.*
[58] *Ibid*.
[59] Warburton, pp. 54-56.
[60] Lorie Garcia, 'The Immigrants Who Built Santa Clara', *Telling the Santa Clara Story: Sesquicentennial Voices,* [ed], Russell K. Skowronek, Santa Clara, CA, 2002, p. 96.
[61] *Ibid.*

1914.[62] He used his skills to further the studies of young Californians, thus enhancing their opportunities of making their place in the landscape of Santa Clara Valley.

Like many other immigrants to Santa Clara Valley, those who came from Italy were avoiding military service and some of them were reluctant to commit to staying permanently. Both the paternal and maternal sides of Maria Costa's family made several attempts to reside in the United States; first they tried gold mining, but were unsuccessful, and returned to Italy.[63] Her paternal grandfather also came with his family to Santa Clara Valley to avoid army service, while the maternal grandparents decided to try again.[64] One grandfather started a successful mining store; the other one later helped the president of the Bank of Italy during the 1906 earthquake by helping him make loans from cash held in a wheel barrow to fellow Italians who were homeless.[65] These Italians were fortunate at this time to miss the effects of union inspired hostility against people from southern Europe.

Violence flared up against Italian Americans in 1890 and quickly grew worse. For 20 years the unions declared that their dislike of Italian immigrants was related to the economy, but the reality was that they were openly racist.[66] In 1891, fourteen Italians were lynched in New Orleans. There was a stand-off while the American government refused to recognise that the fault was with the Americans.[67] Finally, Congress agreed to pay the Italian government $5,000 per head for all those killed. [68] This was obviously unfair to the Italian Immigrants. The *Immigration Act of 1891* made it very clear who was good enough to be accepted into the United States:

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[62] Library Folder, Archives of Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, CA, no other information.
[63] Oral interview with Maria Costa, Mountain View, CA, 13. 5. 2010.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid.*
[66] Library Of Congress, Immigration -Italian, https://www.loc.gov/teachers/classroommaterials/presentationandactivities/presentations/immigration/Italians8. html, accessed 7. 2. 2017.
[67] Encyclopaedia of American Foreign Policy, 2002, Immigration, Encyclopaedia.com, accessed 13. 1. 2015.
[68] *Ibid.*

idiots, the insane and paupers were first on the list to be excluded. There was no charity; no one who could become a burden on the state was wanted.[69]

The men in the Taranto family, on both the maternal and paternal sides, left Italy to avoid being drafted into the army. Some bred horses in Paradise Valley south of San Jose, others developed orchards, where they planted grape vines and tomatoes between the rows of fruit trees, while others worked on the railroad.[70] They were typical of many others who came from Europe. Many of the immigrants brought new ideas to the valley from their homelands, all of which contributed to the successful industries, both primary and secondary, that were then being established by a number of nationalities. The Tarantos were not wealthy, they borrowed money to travel to the United States, and cross the country by train to California. Seven of the brothers and a sister worked in a cannery and, eventually, they were able to buy a large house in San Jose.[71] As the family prospered, each of the children was educated at a private school and attended university. Under the guidance of their mother, the family started a thriving business which sold local horticultural products and it continues to do so.[72] As with all these ventures in the valley, not only did these commercial efforts provide employment for many people, but their products, fresh, dried or canned were sold all over the country.[73]

Although his Italian immigrant parents did not achieve fame, Amadeo Gianini did. Through hard work, he founded the Bank of Italy and was at the head office in San Francisco in 1906, when the disastrous earthquake struck.[74] Undeterred, he put money in a wheelbarrow as mentioned earlier and standing on a street corner, where he was easily accessible, he personally gave the money to those who were devastated by the disaster. Such was his position in the Italian community, that the deals were sealed with handshakes and promises to repay the loans, when the crops

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[69] US legislation online, *1891 Immigration Act*, 51st Congress, March 3, 1891, http://library.uwb.edu/static/usimmigration/1891_immigration_act_html, accessed 20.10. 2016.
[70] Oral interview with Carla Taranto, San Jose, CA, 14. 5. 2010.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] *Ibid.*
[73] Frederick W. Marrazzo, *Images of America: Italians in the Santa Clara Valley,* Charleston, SC, 2007, p. 7.
[74] Oral Interview with Carla Taranto.

were harvested and sold.[75] In spite of the ongoing consequences of the earthquake, all the mortgages were repaid; this way of both doing business, and helping unfortunate people was traditional among Italians. He was a pioneer in local banking, while his Bank of Italy continued to grow, and finally evolved into the now internationally-known Bank of America.[76] Gianini's success was an inspiration to many others and a large contribution to the valley's landscape.

But there were always obstacles in the way of would-be immigrants and some of the worst offences came from biased immigration officials. By the 1920s, there were complaints from some of these administrators that Polish and Russian Jews were 'filthy, un-American and often dangerous in their habits'.[77] One consul complained that he was forced to give visas to Hungarians, Gypsies and Jews 'who were all barbarians'. In the United States Foreign Service, it appeared that nativism was rampant again.[78] Members of the Service were all white, prejudiced against foreigners and, from the late nineteenth century, continued to maintain a negative influence on American immigration policy. William J. Carr, who was in charge of the consular service from 1909 to 1937, was an anti-Semitic and a nativist. He was responsible for the formation of immigration policy and, in his position as a 'skilled and manipulative bureaucrat', he was in charge of forwarding anti-immigration reports from consular officials to those officials who most wanted to restrict immigration. Despite his influence, some consular officials in Germany during the 1930s were free of bias and worked to bring Jewish people to the United States.[79]

People came from Yugoslavia in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first arrivals went to the Gulf Coast in Mexico to cultivate oysters, before coming west to mine and later establish a number of business enterprises in San Francisco. Others came to Santa Clara Valley and worked in the orchards, canneries and the fruit

[75] *Ibid.*
[76] *Ibid.*
[77] Encyclopaedia of American Foreign Policy.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] *Ibid.*

drying and packing industries in Santa Clara Valley.[80] By 1910, they owned orchards in Mountain View and were growing apricots.[81] Eventually, Mountain View became a centre for immigrants from many European countries: Portuguese, Germans and English, many of whom were employed on the building of the new railroads.[82]

From the 1850s to the 1880s, due to unrest in the German States, groups of Germans came to Santa Clara Valley, and were known as the German Colony.[83] Frederick Christian Franck came to the United States in 1845 and settled in the valley ten years later, where he established a saddle and harness business, developed property and was one of the incorporators of the Bank of Santa Clara.[84] In 1871 he was elected to the State Legislature, and in 1894 he became a State Senator.[85] Like so many other immigrants, he used his abilities in a number of unrelated fields all of which were important to the landscape in which he lived.

Russia wanted a foothold in California and in order to achieve this aim, they built their original settlements in Northern California, on the north coast.[86] In 1805, the first would-be settlers saw the potential of the area as an agricultural centre, a possible source of food for Russian northern outposts, but their government was only interested in the furs which they supplied from otters, whales and seals. They lacked experience in the necessary industries of shipbuilding as well as growing crops. The Spanish authorities told their Viceroy to leave Spanish territory, but they refused.[87] When the Spanish left California in 1820, and the Mexicans were in charge, the Russians thought of leaving; America, England and France wanted them to go, but the lack of otters was the deciding point in influencing the Russians, combined with a

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[80] Mary Schmich, Tracing Yugoslavian Heritage, *Times Tribune,* n.d., Yvonne Jacobson Collection, Box 1, Cupertino History Centre and Foundation, De Anza College, Cupertino, CA.
[81] Michelle Jacobson Collection, Folder No. 2, 88-168, Cupertino History Centre, Cupertino, CA.
[82] Ruthann Richter, ' Mountain: A World of difference', *Times Tribune*, n.d., Michelle Jacobson Collection, Item 25, Box 1, Cupertino History Centre, Cupertino, CA.
[83] Garcia, p. 98.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] Emil Theodore Hieronymis Bunje, H. Penn & Frederich Joseph Schmitz, *Russian California, 1805-1841,* California Cultural Research sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley, Ca, 1937… written under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration, District 8, Official Project 65-3-4225, Symbol 1874, p. 3.
[87] *Ibid.,* pp. 3-8.

lack of help from the Russian Government, the refusal of the Mexican Government to sell land to them and the unfriendliness of the Californios. Although they were not legal immigrants in California, the Russians were conducting business in the Santa Clara Valley from 1806, when they began trading with the missionaries for much-needed supplies of food and were most impressed by the business acumen of the priests, noting that it was not 'the first time' these people conducted trading negotiations.[88] But the Russians were not welcome and Mexico demanded that they leave California.[89] The United States was also wary of strangers settling on the West Coast.

