



AFRO-AMERICANS, THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA,
AND THE GOLDEN GATE NATIONAL RECREATION AREA, 1850-1960

Douglas Henry Daniels
Assistant Professor
Black Studies and History
University of California
Santa Barbara

A Report for the Golden Gate National Recreation Area

March 13, 1980

INTRODUCTION

Afro-American history near San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate National Recreation Area can be traced back to the Gold Rush era. Black gold-seekers and adventurers migrated to California along with thousands of newcomers from nearly every nation. Some settled immediately on the peninsula near today's downtown sections, others came to these neighborhoods after searching for mineral wealth, while still others returned to distant homelands.

We can comprehend their history by first examining demographic characteristics, migration patterns, skills and job versatility, and major institutions. In the nineteenth century most Blacks in the Bay Area inhabited San Francisco. Before World War I, Black San Franciscans differed from the average American Negro urban resident in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This can clearly be seen in their age, their sparse numbers until World War II, their origins, and the effects of these characteristics. San Francisco's Afro-Americans were like the other residents of the Gold Rush era, insofar as they were mainly young and mature adults; and males far exceeded females. Also, single individuals constituted a disproportionate part of the urban citizenry among Black and other San Franciscans for many years. Such unattached migrants made a hazardous, expensive journey more readily than the aged and married folk with children. While Black San Franciscans numbered less than 2,000 before 1910, they possessed the dynamic qualities found in

other residents of this city. Although this population size was smaller than the Black population in eastern cities, initially the percentage was about the same as cities elsewhere. New York, Boston and Chicago counted only a very few (two or three or less) Blacks for every one hundred residents until World War I. During these years, the Black populations of northeastern cities soared --- in number and percentages. San Francisco's Blacks increased significantly, from 1,642 in 1910 to 3,803 in 1930, and then it mushroomed in the 1940's. On the whole, until World War II, San Francisco maintained a larger percentage of mature male residents than Oakland and other American cities and so did its Black folk.

Black San Franciscans' cosmopolitan origins differentiated them from Blacks in eastern American cities. In other urban centers, inhabitants of the region predominated, but the city by the Golden Gate drew Blacks from north to south and from the east coast to the Mississippi River Valley. Afro-Americans originated from Canada and Mexico, Latin America, and particularly the Caribbean Islands, and a few Blacks came from Europe and Africa. In 1860 thirteen per cent of the Black San Franciscans were foreign-born. This percentage was not matched by any city except New York. The high proportion of foreign-born Blacks persisted from pioneer days, giving a cosmopolitan character to Black life in this city.

The complex culture of Black San Francisco was manifested in a variety of ways. Their surnames were usually of Spanish and Portuguese origins when they came from Mexico or Latin America. Presumably, some

of them spoke the language of their homeland. Among West Indians in San Francisco, Jamaicans predominated. The emancipation of slaves in the British West Indies was celebrated by Black San Franciscans on August 1st of each year during pioneer days. This affair testified to their recognition of a heritage from outside the United States. The name of the West Indian Benevolent Society, whose members looked after one another when ill and covered costs of funerals, also highlighted a foreign tradition. So did the European songs that were sung from time to time in operatic concerts.

Black migrants came to San Francisco only gradually, becoming a substantial percentage of the population only quite recently. Several hundred lived there in the 1850s, and by 1860 they amounted to about thirteen hundred. They usually came by ship, sailing around Cape Horn or to the Isthmus of Panama, where they crossed by land before sailing to California. A few came overland, a long, difficult journey until the completion of the railroad in 1869; but then the rail trip was expensive, especially for Blacks.

During pioneer days, some migrants were freemen, while others were bondsmen. Southern families "would bring one or two slaves who were given their freedom and wages in this new country." Promise of emancipation to a trusted slave insured his willingness to make the migration, to help out whenever necessary in the process, and to work for a period of time after arriving in California. George Washington Dennis, who came with his master, who was actually his father, during the Gold Rush, worked in the Eldorado Hotel, where he earned and saved

\$1,000 in three months. This was enough to purchase his freedom. Washington went into mining, later ran the Custom House Livery Stable, and then a coal yard, moving from one form of enterprise to another like so many San Franciscans. He married, reared eleven children, participated in Black organizations and politics, and was ranked as one of the most prosperous members of the Afro-American community in San Francisco in 1889.