The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 stated that the United States did not tolerate any European settlement on its mainland, or its islands south of the 54 degrees 50 minutes parallel. Despite what the Russians said about the reasons for leaving, the real incentive for their withdrawal in 1824 was the Monroe Doctrine.[90] Under the *Russo-American Treaty of 1824* the Russians agreed not to establish any settlement on the American continent.[91] When they left, in 1841, John Sutter, a settler in the Sierras, bought all their properties, cattle and sheep and armaments.[92]

In 1850, after much smaller attempts to immigrate, there were 48 Russians in California and, by 1900, there were 3,421. But this Census states that it includes in this figure Germans, Ukrainians, Armenians and Jews; prior to 1900, the figure included Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians and Finns in the same category.[93] After the Russian Revolution, the 1920 Census categorised immigrants by their native languages, but this was not completely satisfactory, because there were many languages other than Russian spoken in Russia.[94]

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[88] George H. Von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World,* Ridgewood NI,1968, Chapter 2, pp. 175-176, cited in Pitti, p. 20.
[89] C. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California: The Hijar-Padres Colony and Its Origins,* San Francisco, CA, 1937, n.p.n, also referenced in Pitti, p. 25.
[90] Hoover Institution for War, Revolution and Peace at Stanford, 'XXX111 US Census Data & Analyse: 'Russians in CA', Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.
[91] *Ibid*.
[92] *Ibid.,* pp. 20-35.
[93] Hoover Institution.
[94] *Ibid.*

By 1907 there was a decline in the number of immigrants from Northern Europe and Great Britain and there were more Russians and Italians arriving, but Northern European influence remained strong.[95] This was in accordance with the thinking of the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher who, speaking from his pulpit on the subject of immigration declared that he preferred the 'dominant races' as immigrants, because they, 'the Irish, English, German and Scotch are always wanting to improve themselves' which he believed meant that in the future, no one would be prepared to do the menial work.[96]

By 1870, earlier Northern Europeans immigrants were thoroughly Americanised and many of them were leaders in their fields and owners of products sold internationally: Westinghouse, Heinz, Pfizer.[97] However, there were large numbers of former immigrants from the same area who were unskilled workers; industrialisation meant that there was less demand for skilled workers which equated to unemployment for many of them. As a result, there was an increase in labour unrest leading to strikes.[98] These mounting problems with their violence and even deaths resulted in the formation of labour unions which were opposed by businessmen who feared the resulting threats to the economy and the rights of property owners, but other groups from all sections of the community agreed with them.[99] However, the workers needed the unions and membership increased as a result of existing repressive working conditions and low wages.[100]Two former immigrants from Germany formed the American Federation of Labour which became popular with workers because of its platform of just wages, hours and working conditions. Various unions were still striking, but trade unionism became stronger.[101] Large numbers of immigrants from Northern Europe were involved as members and leaders with the unions.[102]

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[95] Immigration in the Gilded Age.
[96] Gyory, p. 248.
[97] *Ibid.*
[98] *Ibid.*
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] *Ibid.*
[101] *Ibid.*
[102] *Ibid.*

In order to avoid the French Revolution, Pedro De Saisset who graduated from the University of Paris in 1847 was sent from Paris to San Francisco after a voyage around the Horn that lasted 135 days.[103] He was employed in a number of capacities: Vice Consul for the French Government, owner of the Electric Brush Company, and after moving to the Santa Clara Valley, he founded the de Saisset Museum in Santa Clara. Later, he returned to Paris, in his official capacity, and, despite his sudden departure earlier, he was feted and invited to select people for positions in the upper echelons of the military.[104] He was also asked by the Republican Club to choose its next president.[105] Back in Santa Clara Valley, his duties were sometimes mundane, being asked for references, one of which was for a young man who was applying for a position at the New Almaden Mine.[106] He also owned a farm, indicating that his interests were extensive and made a large contribution to developing the landscape.[107]

Louis Pellier came to the valley from France in 1849 to try his luck in gold mining, but he was not successful.[108] However, he brought with him vines and fruit trees from his own nursery and, in 1850, he bought land in San Jose and established a nursery, orchard and grew flowers and plants. His brother joined him bringing cuttings of well known French grape vines.[109] In 1854, Louis sent Pierre to France to select the best varieties of fruit trees from all areas. Another brother, John, worked for two years with him to gather stock. They returned with a large selection of cuttings of fruit trees: prunes, cherries, pears and plums.[110] In 1854-1855, another Frenchman, Lavelle, imported fruit trees and planted then in nurseries and orchards.[111] An Irishman, Bernard S. Fox worked for Commodore Stockton before buying his own

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[103] Library Folder, separate, no identification, Santa Clara University Archives, Santa Clara, CA.
[104] Box 1, Folder 5, 986.086, Santa Clara University Archives, Santa Clara, CA.
[105] *Ibid.*
[106] Box 2, Folder 23, 986-086, Santa Clara University Archives, Santa Clara, CA.
[107] Box 2, Folder 69, 986.086, Santa Clara University Archives, Santa Clara, CA.
[108] Santa Clara County Genealogy, History of Santa Clara County, Chapter XII, Eugene Sawyer [ed.], 1922, n.p.n. www.sfgenealogy.com/santaclara/history/schist12.htm, accessed 7.1. 2016.
[109] H.S.Foote, 'Louis & Pierre Pellier' in *Pen Pictures of the Garden of the World,* or *Santa Clara County, California, Illustrated,* Chicago, Ill, p. 172, 1888, reproduced in *Santa Clara County Biographies,* p. 1. www.calarchives4u.com/Biographies/santaclara/sc, accessed 7. 1. 2016.
[110] *Ibid.*; Santa Clara County Genealogy, sfgenealogy.com, *History of Santa Clara County,* Chapter XII, Eugene T. Sawyer, [ed.], Los Angeles, CA.1922.
[111] Santa Clara Genealogy.

property three miles from San Jose, where he planted 126 acres as orchards and rented 150 acres as nurseries.[112] At the same time, James R. Lowe, a professional botanist came from England and, while working for a Major Hensley with a property in San Jose, he introduced many rare plants; his stock was continually replenished by supplies from the garden of his former employer, the Duke of Devonshire.[113]

With its ideal situation to produce many kinds of fruit, the valley was able to fill a need for local residents at a time, when one apple in San Francisco cost one dollar.[114] Experts in different fields of horticulture came from other countries and added their expertise, so that the space that was Santa Clara Valley became self sufficient, not only in the supplies of fruit that grew so profusely, but also in the reproduction of trees and vines.

During the 1880s and 1890s, when there was a substantial increase in immigration, three young Harvard graduates formed the Immigration Restriction League because they were concerned about the country's inability to absorb and integrate so many immigrants into all the differing aspects of American life.[115] They did make a distinction between those who came from England, Ireland and Germany and those who came from Italy and Eastern Europe declaring that the latter would never be capable of becoming fully-fledged citizens.[116] Although the movement began in Boston, it quickly spread throughout the country; its principal object being to ask Congress to establish a literary test that would be applied to all immigrants coming from Europe, in order to limit the numbers attempting to enter the United States.[117] With the support of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Congress passed the bill;

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[112] *Ibid.*
[113] *Ibid.*
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] Immigration to the United States, 1789-1930, Harvard Open Library Open Collections Programme, oep.hul.harvard.edu/immigration/restrictionleague, accessed 25. 2. 2016.
[116] *Ibid.*
[117] *Ibid.*; U.S Dept of State: Office of the Historian, The Immigration Test of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act), Milestones: 1921-1936, http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-Act, accessed 25. 2. 2016.

each test would consist of 40 words in any selected language. Not everyone agreed with the test; some said it was un-American. However, it became law in 1917.[118]

Prior to 1917, immigration was unlimited with almost ten million immigrants legally admitted to the United States.[119] After World War One, immigration continued to be high, especially from Eastern and Southern Europe. The Immigration Restriction League's role diminished, although its original point of view remained popular.[120] Despite the main aim of the literacy test being to limit entry to the country, its application was flawed: when a family arrived, the test was applied to the father and, if he passed, the rest of the family was admitted also.[121] In 1920-1921, 1,000,000 Europeans tried to enter the United States and only 1,400 were refused.[122]

Americans feared that Russians or Eastern Europeans were either Bolsheviks or radicals of some kind and that translated into a concern that the United States could also experience revolution.[123] As a reaction to these forebodings, in 1921, it was decided to reduce each country's quota by three percent which was to be based on the number of each nation's nationals determined in the 1910 census. The total number of immigrants admitted in future would be 357,000.[124] During World War One, Hispanics who were already working in defence industries and farming were exempt from any quota system; African-Americans were ignored as being uneducated and poor. By the 1920s, one-third of the population were immigrants and their families.[125] The government wanted a predominantly white and Protestant population and to achieve this the quota was lowered to the two percent of the 1890 census with the total capped at 150,000. Between 1924 and after World War Two, only three million were accepted.[126] The Polish quota which was set at 95,000 was reduced to 10,000 with the intention of keeping out people of Jewish origin; being

[118] Immigration to the United States, 1789-1830.
[119] Immigration Act of 1924, immigrationtounitedstates.org/590-immigrqtion-act-of-1924.html, accessed 25. 2. 2016.
[120] Immigration to the United States, 1789-1930.
[121] Immigration Act of 1924.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] *Ibid.*
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] *Ibid.*

unable to obtain visas under the Nazi regime, only a few thousands with high educational standards were admitted, but the British quota was increased to 50,000 and the Germans 45,000. During the Depression of the 1930s and during World War Two, stricter enforcement of the rules acted in decreasing European immigration.[127] There was no change until 1952.[128] It was apparent that the real purpose of the Act of 1924 was to keep the population of the United States as similar as possible.[129]

European immigration to Santa Clara Valley increased when the Government introduced the *Homestead Act*, by which land was made readily available to those who wanted to travel to the West Coast; sometimes it was free but always it was there for those who made the long journey. It was pre-eminently the main reason why so many travellers who were denied land in their own countries made the journey across the Atlantic Ocean. It was also perceived to be a haven for those attempting to avoid military service in their homelands. But there were others who came with the express purpose of introducing their horticultural ideas to a place where the climate and soil were so ideal for their purposes. Immigrants from Europe and the British Isles together contributed their skills to a valley that became known for its produce; most undertook perilous journeys across the plains and through the mountain passes, many of whom became leaders in their community. Santa Clara Valley changed through the efforts of these immigrants; the Spanish influence remained, but this landscape was now completely altered. In Chapter Eight, I will show how the entire valley changed as immigrants came to take part in the world of Information Technology.

[127] U.S. Dept. of State.
[128] Immigration Act of 1924.
[129] U.S. Department of State.

Chapter Eight: Immigration and Globalisation

Santa Clara Valley was known throughout the United States for its prolific fruit growing; in the 1980s, there was a large, colourful sign on Highway 101 that indicated to travellers that they were in the vicinity of this very productive area: 'The Fruit Bowl of America'.[1] The people who owned the orchards, those who worked in the orchards and canneries and the inventors of the equipment that improved productivity contributed to the success story. But, it was the fertile land and the climate that made the valley what it was. Without those qualities, there would not be 'The Valley of Heart's Delight', as it was believed to be by many who knew it.[2] People migrated to the valley for the 'California Dream', as well as the sunshine, surf and the Sierras.[3] San Jose's population was growing; in 1900 it was 21,500, in 1960 it was 204,196 and 2002 it was 894,943.[4] This era of orchards and agriculture was coming to an end and it was anticipated that there would be a new era in which there would be no further 'drudgery and boredom'.[5] New technologies would be introduced and there would be a change to service industries and the processing of chemicals, plastics and synthetics; there was a possibility that industrial robots would be used.[6] Technology would become very powerful and people in the valley would need to be prepared for the changes that followed.[7] Californians were ready to try anything because they were used to the concept of experimentation.[8] This chapter will discuss the introduction of high technology to the valley, the immigrants who came from overseas to work, and the effect of globalisation.

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[1] Personal reminiscence of the author.
[2] Michael S. Malone, *The Valley of Heart's Delight: A Silicon Valley Notebook 1963-2001,* New York, 2002, (an expression common to the valley).
[3] *Peninsula Times Tribune*, n.p.n., 15. 10. 1979, Cupertino History Centre, De Anza College, Cupertino, CA.
[4] Bay Area Census, www.BayAreaCensus.ca.gov/cities/SanJose50.htm, accessed 25. 4. 2018.
[5] Joseph C. Gris, *Peninsula Times Tribune,* 1.10.1979, p. 5, Cupertino History Centre, De Anza College, Cupertino, CA.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] Nathan Rosenberg, *Peninsula Times Tribune,* 1.10.1979, p. 5, Cupertino History Centre, De Anza College, Cupertino, CA.
[8] AnnaLee Saxenian, *Silicon Valley's New Immigrant Entrepreneurs*, San Francisco, CA, 1999, p. iii.

In 1880, government taxation laws changed, but not in favour of the farmers; at the same time, the soil was considered to be no longer suitable for agriculture which meant that farming was no longer profitable. As a result, there was an increase in the number of orchards, the concerns about soil suitability being of no major concern to potential fruit growers.[9] By 1947, land in Santa Clara Valley was selling for $2,000 per acre with inflation being the result of large companies looking for land that suited their building plans.[10] Following this, there was a demand for housing.[11] This was seen as the 'beginning of the end of orchard land'.[12] To add to the problems faced by orchardists, once again the Federal Government increased taxation levies. Many orchardists sold their properties, but, in 2011, there were still 1,000 farms and orchards in Santa Clara County with an average size of 300 acres.[13] During the centuries of human habitation, those who came to the valley put down many layers of improvements in the landscape through their work in agriculture and horticulture, thus enhancing the valley and the lives of those who worked there.

In 1970, San Jose was a city of 137 square miles with a population of 459,000; in 1980, it was 629,000 and by 2010, the area had increased to 337 square miles and the population was 946,000.[14] There was pressure to sell land because of the high taxes and there were big profits to be made. But developers were prepared to pay these inflated prices, because these costs were subsidised by the city via taxpayers.[15] Santa Clara County helped developers by offering inducements such as permitting smaller lot sizes, reducing some of the severe construction conditions, offering very low charges for infrastructure extensions with the assurance that the county would almost assuredly approve rezoning of the area to be developed so that there would not be any delays.[16] In spite of the assistance from the county

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[9] Ben Koning & Anneke Metz with the Sunnyvale Historical Society, *Images of America: Sunnyvale,* Charleston, SC, 2010, p. 27.
[10] Tiffney Carney, *San Jose Mercury News*, 'Tikvica family's history: orchard business bloomed in Silicon Valley', 12. 1. 2012.
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] Mike Cassidy, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Silicon Valley is still farm country', 24. 3. 2011.
[14] 'San Jose: Sprawling City: a Report on Land Use Policies in San Jose', CA, Stanford Environmental Law Society, March 1971, pp. 2-6, Cupertino History Centre, Cupertino, CA; Philip J. Trounstine & Terry Christiner, *Movers & Shakers: The Study of Community Power,* New York, p. 79, Cupertino History Centre, Cupertino, CA.
[15] San Jose:Sprawling City, p. 8.
[16] Trounstine & Christiner, p. 23.

authorities, the people of the valley were not entirely happy with the scale of immigration that resulted from the development.[17] Most of the residents who were involved in the fruit growing industry were used to employing immigrants from Japan, Portugal, Mexico and the Philippines, but they were disturbed by the unexpected influx from Bangladesh, Canada, China, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam and Japan.[18]

Potential builders and developers were attracted by not only the good climate, but the low taxes, the availability of land for both low and high rise buildings and the fact that there were no unions there.[19] Santa Clara Valley was also close to San Francisco the financial centre of the region; the local government was in favour of development; there were large areas available for use; technological industries were already established and the federal government was prepared to provide the funds for defence and aerospace projects.[20] By 1979, 200,000 of the population of Santa Clara County were directly or indirectly employed in the electronics industry and 20 of the largest manufacturing firms in the county were involved with defence, aerospace or electronic related industries.[21] The government allocated two billion dollars for defence contracts in Santa Clara County annually which was 3% of the national total.[22] As a result, companies involved in production for the defence forces were among the early employers; Lockheed Missiles and Space Company planned to add almost a million square feet to its plant near the Bayshore Freeway which would provide for 2,000 extra employees. This would bring the number employed at the Sunnyvale site to 17,800.[23]

Americans from other states began immigrating to California in larger numbers in the 1920s and that increased after World War II. With the influx of new arrivals, there was a need for extra infrastructure: water, sewerage, highways, airports and

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[17] J. A., English-Lueck, *cultures@siliconvalley,* Stanford, CA, 2002, p. 26.
[18] *Ibid.* p. 26.
[19] Trounstine & Christiner, pp. 89-90.
[20] *Ibid.,* p. 90.
[21] *Ibid.*
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] A clipping from the *Palo Alto Times* 6.11.n.y., n.p.n., Box 5, 10.11.1992, Hoover Institution for War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford University, Palo Alto, CA.

houses, all of which were funded by both federal and state governments.[24] There were changes, but a space does not need to remain the same; it can change to whatever is necessary to maintain a reasonable lifestyle, whether that is because of a government directive, or at the request of builders or companies.[25] During the 1980s in Silicon Valley, the workers did not live in the vicinity of their workplaces, but travelled in daily from outlying areas which were then known as 'dormitory communities'.[26] Technological industries were already advanced. Surprisingly, the 2010 census indicated that Santa Clara and the Bay Area gained residents at the slowest pace in nearly a century, as the population kept moving inland to the Central Valley, or to other states, although more immigrants moved into Silicon Valley to offset this.[27] The Public Policy Institute considered that the drift in population was not only due to job losses, but the high price of housing which continued over a long period.[28]

Santa Clara Valley was losing its identity as the orchards disappeared, and in 1971, there was an unofficial name change that was adopted by the technology companies, workers and the public. In 1971, Don Hoefler, a journalist, was writing a number of articles about the valley for *Electronic News* and, searching for a suitable title, he accepted the suggestion offered by the CEO of a local company: "Silicon Valley USA".[29] Silicon was of great importance in the electronic industry, being the element used in the electronic 'chip' that revolutionised technology.

In 1949, the magazine, *Popular Mechanics,* predicted that in the future computers would 'only weigh 1 ½ tons', whereas those at the time required an entire room for their operation.[30] However, with the invention of the integrated circuit, the semiconductor chip, that forecast was totally negated. In 1958, Jack Kilby, working at

[24] Troustine & Christiner, p. 91.
[25] Greg Dening, *Mr. Bligh's Bad Language*, New York, pp, 19, 84.
[26] Dennis Hayes, Behind the Silicon Curtain: The Seductions of Work in a Lonely Era, Boston, Mass, 1989, p. 122; reminiscences of John Lowery.
[27] Joe Rodriguez, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Valley growth shifts into a slower gear', 10. 3. 2011.
[28] *Ibid.*
[29] David A. Kaplan, *The Silicon Boys and Their Valley of Dreams,* New York, 1999, p. 73; Clarence Robert Tower, *Seventy Years in the Silicon Valley: An Anecdotal History,* Fairfield, CA, 2002. p. 9.
[30] Kaplan, p. 43.