Another slave, Archy Lee, became the focus of several court cases and a civil rights movement in 1858. California had a peculiar situation regarding slavery in the 1850s. Although under Mexico and the California constitution slavery was forbidden, some people held slaves in this "free state." AS long as a slaveowner was a temporary resident, he held property rights over his slave (thus he owned him), and when he left the law guaranteed his right to take the bondsman. The Lee case was based on this state of affairs.

California was actually like other "free states" in the north, in that they permitted slaveowners to come to their states, on a temporary basis, with slaves. The passing of the U.S. Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 strengthened the slaveowner's position with regard to securing and removing runaways. California also, by its constitution and laws, discriminated against Blacks, forbade intermarriage, prevented them from voting, and from testifying in court cases when whites were involved. The latter feature of the law made them victims to any white villain who sought to attack, rob, or kill them. This state of affairs lasted until 1863, when court testimony was permitted. Passage of the 13th,

14th, and 15th amendments after the Civil War ended slavery, made Blacks citizens and equals under the law, and gave them the right to vote.

In 1858, however, the Lee case showed the degree to which the freedom of a Black Californian was subject to abuse. Certain details of the migration from Mississippi by Archy Lee and his master, Charles Stovall, are unclear. Stovall's intentions of temporarily residing in the state, the basis of his right to hold Lee, were also subject to dispute. He had opened a school, demanding one month's advance payment, and this was not considered to be evidence of a short sojourn. Meanwhile Lee mingled with the predominantly free population of Sacramento, and he undoubtedly was influenced by the Black citizens' willingness to help him become free. The First California Colored Convention, which focused on civil rights issues among others, was held in Sacramento in 1855, and it was followed by others. So the antislavery tradition was particularly strong among Blacks in Sacramento as well as California.

In January 1858, Lee was in hiding in the Hackett House, a Sacramento resort owned by a Black Californian, when he was found and arrested as a fugitive by the police. Anti-Black sentiment was particularly strong among whites and many political offices, including judicial and legislative positions, were held by southerners.

The details are complicated. There were several court cases, as well as several arrests of Lee. When it looked as if he had lost his bid for freedom, and was about to be taken out of the state by Stovall,

Black citizens kept watch on the San Francisco waterfront, hoping to spot Lee and prevent his being returned to Mississippi. A deputy sheriff and two officers, waiting to free Lee and arrest Stovall for kidnapping, were among them. As the steamer Orizaba pulled away from the wharf, the sheriff and officers suddenly leaped aboard, and then intercepted a small boat, containing Lee and Stovall, which had simultaneously left Angel Island to meet the steamer in the middle of the bay. If Stovall had evaded the sheriff and officers, Lee's fate would have been sealed.

There were subsequent hearings and cases, during which no Afro-American could testify, aside from Lee, who was occasionally questioned by a judge. Eventually he was freed. Rather than stay in a place where his liberty was in jeopardy, Lee and a few hundred Black Californians migrated to British Columbia, where their freedom and rights were secure. Partly because of such problems, as well as the city's distance from the east, the numbers of San Francisco Blacks did not increase significantly in the nineteenth century. This suggests they came and went, some leaving the city permanently, others coming back to try their luck again.

The Great Migration of World War I sent large increments of Black refugees to northeastern and to far western cities, but San Francisco was not affected to the same degree as other urban areas. It was an older city, with established businesses. Its commercial character, high living costs, and racially exclusive labor unions also prevented dense Black settlement. Afro-American migrants to the far

west concentrated in the new, rapidly expanding cities of Oakland, Los Angeles, and Seattle until World War II.

The growth of the shipping industries and Executive Order 8802, banning discrimination in war plants, played significant roles in the phenomenal 600% increase of the Bay Area's Black residents in the 1940s. The rise of the Congress of Industrial Workers and the emergence of an integrated International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union also facilitated Black settlement in the Bay Area. San Francisco's Afro-Americans grew in number from five to eighty thousand, and that of the entire Bay Area reached 120,000 by the mid twentieth century.