Texas Instruments in Texas, attempted to produce an integrated circuit, but the idea did not proceed. However, he later received numerous awards, including the Nobel Prize in Physics in 2000.[31] In 1958, 6 months after Kilby's work was announced, Robert Noyce proposed that it could be possible 'to make multiple devices on a single piece of silicon' in order to make 'inter-connections between devices as part of the manufacturing process'.[32] This 'computer-on-a-chip' was considered to be one of the most important inventions of the 20th century, becoming the essential component of all computers and every other electronic device.[33] This microprocessor enabled small machines to carry out calculations previously performed by much larger ones. Where once computing tasks might have taken a week to perform, by the 21st century, they could be carried out in a minute or even less.[34] This new development with all its possibilities was seen as a leading contributor to the role of the United States in the globalisation of Information Technology, in the resulting involvement of other industries and, consequently, the global economy.[35]

Before Silicon Valley became a destination for international immigrants, the first entrepreneurs were residents: William Hewlett and David Packard who founded Hewlett-Packard and later Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak, the founders of Apple ; some came from other states: Bob Noyce from Iowa was co-founder of Fairchild Semiconductors, Larry Ellison founder of Oracle grew up in Chicago, Carol Bartz from Wisconsin was president and CEO of Yahoo, Scott McNealy, co-founder of Sun Microsystems came from Indiana and Gordon Moore, another of the founders of Fairchild Semiconductors lived in San Francisco. William Shockley, founder of Shockley Semiconductors and co-inventor of the transistor, although a long-time valley resident, was born in London, and was brought home to Palo Alto at the age of three.[36]

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[31] T. R. Reid, *The Chip: How Two Americans Invented the Microchip and Launched a Revolution,* New York, 2001 (1985), p. 96.
[32] *Ibid,* p. 9; PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, www.pbs.org/transistor/albumi/addibios/Noyce.html, accessed 22. 11. 2016.
[33] Leslie Berlin, *The Man Behind the Microchip: Robert Noyce and the Invention of Silicon Valley,* New York, 2005, p. 192.
[34] Norton, et al., p. 924.
[35] *Ibid.,* p. 994.
[36] Berlin, p. 9; Michael S. Malone, *Betting It All: The Entrepreneurs of Technology,* pp. 18, 108, 138,156; Reid, p. 50.

International specialists in Information Technology wanted to immigrate to the United States, travel to California and find employment in the famous centre. When employment in Silicon Valley increased, there was a need for experienced workers which meant more H-1B visas were issued to applicants from Asia, Canada, the United Kingdom and Russia.[37] Engineers throughout the world wanted to emmigrate to Silicon Valley, because they expected that through the new technology, they would be better off than continuing in their usual occupations which were becoming outdated.[38] Unfortunately, any person who immigrated under the auspices of the H-1B visa programme was obliged to remain with the company that originally sponsored them, unless he or she acquired another sponsor.[39] Such immigrants were unable to initiate a startup, nor were their wives able to work.[40] Unfortunately for immigrants, they were employed when and where there were vacancies with no attention paid by the employers to the requirements of immigration laws.[41]

As discussed in Chapter Six, when the first Chinese labourers immigrated to the West Coast of the United States in the 19th century, they were not well received and were subjected to vilification from the people in the area. In the years that followed, the federal government proclaimed a number of Acts in an attempt to control their entry according to government perceptions of their danger to the community. However, Chinese who migrated to Silicon Valley in the 20th century were not labourers; they came to work in the electronics industry, or study at California's most prestigious universities and, after the introduction of the *Hart-Celler Act of 1965*, they were no longer subject to racial discrimination.[42] Consequently, they began arriving in greater numbers.[43] While previous quotas set for each country were small and the authorities were more interested in country of origin than any other aspect, the new Act favoured immigrants with skills that were in short supply in

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[37] English-Lueck, p. 21.
[38] Hayes, p. 15.
[39] Vivek Wadhwa with Alex Salkever, *The Immigrant Exodus: Why America is Losing the Global Race to Capture Entrepreneurial Talent,* Philadelphia, PA, 2012, p. 13.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 13.
[41] Jorge Bustamante & A. S. Ross, 'New Law Fails to Stem Flow of Aliens', *San Francisco Examiner,* 1. 5. 1988, also referenced in Dennis Hayes, p. 55.
[42] AnnaLee Saxenian, 'Networks of Immigrant Entrepreneurs', in *The Silicon Valley* Edge: *A Habitat for Innovation and Entrepreneurship'*, [eds], Chong-Moon Lee, William F. Milles, Marguerite Gong Hancock, Henry S. Rowen, Stanford, CA, 2000, p. 248.
[43] Naquib & Pellow, p. 5.

the United States and whose relatives were already citizens or permanent residents of their new country.[44]

Chinese and Indian engineers and entrepreneurs came to Silicon Valley in ever-increasing numbers, so that by the 1980s and 1990s, they formed one third of the professional work force.[45] These improvements to the immigration system happened at the same time as industry in Silicon Valley was developing into the high-tech form for which it is known today. No longer were all the engineers Americans from the East Coast and the Midwest; as the electronics businesses increased production, so did the need grow for more skilled people to enter the workforce.[46]

In 1987, 7,000 of the 20,000 engineers working in Silicon Valley were born overseas, mostly from China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, France and Ireland.[47] So many qualified engineers were eager to immigrate to California that some of the large companies provided their own employment agencies. Not only were qualified people anxious to work in Silicon Valley, but large numbers from Taiwan, China, the Philippines, India, Pakistan and Iran came to study in Californian institutions.[48] Due to globalisation, it is now possible for people to immigrate to the United States and become successful entrepreneurs.[49] Some immigrants from India fear returning home because they feel they may not fit in there and that their families may find it difficult also. But with the entrepreneurial culture in India increasing so quickly, those returning should be able to adjust.[50]

The United States government was actively encouraging immigrants with qualifications that were needed in America and there were a number of Acts passed

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[44] Ibid., p. 249.
[45] *Ibid.*
[46] *Ibid.*
[47] *Ibid.*, p.164.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[49] Duke University and Berkeley University Study, Jan, 2008, also referenced by Ann Ali in, 'Can "Boomerang" Immigrant Go Home Again?, in *ITBusinessEdge,* 5. 2. 2008, http://www.itbusinessedge.com/cm/blogs/all/can-boomerang-immigrant-go-home-again/?c3=10294, accessed 5. 2. 2015.
[50] *Ibid.*

to assist this plan. The *McCarran-Walter Act of 1952* removed ethnicity as a barrier.[51] Previous quota systems were very selective: preference was given to those coming from Northern and Eastern Europe; there was a restricted quota for prospective immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and a very restricted quota for potential immigrants from Asia, Africa and the West Indies. In 1929, there were 150,000 places available: of these 51,227 places were reserved for Germans, but only 100 places were available for Greeks and none for Chinese.[52] The *Immigration Act of 1965* was intended to remedy all previous acts that showed bias towards immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe by increasing the intake.[53] But at that time, the situation in Europe was not conducive to emigrating and, as a result, the intake from Latin America and Asia was increased.[54]

Silicon Valley was described in 2007 as a 'test laboratory and market place for innovation and industry'.[55] The former Stanford Research Institute founded by Stanford University in 1946 and now a private company: SRI, Stanford Research International, is an example of this. Stanford Research International was a company which was not only innovative in its business practices, but was working globally prior to the idea becoming popular in Silicon Valley. When its services were required overseas, it was always able to call on the assistance of its offices throughout the world. Their advisors attended meetings throughout Europe to discuss technical developments and provide global strategic information, when and where it was required.[56] SRI travelled throughout the UK, Europe, Asia, Africa, Japan and the Caribbean providing expertise.[57] Beginning with one employee, its budget is now $55 million annually with help from the federal government and international sponsors.[58] Being associated with such a prestigious university as Stanford is an

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[51] David S. Fitzgerald & David Cook-Martin, 'The Geopolitical Origins of the United States*, Immigration Act of 1965'*, Migration Policy Institute, 5. 2. 2015, www.migrationpolicy.org/article/geopolitical=origins-us-immigrationact-1965, accessed 11. 4. 2016.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] Pellow & Sun-Hee-Park, p. 79.
[54] *Ibid*., p. 49.
[55] Scott Duke Harris, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'How globalisation strengthens the tech economy', 20. 11 .2007.
[56] SRI International Company Perspective, 1985, 'Japanese manufacturers working with SRI staff and Menlo Park scientists', *SRI Journal*, Dec. 6, 1966, *Twenty Years: The Story of SRI,* p. 7, Box 580, California Room, Martin Luther King Library, San Jose University, San Jose, CA.
[57] *Ibid*., p. 6.
[58] *Ibid.*

advantage.[59]

Ireland became a centre for high-tech research and product development, with Irish companies opening branches in Silicon Valley, where they hoped to attract American companies interested in new products.[60] At this time, the Irish economy was slowing and the stronger euro was making it more expensive for American companies to work in Ireland. 25 years earlier, the Irish government decided to try to decrease its high rate of emigration and this resulted in a fast-growing economy. Subsequently, the president of one of its universities travelled to Stanford University to study its role in the development of Silicon Valley.[61] This action resulted in large American companies employing 200,000 workers in Ireland, while 200 Irish companies employed 80,000 people in the United States with help from major Silicon Valley companies and venture capitalists.[62] This was an operation carried out without the need for any immigration. In 2010, an Irish Innovation Centre was set up in San Jose with 22 Irish companies participating; a grant was provided by the Irish government, an angel investment fund organised a loan and additional finance came from Irish and Irish-American tech executives.[63]

Other international companies and governments came to Silicon Valley seeking financial assistance. In 2011, the Israeli government brought a delegation of wealthy Information Technology companies to look at opportunities for forming partnerships with Silicon Valley banks, while a delegation from Berlin arrived seeking investment from local tech companies.[64] Silver Lake, a venture capital firm, offered overseas companies loans ranging from $25 million to $50 million.[65] Many of these companies established offices in, or nearby the valley so as to be close to potential investors for it was obvious that Silicon Valley was diversifying; it was also a centre

[59] *Ibid*., pp. 6-7.
[60] Pete Carey, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Rising high-tech powerhouse in Europe forges growing business ties with Silicon Valley', 6. 4. 2008.
[61] *Ibid.*
[62] *Ibid.*
[63] Peter Delevitt, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'The Irish are coming,-and so are the Germans, Israelis and Chinese',16. 3. 2011.
[64] *Ibid.*
[65] *Ibid.*

for biotech, medical devises, nanotech and solar power, being no longer focused solely on electronic projects.[66]

The global economy fluctuated along with changes in communication but, while globalisation of the tech industry was seen to be the means of improving the living standards of millions of people, it could also increase the gap between the rich and the poor. The fact that overseas students and trained engineers came to Silicon Valley, worked there and then returned home to start their own companies, indicated the value of this global exchange.[67] However, after working for a period in the valley and being successful, some immigrants wanted to be entrepreneurs and begin their own businesses.[68] Some Indian companies carry out customer support for American companies from their work places in India; because of the time differential they are able to work while America sleeps, and can provide customer service the following morning.[69] At the same time, a number of countries, including Australia, were searching overseas for highly qualified people to work in technology, hoping to emulate the success of the United States.[70] Unfortunately, while the American economy was recovering from the Global Economic Crisis, many Indians and Chinese began to consider whether they should stay and launch their own start-ups or return home.[71] Immigrants are often doubtful about proceeding, because they are unsettled and unable to make definite decisions.[72]

Although Silicon Valley is made up of many ethnic and cultural groups, these groups are not static; there is constant movement within the region as well as both in and out of the valley.[73] There is a vast difference between long-time immigrants and the newer arrivals. The Chinese are not all from one country, they are the result of previous immigrations to Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and every country from the

[66] Scott Duke Harris, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'How globalisation strengthens the tech economy', 25. 4. 2007.
[67] *Ibid.*
[68] Wadhwa with Alex Salkever, p. 62.
[69] Bill Gates & Collins Hemingway, *Business at the speed of Thought: Using a Digital Nervous System,* New York, 1999, p. 131.
[70] Wadhwa with Alex Salkever, p. 62.
[71] *Ibid.*
[72] Carter, p. 204.
[73] English-Lueck, p. 111.

Philippines to Burma.[74] The older mostly working-class immigrants resent the wealth, education and success of the new immigrants which they display so obviously.[75] However, first–generation Chinese are able to develop networks with their country of origin forming links between businesses overseas and those in the valley.[76] They are not isolated within their ethnic communities; they are able to form connections with companies in their homelands because of their advantages with language and knowledge of the culture.[77]

Immigrant Chinese and Indian professionals employed in Silicon Valley are increasingly returning home to their own countries. They came to study and work, but are drawn back to their homelands, because of better career opportunities, to be with their families, to live in familiar surroundings and, importantly for their futures, to join in the local, fast-growing economies.[78] Returning home, many are promoted to senior positions. In a recent survey of those who returned home, 50% replied that they planned to start their own companies within five years. All those interviewed hold multiple degrees, some with doctorates and, after working in Silicon Valley with their additional experience and skills, they are much better off financially in their homelands.[79] There are more opportunities to improve their economic position than in Silicon Valley and the people in their homeland are more positive. While 70% of Indians and 81% of Chinese say that there are better opportunities to start a business in their own countries, 14% of Indians and 5% of Chinese who return to the valley say that they receive more support there.[80] Those who return to India say that the economy is much better than when they left, their salaries are similar to what they earned in the United States and they are able to enjoy a good lifestyle.[81] In 2003, 15,000 Indians returned home and from then until 2007, 40,000 others left. There are incentives: Silicon Valley venture capitalists provide investment funds for them to

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[74] *Ibid.*, p. 113.
[75] English-Lueck, p. 133.
[76] Saxenian, 'Networks of Immigrants Entrepreneurs', pp. 258-289.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 258.
[78] Pete Carey, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Immigrant Chinese and Indians tech workers increasingly return home'. 3. 3. 2009.
[79] *Ibid.*
[80] M. Swift, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Reverse Brain Drain' as entrepreneurs return to India, China,' 27. 4. 2011.
[81] Misa Kamdae, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'A Reverse Exodus', 13. 5. 2007.

begin startups and there is a large market available for their products: 600 million people under the age of 25.[82] This will be referred to again later in the chapter.

When the Indian information technology industry began, it relied on employing low-cost engineers, but now it is hiring thousands of highly-paid specialists from Silicon Valley. It is difficult to hire Indian engineers in India, as many of the latter are working for large American companies that are already established there.[83] By 2011, India's largest information technology services company with an office in Santa Clara employed 2,100 Americans in the United States.[84] Although Indian companies continue to use cheap labour in India, they plan to hire more Silicon Valley engineers.[85] Already there are strong links between the technical industry in Silicon Valley and Bangalore, India.[86] In February 2018 new regulations were introduced that require companies with at least 15% of staff on H – IB visas to show that they tried to employ Americans but this is not necessary if the employees' salaries are at least $60,000 per annum. Some companies are now planning to start recruiting in American colleges to overcome shortages in the high-tech industries.[87]

At a meeting at the Microsoft Mountain View campus, 12 immigrants were interviewed about the "Reverse Brain Drain" that is a source of concern to companies. Half said they may be forced to decide to go home because of visa problems and they expect that there will be an alternative centre, where jobs will be created apart from Silicon Valley.[88] This expectation is to the liking of some politicians who want to keep skilled immigrants out of the United States for fear that, in a time of uncertainty and high unemployment, they may take the jobs of

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[82] *Ibid.;* John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Starting up', 3. 12. 2006.
[83] John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* no title, 5. 8. 2011.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*
[86] Saxenian, Networks of Immigrant Entrepreneurs', p.258.
[87] Laura Mechler & Laura Stevens, 'Fear of a Crackdown on H-1B programme Causes Rift Between Silicon Valley, Indian Tech Firms', *The Wall Street Journal*, from The InSource Group, 9. 2. 2018, https://www.insourcegroup.com/h-1b-rift-silicon-valley-indian-tech, accessed 21. 5. 2018.
[88] Vivek Wadheva, *Tech Crunch*, 'Why Silicon Valley Immigrant Entrepreneurs are returning home', http://techcrunch.com/2004/3/06/why-silicon-valley-immigrant-entrepreneurs-are-returning-home/, accessed 1. 5. 2017.

Americans.[89] But they forget that these immigrants generate jobs with their start-ups.[90] However, without permanent work visas, they cannot begin any study or buy a house, knowing that they are only temporary and somewhat tentative about becoming part of the local community.[91] But, in this new space, it is possible for the immigrant to do things he was not able to do before. [92] At the same time, Singapore and Canada are eager to bring not only their own people home, but other skilled workers as well. Under the new International Entrepreneur Parole law which came into force 14th March 2018, the Department of Homeland Security is able to permit foreign entrepreneurs to stay in the United States provided their businesses will be of benefit to Americans. They are only eligible to implement a startup venture.[93]

Not all Chinese immigrants come to Silicon Valley to work; many wealthy Chinese come to be near other Asian immigrants, close to good schools and to enjoy a good way of life.[94] But they need to be issued with an EB-5 visa and, to meet the necessary conditions, they are required to invest $500,000 in projects in areas, where the economy is in need of help, or provide $1,000,000 for a business venture elsewhere.[95] Such an investment must create and maintain ten jobs for two years. If the requirements are met, the investors and their children under the age of 21 are entitled to apply to become permanent citizens.[96]

The 2010 census shows a 13.8% increase in Santa Clara's population due to immigration; in 2000 the population was 102,000 of which 50% were white and 50% were Asian or Hispanic. In 2010 the population was 116,468 with 37.7% Asian, 19% Hispanic, and 36.1% white.[97] In 2016 the population was 125,948 with 39.5% Asian,

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[89] *Ibid.*
[90] *Ibid.*
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] Dening,*Islands and Beaches*, p. 32.
[93] International Entrepreneur Parole, U. S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, https://www.uscis.gov/humanitarian-parole/international-entrepreneur-parole, accessed 17. 3. 2018.
[94] John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Wealthy Chinese seek special visas to relocate to Bay Area', 7. 4. 2012.
[95] *Ibid.*
[96] *Ibid.*
[97] Joe Rodriquez, *San Jose Mercury News,* 10. 3. 2011.

16.9% Hispanic, and 35.4% white.[98] An indication of the diversity in the population is that the number of students in the Santa Clara Unified School District requiring assistance with reading and English increased from 2,971 in 2001 to 4,739 in 2011.[99] However, in 2016-2017 the number fell to 3,847.[100] Californian universities grant more than twice the number of engineering degrees to Asian students compared to universities in any other state.[101] In 2002, California's immigrant intake amounted to one-third of all immigration in the United States. From the perspective of many in the United States who do not entirely approve of this increase in the population, immigration appears to be problematic; however, when American companies export their manufacturing overseas, that is not a problem; it is seen as being part of the global economy.[102] Despite such attitudes, it is a fact that immigrants with their skills are necessary if the United States is to continue to be a leader in technology and innovation.[103] In February 2018, the California's population was 39.5 million, the most populous of all the states while the population of the United States was more than 326 million.[104]

The cities of Milpitas and Cupertino experienced many years of ever-increasing immigration from China, India, the Philippines and Vietnam, as the members of their communities brought their relatives to participate in the benefits of good schools in those particular areas.[105] Asians form 60% of the Milpitas and Cupertino population, and, where these immigrants formerly came from Taiwan and Hong Kong, they now immigrate from mainland China and India.[106] After many years of immigration, Asian-Americans are now taking their part in the political process in Silicon Valley: the mayor of Cupertino in 2009 was born in Taiwan, the mayor of