Versatile Afro-Americans were best suited to inhabit this city. The adventurousness and flexibility of these pioneers is seen in their willingness to work at different jobs. Many went from service work on boats to trains, hotels, and restaurants, some opening their own establishments. They hunted mineral wealth in the mountains, and penetrated the interior valleys in their search for new economic opportunities. Many found them. Rudolph Lapp suggested the possibility "that the per capita income of California Negroes [in the 1850s] ... was higher than that of any comparable group of black men in the United States." Their unusual abilities were also reflected in the formation of several institutions after a few years. As early as 1849, Blacks in San Francisco formed a Savings Fund and Loan Association, but little is known of it. The longevity of some of them --- they still survive today --- attests to the vitality of the community life of the Black San Franciscans. The Baptist and two Methodist churches and Prince Hall

Masonic lodges, all formed in the 1850s, can be found near or in the Western Addition today. Also, the Blacks started a cultural society and a public school for their children; launched a newspaper, the Mirror of the Times, and played leading roles in three California State Conventions of Colored Citizens before 1860.

The talents and energy of less than two thousand Afro-Americans was evidenced by their organized efforts of the 1860s. They supported the case of the fugitive slave, Archy Lee; petitioned for their civil and social rights, sent aid to southern freedmen; founded two more newspapers, the Pacific Appeal and the Elevator; formed military units and also benevolent organizations to care for the sick and bury the dead; and held a variety of fairs, bazaars, celebrations, and social entertainments to aid their causes.

The Afro-American residents of the western metropolis were significant for several reasons. Their demographic characteristics indicated they were young and mature, often single, especially in the nineteenth century. They brought a breadth of vision to urban life because of their varied origins. These versatile adventurers constituted the largest group of Black urban dwellers in the far west in the nineteenth century. They acquired the style and sophistication of a major metropolis and this, together with their institutions, permitted them to dominate Black political, economic, and social life along the Pacific slope until the growth of Black Los Angeles after 1900.

The San Francisco Bay Area's population, including its Black citizens, usually resided outside of the borders of today's Golden Gate

National Recreation Area. The exceptions were transient residents --- soldiers and sailors. These males personified the adventuresome qualities valued in the nation and in the city by the Golden Gate.

In the nineteenth century in particular, the male citizens frequented saloons, restaurants, and gambling halls for refreshment and good times. When large and lavish hotels were built after the Civil War, citizens attended fancy balls and elaborate dinners. These elite affairs became increasingly important as the number of married couples increased, and as prosperous residents sought to sponsor entertainments that displayed their wealth and status. Nonetheless, the less refined spots, the dives, saloons, eating houses, casinos, and cabarets continued to be prominent places for the social and recreational needs of anonymous city dwellers throughout the city's history.

As the city matured, it featured expositions and world fairs similar to the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. The Midwinter Festival in 1894 was just such an event. The Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915 marked the completion of the canal and signaled city-dwellers' hopes that they would benefit economically from this improvement in transportation. A World's Fair was held on Treasure Island in 1939, and it, too, drew citizens from throughout the west.

In addition to attending these kinds of events, Black San Franciscans enjoyed the unique features of the city by the bay. They participated in steamboat excursions to Sausalito or the East Bay, enjoying the splendid city-scape and picknicking in pastoral settings. Sometimes their military associations and bands accompanied them, pro-

viding them with views of their heroes and music for dancing. In the picnic grounds of the Bay Area they played games, danced, held races, exhibited their marksmanship, wooed, dined, and relaxed. These activities were as important to Black urban life in the nineteenth century as they are in today's GGNRA.

THE SOLDIERS

San Francisco's strategic importance resulted from its location on one of the world's largest bays and finest harbors. It was a jumping-off point for the islands of the Pacific, Asia, and for places along the Pacific shore. In addition, migrants debarked here to enter the interior of the North American continent. They boarded steamboats to Sacramento and Stockton and rode wagons, stages, and trains to even more distant communities. Moreover, Pacific slope residents and world-wide travelers continually came to San Francisco to view its wonders, purchase the latest fashions, and mingle with the crowds. Politically, economically, socially, and culturally, San Francisco dominated life in the west, and this was largely a result of the advantages of its location, its strategic importance, and its early history in the settlement of the west coast.