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[98] City-Data, www.city-data.com/Santa-Clara-California.html, accessed 17. 3. 2018.
[99] *Ibid.*
[100] Ed-Data Education Data Partnership, www.ed-data.org/article/Ethnic-Diversty-Index, accessed 19. 3. 2018.
[101] Saxenian, 'Networks of Immigrant Entrepreneurs, p. 250.
[102] Pellow & Sun-Hee Park, pp. 19, 171; American Immigration Council – Immigrants in California, https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigrants-in-California, accessed 17. 3. 2018.
[103] Vivek Wadhwa, *The Immigrant Exodus: Why America is Losing the Global Race to Capture Entrepreneurial Talent,* Philadelphia, PA, 2012, p. 26.
[104] World Population Review, worldpopulationreview.com/united-states-population/, accessed 19. 3. 2018.
[105] Mike Swift, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'South Bay cities a magnet for Asians', 9. 12. 2008.
[106] *Ibid.*

Milpitas from 2002 – 2008 and 2010 – 2016 came from the Philippines, the Saratoga mayor in 2012 also came from Taiwan, and that of Palo Alto in 2007 was from Japan.[107] These people are able to do things in this space that they were unable to contemplate previously.[108] These people from overseas who come to work in Silicon Valley area referred to as "A Global Pool of Talent" in recognition of the work and innovative skills they bring. The economic effect that followed was first noticed in the 1980s, and by the 1990s it was increasing greatly.[109]

52% of Silicon Valley startups in recent years were founded by immigrants; one of the co-founders of Sun Microsystems, Vinod Khosla was born in India, Sergy Brin, co-founder of Google came from Russia, Pierre Omidyar, the founder of eBay was born in France, and Terry Yang who co-founded Yahoo came from Taiwan.[110] Some of these entrepreneurs felt that the American legal and financial systems encouraged them to realise their potential. However, some entrepreneurs envisioned themselves simply as being in charge of their companies throughout their expansion, while others expected their companies would become known worldwide. They did not think of making money or being powerful.[111]Japanese engineers came to the valley to initiate their own startups because, in Japan, it is usual to spend a lifetime working for established companies, whereas in Silicon Valley many people stay with one company for one year. The Japanese find the work cultures are different but if they succeed in the valley, there is the likelihood that they will be acknowledged in the wider United States and eventually the world.[112]

As part of the globalisation process in Silicon Valley, Intel, the manufacturer of the silicon chip, built a plant at Leixlip, in County Kildare, Ireland, in 1989, which

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[107] Jessie Mangalimoin, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Asian-Americans leap into politics', n.d.
[108] Dening, *Islands and Beaches*, p. 41.
[109] Norton et al; p. 92.
[110] John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Valley's new leaders coming from overseas'. n.d.
[111] Chong-Moon Lee, 'Four Styles of Valley Entrepreneurs, in Chong-Moon Lee, et al, [eds], *The Silicon Valley Edge: A Habitat: for Innovation and Entrepreneurship*, Stanford, CA, 2000, p. 112.
[112] Kayzuki Ohla Kaz, 'Comparing tech cultures: Japan and Silicon Valley through the eyes of an entrepreneur', ITPortal, 19. 9. 2017, itproportal.com/features/comparing-tech-cultures-japan-and-siliconvalley-through-the-eyes-of-an-entrepreneur, accessed 26. 4. 2018.

proved to be very cost effective because of lower taxation and wages.[113] Unfortunately, the Irish government was forced to withdraw its proposed offer of finance, because the planned financial deal was declared illegal by the European Union authorities, a decision which was made for the first time.[114] At the same time, the Vietnamese government agreed to Intel building a factory in Vietnam which, at that time, meant that 70% of Intel's business was conducted overseas.[115] This was now one of the new methods of conducting business by companies in Silicon Valley. Some of the latter were then transferring layers of development from their industries and culture to other lands. The landscape was changing.

Facebook took its products to China. It made a deal with Baidu, the largest Chinese search engine, to open a jointly-owned social network.[116] Facebook was previously banned in China, but the latter needed to build a social network with a successful company, while Facebook required local partners to break into the Chinese market.[117] Google attempted to extend its influence into China, but did not succeed at their first a attempt; free speech, as practised in Silicon Valley, was not compatible with that exercised by the Chinese Government.[118]

There was a new cultural exchange in the valley when the Indian community introduced a sport that was quite foreign to Americans, but was well-known to member-countries of the British Commonwealth**:** the game of cricket was launched**.** It began as a means of encouraging the 'cricket-mad' Indians to work in the area. In 2006, the first junior national cricket tournament in the United States was held in Silicon Valley while 40 adult teams took part in the Northern California Cricket Season.[119] In 2010, Cupertino was the first city in the Silicon Valley to open a cricket

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[113] Shawn Pogstchnik, *San Jose Mercury* News, 'Intel opens Ireland; opens plant making its smallest, fastest chip', 22. 6. 2006.
[114] *Ibid.*
[115] John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Intel may invest up to one billion dollars in Vietnam', 9. 11. 2006.
[116] Levi Sumagayang, *Good Morning Silicon Valley, San Jose Mercury News*, with Pascal Emmanual, *Business Insider,* in *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Networking in China with Facebook', 12. 4. 2011.
[117] *Ibid.*
[118] *Ibid*.
[119] Lisa Fernandes, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Cricket Fever spreading in Bay Area', 19. 6. 2006.

pitch which was made to international standards.[120] This same community is taking its responsibility to help people in their homeland seriously; a group of Indian executives formed the American-Indian Foundation (AIF) to do something to help disadvantaged people in their homeland.[121] Knowing that there are more successful people of Indian origin in Silicon Valley than in any city in India, they decided to help with education and health; they offer loans to the poor and teach work skills.[122] They donate computers to Indian schools and their fund-raising amounts to eight million dollars. They train people to form collectives and teach women trades so they can become self-sufficient. To be sure that their projects are successful, the Foundation intends to continue travelling to India to oversee their projects.[123]

Silicon Valley Bank which helped 30,000 startups finally succeeded in obtaining a Chinese banking licence and now sees itself as a commercial bank that is available for all enterprises.[124] Chinese venture capitalists are hesitant about dealing with startups, preferring to work with already established companies that are financially viable and making a profit.[125] They feel more secure, when they are able to actually see how their investments are working.[126] In 2005, China with a fast growing economy with already one million people using the internet was a potential field for American firms finding skilled workers for its global enterprises; the number of internet users was second only to that of the United States.[127] At the same time, Yahoo invested one billion dollars in a Chinese internet company: Alibaba, and Baidu. com another Chinese company made its IPO on the New York Stock Exchange, the largest one of its kind in the world, in August 2005.[128] Dr. Kai Fu-Lee was a man who worked between two countries, He came from Taiwan to study at American Universities; over a period of time, he formed ties to tech communities in both the USA and China. Eventually he established Microsoft Research in Beijing,

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[120] Joe Rodriquez & Lisa Fernandez, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Indian Population diversifying Bay Area's Asian population', 1. 2. 2016.
[121] John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Behind the book: émigrés tackle poverty!', n.d.
[122] *Ibid.*
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] John Boudreau, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Silicon Valley Bank works to import startup culture to China', 16. 10. 2011.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, p. xxi.
[127] David A. Vise, *The Google Story*, New York, 2005, p. 269-70.
[128] *Ibid.*, p. 276

and then returned to the United States.[129] He worked for Apple, and SRI, and in 2005, became the founding president of Google China after Google agreed to censor its internet as required by the authorities. Dr Lee was a Chinese who worked between the United States and China, establishing two major American companies in a lucrative market.[130]

The 1990 Immigration and Nationality Act tripled the number of visas available for particular occupations.[131] This included visas for potential immigrants who were sponsored by United States employers, or those with family in the United States, with priority being given to skilled workers.[132] The Act was considered necessary because there was a shortage of skilled workers in the country and the provisos of the act were to offset this; it was also meant to counter the large number of illegal immigrants coming into the country. Consequently, there was a large increase in the number of skilled workers arriving with the greatest numbers being from Mexico, the Philippines, India, China, Canada and a number of African countries.[133] Many large companies set up their own employment agencies which allowed them to decide whether their workers were employed full-time, or as contractors.[134] After this, there were more temporary workers in Santa Clara County than anywhere else in the United States.[135] But some of them are illegal. In May, 2016, a well-known car manufacturer in the South Bay area was found to be employing illegal immigrants who were brought from economically poor European countries to Silicon Valley on tourist or business visas for periods of three to six months.[136] They were paid five dollars per hour by the contractor, less than one tenth of what he was contracted to pay and were employed in building a new paint house. The company denies all knowledge of this, and

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[129] *Ibid.*, p. 271.
[130] *Ibid.*, p. 278.
[131] English-Lueck, p. 112.
[132] *The Immigration Act of 1990*, immigrationtotheunitedstates.org/592-immigration-act-of-1990.htm, accessed 20. 4. 2016.
[133] *Ibid.*; United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, *The Immigration Act of 1990*, http://uscis.gov/tools/glossary/immigration-act-1990, accessed 20. 4. 2016.
[134] Hayes, p. 163.
[135] *Ibid.,* p. 163.
[136] Levi Sumagaysay, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Tesla on moral issue of treating workers fairly', 16. 5. 2016.

investigations are proceeding into the matter.[137] As at December, 2017, the issue was still ongoing.

The 1990 Act was meant to encourage engineers to immigrate to Silicon Valley at the same time as there was an increase in the number of industries connected with the new high-tech innovations.[138] This was a time, when the history of the valley was about to see an increase in new cultures in the landscape.[139] The workforce was changing in 1990; one third of the skilled labour in Silicon Valley consisted of engineers and scientists of whom two thirds were from Asia, with the majority being from China.[140] 51% of engineers were Chinese, 23% were Indian, 13% were from Vietnam, 6% from the Philippines, 4% from Japan and 3% from Korea. In the 1970s and 1980s there were more immigrant engineers and scientists from Taiwan but, by the 1990s, University of California at Berkeley was granting more engineering degrees to Chinese students, while the number of Taiwanese students decreased.[141]

From 1996, California was the most preferred destination for immigrants.[142] In the 1980s, National Semiconductor Corporation employed more Filipino manual workers than any other Asian group, because they spoke good English, worked previously in similar jobs at home, were hard workers and understood directions.[143] Their wages were 60% higher in Silicon Valley and the conditions were better.[144] In the late 1990s, Forbes list of the Four Hundred Richest People in America contained many of the names of people who founded the high – tech companies of Silicon Valley.[145] By 2005, employment was rising considerably; but this produced further

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[137] *Ibid.*
[138] Saxenian, 'Networks of Immigrant Entrepreneurs', p. 249.
[139] Carter, p. xxiv.
[140] *Ibid.,* p. 249.
[141] *Ibid.,* p. 250.
[142] Pellow & Sun-Hee-Park, pp. 19-20.
[143] *Ibid.,* p. 172.
[144] *Ibid.,* p. 2; John Markoff, *Los Angeles Times,1980*, 'California's Space-Age Sweat –Shops' 28. 10. 1980.
[145] Norton et al, p. 924.

employment in the general community as further positions were created in other industries.[146]

In 2012, President Obama ordered the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) to retain the Optimal Practical Training term of 29 months for overseas students with R-1 visas. This permitted international students to stay and work longer after graduating from universities in the United States.[147] But these orders were not passed, because Congress, at that time, did not accept that immigration policy reform was important, despite many members of Congress believing that reform was necessary in order for the United States to be able to compete in the global area.[148] However, venture capitalists and the CEOs of large companies wanted to ensure that Silicon Valley continued to be the place where immigrants and their startups were welcomed. They believed that skilled immigration must continue because of the necessity to maintain the valley's position in the world of technology.[149] At the same time as companies promoted skilled immigration, they continued to supply the resources necessary to further educate and train local employees.[150] But President Obama wanted immigrant reform, not only for skilled workers, but for the millions of undocumented workers already living in the country; unfortunately, his reforms were divided on political lines and were difficult to achieve.[151] Consequently, his legislation was dismissed in the Supreme Count in June 2016.[152]

There can be risks in dealing with international companies; the large Chinese company, Huawei, specialising in finance and engineering throughout the world and with eighteen international research centres, required workers from Silicon Valley to

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[146] *Ibid*.
[147] Vivek Wadhive with Alex Salkever, p. 81.
[148] *Ibid.,* pp. 81-82.
[149] *Ibid*., p. 85.
[150] Saxenian, 'Networks of Immigrants Entrepreneurs'', p. 267.
[151] Thomas A. Jensen & Peter A. Yost, 'Early Immigration Action in New Congress'*, Faegre Baker Daniels*, 21. 1. 2015, http://www.faegrebd.com/early-immigration-action-in-new-congress, accessed 15.1.2015.
[152] Ariane de Vogue & Tai Kopan,, 'Deadlocked Supreme Court deals big blow to Obama Immigration plan', edition.cnn.com/2016/6/23/politics/immigration-supreme-court/cnn.politics, accessed 24. 4. 2017.

develop both hardware and software for their extensive telecommunication networks and computer systems.[153] It doubled its staff to 430 by 2010 and there were plans to add 200 more engineers the following year. The Federal Government was concerned that Huawei could obtain access to United States technology; the government was alarmed again, when the company was trying to invest in a number of United States network companies, one of which was a cloud computing firm. At this stage, Huawei cancelled all its plans.[154] It was also discovered that the Chinese Government was providing finance to the company. At the same time, Huawei was trying to compete with American companies of the calibre of Cisco and Hewlett Packard by hiring engineers who were previously employed with them.[155]

There are more tech companies in the valley than anywhere else in the world; they are responsible for financing overseas companies which require assistance for research and development, and they help startups both in the valley and internationally, co-patenting with them.[156] There is a great deal of cooperation between executives and the skilled staff; engineers are encouraged to work in teams, to assist in decision making and they are offered financial assistance in the form of stock options and profit sharing programmes. This may be a paternalistic approach, but it is viable.[157] Competent staff found this method attractive, and, because of these favourable conditions, new staff was easily recruited.[158] However, after many decades of operating this plan, Hewlett - Packard was one company that made a change by deciding to 'motivate people to strive for excellence'. Employees were encouraged to achieve standards much higher than previously.[159] Rewards varied according to performance; for a lacklustre performance, the additional bonus received was at the lowest level and if it fell below this, there was no reward.[160]

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[153] Brendon Bailey, *San Jose Mercury News,* 'Chinese Company Counting on Silicon Valley Talent', 5. 7. 2011.
[154] *Ibid.*
[155] *Ibid.*
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] Christophe Lecuyer, *Making Silicon Valley: Innovation and the Growth of High Tech, 1930-1970,* Cambridge, MA, 2006, pp. 299-302.
[158] Ibid., p. 300.
[159] Carly Fiorina, *Tough Choice*, London, 2006, p. 193.
[160] *Ibid.,* p. 193.

In November 2014, President Obama promised to make some necessary reforms to immigration including granting legal status to millions of illegal immigrants in the United States.[161] The Bill was blocked by the Republican Party. In January 2015, the *Immigration and Innovation Act of 2015* was reintroduced into the Senate for the purpose of improving business immigration. The H-1B cap of 65,000 immigrants admitted annually was to be increased to 115,000, with exemptions granted to immigrants who completed degrees in the United States and their spouses who were entitled to H-4 visas would be permitted to work. Changes would be made to the way in which Green Cards would be issued.[162] With a number of other visas also to be reappraised, the new act was seen as making it simpler for the many non-immigrant visa holders in the country to renew their visas. Although the two issues were concerned with immigration reform, their aims were different. If they were presented separately, it is possible that both would have been resolved.[163] However, all proposed reforms were defeated when presented by Obama in 2014, and in 2016, the Supreme Count when challenged again was deadlocked, bringing down a 4-4 ruling against Obama's legal challenge to use his executive powers to implement the proposed legislation.[164] President Obama left office without the legislation being passed.

As of February 2018, immigrant entrepreneurs, engineers and students were still waiting for a resolution in the debate about improving the visa system for immigrants who were playing important roles in the American economy and in Silicon Valley in particular; immigration was stalled.[165] At the time of writing a new Immigration Act has yet to be passed. Immigrants from India and China, in particular, are able to return home and, with government assistance, pursue their ambitions which were still on hold in Silicon Valley, or take up an offer to work in another country.[166] For some of these immigrants, they are living in two countries, two continents and unsure about their situation; but eventually some are able to blend

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[161] Jansen & Yost, 'Early Immigration Action in Congress'.
[162] *Ibid.*
[163] *Ibid.*
[164] Ariane de Vouge & Tal Kopan, CNN, Deadlocked Supreme Count deals big blow to Obama immigration plans. 23 June 2016, editions.cnn.com/2016/06/23/politics/immigration-supreme-cnn-politics, accessed 1. 5. 2017.
[165] Vivek Wadhwa with Salkever, p. 63.
[166] *Ibid.,* p. 63.

into their new environment.[167] But for many, they do not become assimilated; they do not plan to become Americans, nor do they intend to stay in the Valley. They will return to their countries of origin, owing much of their success to the knowledge shared with them by the people of the Valley.

This chapter described how Santa Clara Valley's highly developed agricultural and horticultural industries were replaced by the new technological revolution that transformed the valley completely. Santa Clara Valley became known as Silicon Valley when Information Technology brought immigrants both from the East Coast and overseas hoping to pursue careers in their chosen technical fields. Startups became successful companies employing thousands of staff. Fortunes were made. The federal government constantly introduced Acts to facilitate the arrival of immigrants from overseas. After achieving their goals, many immigrants returned to their own countries to establish companies of their own. In this way, Silicon Valley's influence was ongoing all over the world.

The Conclusion follows and sums up the continuing history of immigration in Santa Clara Valley from the arrival of its first people, the Ohlones, through the many people from different countries who came with varying reasons for immigrating to the successful development of the valley as a major food producer, and to the place it is now: Silicon Valley, a global phenomenon, a model for the world of Information Technology.

[167] Shenglin Chung, 'The Global Silicon Valley Home: Lives and Landscapes Within', in *Ethnic Conflict in Californian History,* Charles Woolingberg, [ed,], Berkeley, CA, 1970, p. 230, San Jose Archives, San Jose, CA.

Conclusion

In this thesis, my argument is that the pattern of immigration in Santa Clara Valley is the major reason for the diversity of its people and their cultures, and why the area is so unique. Every immigrant who came to the valley at any stage contributed something of his or her own identity and culture to a new layer that was forming in Santa Clara Valley's landscape. This process continues to be ongoing at the current time. There are many identities; some are well known for their input; some like the original people worked without recognition, but every layer put down on the valley floor is part of the valley as a whole, and as immigrants arrive new layers with their identities will continue to form. This thesis shows how different each new immigrant group is both on their arrival and during the years that follow, as well as the part they play in the improvement and consequent development of the region. It illustrates how those layers changed Santa Clara Valley into the Silicon Valley that the world knows today.

My research shows that Santa Clara Valley, or under its current name, 'Silicon Valley', was and continues to be a centre of attraction for immigrants. No matter how they reacted to the locale, these people did what they thought was best for themselves and the area. Today, the arrivals are very different to those who came earlier: they are mostly highly educated, eager to show what they can do by beginning startups in the valley. Using Spatial Methodology, I have illustrated that the valley is a place, a landscape, where every person made a contribution, their movements could be traced, and their history recorded.