To protect the continent, bay, and city from foreign penetration and take-over, Americans emphasized military preparedness. They built forts, installed cannon and long-range guns, maintained these batteries, and watched as soldiers arrived and departed for foreign wars. In the 1850s they formed vigilantee associations, followed by California

volunteer units and military clubs, organizations which had social functions as well.

The strategic location of San Francisco made Americans aware of the importance of defending the bay. Some kind of military fortress existed from the days of the Presidio. The continued presence of soldiers reminded city dwellers of those manly qualities that were essential to westward migration, the founding of a major city in a few years, and the creation of a nation with continental dimensions. Black San Franciscans shared in the city's and the nation's special sense of destiny when they reviewed the Black troops on parade, or read about their distant exploits in the city's newspapers.

City dwellers in the Bay Area were especially susceptible to military values, to enlistment, and to the formation of military clubs to preserve their skills and heritage. Their demographic characteristics gave the nation's military traditions special significance. Young, adventuresome males were likely to join a club or an actual fighting unit to distinguish themselves in a city of men. A uniform set them apart from others, and enlistment gave them a chance to travel and to win glory in combat.

Such men --- soldiers, veterans, and future soldiers --- participated in every aspect of urban life --- politics, the economy, and the cultural and social affairs. Besides parading the streets during celebrations, military units performed at picnics and social affairs, while veterans spoke at civic rallies and holiday celebrations. Afro-Americans wore the familiar U. S. or their own society's uniforms and marched in

the Fourth of July parades and at political rallies. They held their own celebrations.

In the mid-nineteenth century San Franciscans were concerned by numerous conflicts. Some were internal. Gangs of outlaws burned and looted during pioneer days and hardened criminals threatened the lives of city dwellers. A Committee of Vigilance formed to quell the civil disorder. Citizens armed themselves, took the law in their own hands, arrested, tried, convicted, and hanged the more notorious law-breakers.

A few years later when Civil War broke out, San Franciscans prepared themselves for a Southern take-over of their city. It never materialized. Southern forces came nowhere near California. Meanwhile citizens feared the influences of the city's rebel sympathizers.

Threats from outside the city and the nation posed even more formidable problems which the forts were meant to deter. Actually, the city served more as a base from which to launch military invasions than as a place to defend the bay and the nation. During the Spanish-American War, Black and white military units stayed in the city before embarking to suppress revolution in the Philippines. In the twentieth century as well, American troops left from the Bay Area to fight Japanese in the Pacific and later Vietnamese. Moreover, supplies for these troops were shipped from the waterfront. In the twentieth century Treasure Island and Port Chicago were important supply depots and points of embarkation for war materiel.

Black San Franciscans' military involvement began during the Civil War, although some were veterans of the conflict with Mexico

before migration to California. Actually, Blacks were not immediately permitted to join the Union Army. White racism was the underlying reason. It would be worthwhile to review the kinds of prejudice confronting Black Americans in the north to understand why they were not permitted to enlist. During the seventeenth century, Afro-Americans --- freemen at that --- were barred by law from serving in the colonial militia of New England states. Intermarriage with whites was subsequently proscribed. Slavery, which emerged in New England in the late seventeenth century, served to limit the freedom of all Afro-Americans, bondsmen and free people. Blacks were forbidden to carry walking sticks, or anything that could be used as a weapon; they must observe a curfew; they could be kidnapped and sold at any time.

Nonetheless, military exigencies permitted Afro-Americans to serve in the militia during Indian wars and in the new nation's army during the American Revolution. But while some slaves earned their freedom as a result of military service, and whites acquired their liberty, most Blacks remained enslaved. In the north, through a series of steps and in a variety of ways, slavery in the north was gradually ending just as it was becoming more entrenched in the south --- in the 1830s.

Ironically, the end of bondage in the north was accompanied by greater restraints on the Black population. Free Afro-Americans were reminded by law and custom of their inferior status. In some northern states, they were prevented from voting, from testifying in court against whites, and from migrating to midwestern states by state laws. Customs barred them from schools, from churches, and other public

places, while white mobs raged from time to time, attacking Black urban communities, killing Afro-Americans, and driving some out of the cities and into Canada.