The first chapter told the story of the evolution of Santa Clara Valley and the surrounding San Francisco Bay as plates in the Pacific Ocean moved and the mountains that now encircle the valley were thrust upwards. It described the earthquakes that are still experienced, and the fault lines that cause them. It is a valley rich in resources both under and above the earth. More than ample water

sources are available to maintain the water supply, and the mild climate is a continuing attraction to interstate migrants.

Chapter Two described the Ohlones, the original immigrants setting out from Asia, and travelling down the Americas in a migration that commenced 10,000 years ago. Although their contribution to the landscape was insignificant compared to the migrations that followed, they were, without being aware of it, the guardians, the caretakers of the land. They were not farmers, but they did not destroy their space; they lived a limited existence in a manner in keeping with a people who lived only for the present without any knowledge of a past or a possible future. They were unprepared for the changes in their lives when the Spanish arrived.

The Spanish immigration was described in Chapter Three. Their plan was to live with the Ohlones in a peaceful way, training them to be future citizens of Spain, potential defenders against the English who might want to settle in the valley, and workers at the Mission they were about to construct. The missionaries named the area Santa Clara Valley. They trained the Ohlones to farm; they traded with visiting ships, and their letters to their headquarters in Mexico City revealed how they made their space prosperous. All who lived there applied their skills and devoted their lives to the Santa Clara Mission.

In Chapter Four, it is obvious that not everybody was happy under the Spanish. The Mexicans took control of Alta California at a time when the Spanish found the supply line to their headquarters in Mexico City was too difficult for them to continue. The Mexicans took over mission land, and granted large areas to the Californios who set up an elite society. The Mexican Government lacked the ability to cope with the inroads of aggressive Americans coming through the mountains and wanting land. It was this immigration that led to the downfall of the Mexicans; they could not control the Americans. Finally the Mexicans declared war on the United States Government. The Mexicans were defeated and the United States claimed Alta

California as a part of the United States. This opened up the new state to large scale immigration from the East.

Chapter Five described how the United States Government provided assistance for those who wanted to cross from the East Coast to California, or any other place along the trail. Santa Clara was a base for gold seekers during the Gold Rush, and flourished after as more immigrants arrived, and contributed their knowledge to horticulture and agriculture. But there were constant legal battles over land claims previously held by Mexicans. White Americans grew prosperous but the Ohlones were treated badly. The Californios were unhappy as their old ways of ranching became obsolete. The railroads came through the valley, irrigation was introduced, and fruit canning was established. Santa Clara Valley was soon a location providing produce for the East Coast.

In Chapter Six, the next waves of immigrants arrived from China and Japan. The Chinese were poor and uneducated, and they wanted to work so that they could send money back to their families and later return home. They worked in the mines, on the gold fields, and the dangerous occupation of building the railroads. Life was hard for them; they suffered at the hands of organised groups who were prejudiced against them. The governments of China and the United States drew up a number of treaties to protect their trading interests. There was no legal status for the Chinese, and from 1882, the Exclusion Act banned the entry of Chinese labourers, both skilled and unskilled.

The American government was engaged in persuading the Japanese government to open two ports for trade. Immigration from Japan was permitted, but these Japanese immigrants were educated and skilled. On arrival in Santa Clara Valley, those who elected to work on farms were paid low wages. They rebelled, and formed an association to seek redress. They, too, were treated badly, but they knew how to make use of the legal system, being eventually able to lease or buy land for farming, an occupation at which they were very successful.

Immigrants from the British Isles and Europe were introduced in Chapter Seven. They came because they wanted a new and freer life, they were avoiding military service, or they wanted land which was ordinarily denied them. Some of them went to extraordinarily lengths to do so. They made the long journey from the East Coast, some stopping, and then moving on again to find a better destination. Others arrived in California, returned home before changing their minds, and returning to California again. They were all prepared to work, some were inventive, others were skilled in horticulture, and others developed orchards and canneries which made Santa Clara Valley the 'fruit bowl of the United States".

Chapter Eight presented the effect of immigration after the Depression and the Second World War. Developers were looking for land in the valley for commercial buildings and housing. Technological companies were established, and those concerned with defence and aerospace programmes were subsidised by the Government. This was the nucleus of the new work force. In 1971, the name '*Silicon Valley'* was coined by a journalist, in recognition of the element that was used extensively in the technical industry. Highly qualified technical staff came; startups were every where with many of them established by immigrants; they all attempted to produce a product that would be new to the market. Some countries replicated Silicon Valley while some Indian and Chinese entrepreneurs returned home to form their own companies. Silicon Valley's influence was spreading.

In this thesis I have shown the patterns of immigration that occurred, and are still happening in Silicon Valley from the time when the first immigrants came across from Asia. My argument is that the valley is made up of all that these and succeeding immigrants brought with them, forming layer upon layer of inventions and developments, as one group succeeded another. This is shown by the cities that still remain, and the land that is still cultivated. All of these are situated beside the modern technological buildings that are in use now, while another wave of immigrants settles in, and produces something new for the future. The past mingles with the present as the landscape grows. Work flows to other countries, and startups keep Silicon Valley in the eyes of the world.

There are some areas that should be further researched: the situation of the Chinese and Japanese immigrants who continued to work in Silicon Valley despite the abuse and violence that was directed against them; the history of the smaller immigrant groups whose efforts made less of an impact than many larger groups; the incidence of the number of Europeans who found it difficult to settle and often returned home, and the success of the foreign entrepreneurs who took their technological strengths back to their homelands.

This thesis presents a different aspect of the waves of immigration. It shows the relationship between the developments and the cultures that changed a small valley originally under the guardianship of the Ohlones to a colony under the protection of Europeans, to a place that is called Silicon Valley. Every new wave of immigrants brought change and development so that Silicon Valley today is unique. Many historians ignore the relationship between the groups of immigrants: the interaction, the layering being imposed on the valley floor, all of which produced the landscape which is now a technological centre for the entire world.

At the same time, this research has continued to add to the spatial history of Silicon Valley by showing that the pattern of immigration continues to be maintained after more two centuries by many immigrants of varying cultures and abilities. At this stage, there is no indication that Silicon Valley and its constant immigrant intake will change.

GLOSSARY

Adobe	Bricks made from mud, reinforced with straw and dried in the sun.
Aerospace	The atmosphere and space beyond the earth.
Alcade	Mayor or Chief Magistrate in a Spanish town, city, or pueblo.
Alta California	Upper California, as distinct from Lower California, Baja California.
Archaic Period	8,000 BC to 1,000 BC.
Baja California	The peninsula south of the US border, bounded by the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California. It was a Mexican State.
Californios	The elite Mexicans living in Alta California.
Computer-on-a-chip	An integrated circuit, or a chip.
Coolie	An unskilled Oriental labourer.
Costanoan	'People of the coast'. The Ohlones belonged to this group.
Cenozoic Period	The period from 65,000,000 years until now. During his period the continents were formed and their flora and fauna developed into their known forms.

Coedillian Ice Sheets	Continental glaciers that covered North America during a number of glacial periods.
Electronic Chip	A small piece of semi-conducting material on which an integrated circuit is embedded.
Franciscans	A religious order of priests and brothers.
Gold Rush	Gold was discovered at Sutter's Mill in California 24th January1848 causing a 'rush' to find it.
Grist Mill	A mill for grinding wheat into flour.
Homogenous Rock	A rock with similar characteristics throughout.
Issai	International Standards of Supreme Audit Institutions.
Integrated Circuit	A Chip.
Laurentide Ice Sheets	Covered most of Canada and a large part of North America 2,600,000-11,700 years ago.
Microprocessor	An electronic component that does the work for the computer.
Moicine Period	23,000,000-5,300,000 years ago.
Nativism	The practice of considering the resident population superior to newer arrivals.
Neophytes	New converts to Catholicism at the missions.

Opium Wars	Two wars between England and China, 1839 and 1860 when China wanted to shut down the lucrative opium trade.
Penutian	Californian Indian language most common of all linguistic root languages in that state.
Peonage	Indian labourers forced to work because of a debt. It was almost slavery.
Piastre	A Spanish coin minted in Mexico from precious metals.
Pueblo	A small town or village in Spanish California.
Presidio	A fortified base established by the Spanish in their colonies.
Rancho	Ranch as used by Spanish and Mexicans.
Savannah	Grasslands with a few isolated shrubs and trees, found between a tropical and desert country.
Segregation	Creating a society within another society.
Semi Conductor	Integrated circuit.
Shaman	Medicine Man.
Secularisation	A belief that religion should not be involved in civic affairs.
Square mile	An imperial and US unit of measurement equal to the area of a square of one statute mile.

Stratified Rock	Rock formed by compaction, cementation or crystallisation of successive beds of deposited material.
Street Car	A vehicle powered by electricity that runs on rails through a city's streets.
Squatters' Rights	The first settlers on public land could claim it and eventually purchase it.
Transistor	A semiconductor device used to amplify or switch electronic signals and electrical power.
Tribelet	Native American Indians living in a group of about 250 people.
Tule	A bulrush; there are two varieties found in California: *scirpus californicus a*nd *scirpus actus;* both are found in swamps and marshland.
Vigilante	Private citizen who carries out law enforcement illegally.
Wagon Train	A large group of wagons travelling westwards through the United States.
Western Frontier	In the nineteenth century, it was the lands west of the Mississippi River.

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Swiss Hotel, date unknown. Permission given by Catherine Mills, Curator, Research Library and Archives, History San Jose, San Jose, CA.

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Apple – 1 Operation Manual with short-lived logo featuring Isaac Newton, 1976. Permission given by Carina Sweet, Computer History Museum, Mountain View, CA.

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