Prejudice was so strong that initially northern mobs assaulted abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass, a former slave, and William Lloyd Garrison, a white newspaper editor. Eventually, the north became convinced of the need to limit slavery expansion, to prevent the institution from becoming entrenched in western states, but this was partly because of their dislike of Blacks as well as a result of the fear that northerners could not compete economically against slave labor. Anti-slavery expansion sentiment became so strong that it resulted in the election of Abraham Lincoln, which led to the south's secession.

In light of the strength of northern prejudice, we can better understand their reluctance to enlist Afro-Americans. Although Blacks had served in every American military conflict, nothing they could do would convince whites that Blacks possessed courage and the manly qualities thought necessary for warfare. Besides, the war was said to be a white man's war --- and not an issue concerning slavery. The Union was at stake, Lincoln and other politicians claimed at the outset, not slavery, which was merely incidental. As the war continued, the north suffered a number of defeats, and fugitive slaves proved their worth as guides, spies, and eventually, as soldiers.

Free Blacks as well as slaves were enlisted in 1863 as gradually the war for the union became a war for emancipation. Black military

units were segregated, though officers were white, for prejudice ruled that Blacks lacked leadership qualities. A number of regiments, the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, for example, won glory in numerous battles, and eventually earned the praises of white northern politicians, newspapermen, as well as generals.

San Francisco's Black citizens showed they were willing to fight when they organized a group of citizens to recruit men for Company A of the Colored California Volunteers. R. A. Hall, the chief recruiter, opened an office in Athenaeum Hall, on Washington Street, where the cultural society was also housed. A Black San Franciscan, Alexander Ferguson, traveled to Washington, D.C. to request a commission as officer. On New Year's Day 1863, he was one of the men who met with President Lincoln. He performed a special service for the Secretary of War. Ferguson was appointed a special agent and entrusted with transporting a safe with half a million dollars in funds to San Francisco. Probably in return for this service, he was promised he would get the first commission ^{for a} colored officer from the War Department. Previously none had been awarded Afro-Americans unless they were chaplains or surgeons.

It seems that Black San Franciscans went east to enlist in Black companies, because if a California regiment fought in the war, the Black newspapers of the city would have publicized their battles or, at the very least, their presence.

After the war, a series of former generals and other veterans occupied numerous political offices as well as the White House. In

San Francisco, ex-soldiers participated in various areas of urban life and politics. Afro-Americans were among the veterans.

Black citizens preserved the martial spirit, re-lived past exploits, and prepared their children for future battles by starting military societies after the war. Adults joined the Brannan Guards, the Lincoln Zouaves, or the Sumner Guards, while youth became members of the Moore Cadets. The names came from Samuel Brannan, a California pioneer who loaned the Blacks money for their unit; from the martyred president; from the famous senator, Charles Sumner; and from a Black minister, Reverend John J. Moore, respectively.

Perhaps twenty men or more joined together, formed a unit, held elections to select officers, and then petitioned the governor for the right to use military arms. There were numerous positions for ambitious men. In 1869 some forty-five Brannan Guards were led by Captain A. G. Denison, two lieutenants, and five sergeants. They also had a secretary and treasurer. The guard met in its armory on Pacific above Powell Street on Wednesday evenings every week.

A few years later this organization was defunct, but another, the Lincoln Zouaves, formed. They marched in their first parade on January 1, 1869, marking the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. They looked resplendent that day in uniforms designed after those of the "Corps d'Afrique," a French unit of African soldiers. This organization adopted Lincoln's birthday as its anniversary and scheduled a parade and grand ball for the occasion.

Black youth followed in their elders' footsteps. The Moore

Cadets, composed of teen-age boys, stood out as a remarkable example of Black soldiering. Besides marching in parades, the Cadets, like the adult groups, held their own social affairs and exhibitions. In the spring of 1866 they gave a combination masquerade party and military drill in Philharmonic Hall. Ladies and gentlemen attended in "Masque Costume." Admission cost one dollar for "gents" and "unaccompanied ladies." A committee of women provided refreshments. Beginning at nine-thirty, the young boys executed "marches and evolutions in military tactics, ending with the celebrated Drum Tap Drill, under Master C[harles] C. Smith, Capt[ain]." A veteran who reviewed them in 1866 wrote, "I never in my life saw a better drilled company than these juvenile soldiers."(Elevator, January 5, 1866, p.3) Following this exercise, a "private," James Williams, recalled the history of the Black soldiers' recent exploits, delivering "a short address upon the conduct and heroism of the colored soldiers during the War."

After the Civil War the U.S.'s Black troops were reorganized into the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry Regiments. These soldiers exhibited considerable valor during the Indian wars in the west and later in Cuba and the Philippines. When four companies of the Twenty-fourth arrived in San Francisco in 1899, the San Francisco Call noted they "were sent out to the coast as a reward of merit." Furthermore, "when the fighting was on down in Cuba, there were no braver soldiers there of any color than they, and they won more glory than they could carry home in the fight that brought about ...[the Spanish] surrender." Another reporter claimed they were

"the most renowned infantry regiment in the Army." (Chronicle, July 2, 1899, pp. 1-2.) This regiment served as nurses in the U.S. Army hospital in Cuba, and was therefore racked by tropical disease, resulting in many deaths, after the fighting. They were eventually sent to the Rockies to recuperate before they were stationed in San Francisco. Three companies stayed at the Presidio while one went to Alcatraz. They also possessed a band with "a national reputation ... which will doubtless prove a valuable acquisition to the social as well as the business life of the post." (Call April 8, 1899, p.7)

Eventually they were to go to the Philippines. One soldier viewed this prospect with sadness and resignation:

"We're only regulars, and black ones at that, and I expect that when the Philippine question is settled they'll detail us to garrison the islands. Most of us will find our graves over there."

Shortly thereafter the Twenty-fifth Infantry arrived en route for the Philippines. The Ninth Cavalry also stayed at the Presidio in 1900. They won distinction in the city for extinguishing a grass fire which broke out on the post that summer. A Call reporter described the "heroes of San Juan Hill fighting a new foe":

"Grabbing sacks and blankets as they ran and breaking off huge branches from the trees in the vicinity they attacked the fast-spreading blaze Right into the thickest of it they went, never pausing until the recall was sounded announcing that all danger was passed."

When President Theodore Roosevelt visited San Francisco in 1903, he was escorted in a parade by two troops of the Ninth Cavalry. This was "the

first instance in the West where negro soldiers ... held the position of honor in a public procession." (Marvin Fletcher, p.88)

Black soldiers enjoyed considerable esprit de corps and had fewer internal problems. In 1908, for example, Black troops had a desertion rate of less than one percent, while white soldiers deserted at the rate of nearly five percent. Re-enlistment was also higher among Blacks --- fewer opportunities in civilian life accounted for this. The chaplain, Reverend Allen Allensworth, who later founded a Black community in central California, explained why this group suffered from fewer desertions than white troops. They benefitted from "a similarity of taste All the messmates like the same things to eat and are fond of the same recreations, agreeing like one big family. On the other hand, in the white regiments the very differences in nationalities are a cause of dissatisfaction and desertion." Blacks also received praise for not drinking liquor to excess. "Everybody expects a regular to drink nearly as much as the white men, and from drinking comes almost all the soldier's troubles." To the contrary, the Twenty-fourth Regiment behaved so well in San Francisco the citizens "scarcely knew they were here until they were gone."

Some Black soldiers were not so fortunate as those in the Twenty-fourth Regiment. Fights broke out on a streetcar in late 1903, and the conflict spread to the post later that day. According to the Chronicle article (November 24, 1903, p.13), "Soldiers on a Union Street Car Wage War": "Bad blood has existed between the colored soldiers and their white neighbors for some time."

Two prominent Black officers stayed in the Bay Area at the turn of the century. It should be pointed out that Black officers were few, especially before World War I, and still fewer were commissioned. In 1899, there was only one Black commissioned officer except for chaplains in the military. Colonel Charles D. Young, a West Point graduate, was said to be "the single outpost on the road to equality." He served in Cuba, the Philippines, and China before coming to the Bay Area. He spoke throughout the Bay Area, including an address at Stanford University in 1903. Another officer, Chaplain Allen Allensworth, was primarily responsible for recruiting as well as administering spiritual needs. During the Cuban campaign he went through the south seeking recruits to fill the ranks that were depleted by warfare and disease. He explained his successes: "I hold the army out to the colored man as an opportunity to save up sufficient capital to go into business." Most importantly, "it is a good chance for our folks --- a better chance than they have almost anywhere, much better than they have in the south." (Call July 2, 1899, p.1)

Because of limited economic opportunities in the United States, Afro-Americans joined the military. Such service gave them a measure of security and an opportunity to prove their worth in a nation that always doubted it. Their military heroes served as sterling examples of Black manhood which guided them in their conflicts with race discrimination as well as in battles overseas. Performing as well as they did, and assuming the most dangerous and unpleasant duties, they were an asset to the U.S. military during its wars from the nineteenth to the late twentieth century.

THE MARITIME WORKERS

Sailors occasionally lived within the confines of GGNRA, particularly when they lived on ships in the harbor or anchored at the waterfront. When they resided on shore they lived along the waterfront or on the Barbary Coast, on Pacific Street. Black seafaring men came to San Francisco, usually as ship stewards and cooks or as common sailors, from the 1840s to modern times.

By spreading word of San Francisco's opportunities, these highly mobile Blacks motivated residents of different places to travel west, giving the Black population its cosmopolitan character. The Afro-American residents frequently went to sea to travel and to make money, as San Franciscans' discriminatory hiring practices meant narrow job opportunities for Blacks.

The roles of Afro-Americans in the U.S. and European maritime industry, like the exploits of the Black soldiers, have been relatively unappreciated as well as unknown to the public. According to one source Afro-Americans made up an estimated fifteen percent of the personnel in the U.S. Navy in the nineteenth century, and very possibly the same percentage were to be found in other American ships. They toiled not only as stewards, cooks, and ordinary seamen, but as firemen, carpenters, storekeepers and water tenders. Moreover, they slept and ate with white seamen. Despite this measure of integration in the navy in the nineteenth century, very few Afro-Americans became officers. A photograph of the

British ship Brigadoon, which sailed from Ireland to the U.S. at the turn of the last century, is suggestive of the importance of Black seamen. Most of the ordinary sailors were Black, while, as was invariably the case, the handful of officers was white. While not as numerous on other ships, their ubiquitous presence is noteworthy:

"You can pick up any shipping list of any American vessel from 1800 to 1899, and there will be a black in there somewhere, working as a seaman or a sailmaker, or in any other capacity or rating." Towards the end of the nineteenth century Black participation declined as a result of unsuccessful competition with the foreign-born, and in the twentieth century, discrimination in job tasks increased, and segregation became the rule in the U.S. Navy.

Black San Franciscans were closely connected with the maritime industry from pioneer days. Significantly, William Leidesdorff, a West Indian and leading Californian before statehood, brought the first steam-powered ship into the bay on October 20, 1847. Although it was a tiny vessel, with a cabin holding only nine passengers, it was a forerunner of the larger steam vessels that would soon enter the bay, run up and down the coast, and regularly ply the waterways to Sacramento and Stockton.

William A. Leidesdorff is not only important for California and the nation's history but also for the city's maritime history. It is unlikely he saw himself as an Afro-American in California, for until the U.S. takeover, the region was relatively free of either racial prejudice or race consciousness. He was born in 1810 in the Danish West Indies, on St. Croix (or Santa Cruz), of a Danish father and a

mother of African ancestry. Educated in Denmark, Leidesdorff lived in New Orleans before migrating to California in 1840.

A merchant, he also captained the Julia Anna, sailing to the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) and along the Pacific Coast, trading in lumber, coal, and animal hides. In 1847 he bought the first steamship on the bay, the Little Sitka, built as a pleasure cruiser by the Russian American Fur Company.

The steamer was thirty-seven feet in length, the breadth of its beam was nine feet, and its hold measured three-and-a half feet. Its steam engine powered two side wheels, and its body under the water was covered with copper plates, fastened with copper rivets. Known variously as the "little monster" and the "steamboat," the Sitka was purchased for use in Leidesdorff's trading about the bay. Leidesdorff also steamed to Sonoma and dined aboard ship with General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, among others. In 1848 the steamer was swamped by a northerner. Then it was salvaged and its hull rebuilt. In April 1848, the rebuilt ship went to sea again, this time not as the steamer Little Sitka but as a schooner, the Rainbow.

Few Afro-Americans actually owned or built ships, though some possessed the requisite skills. In San Francisco, T.B. Davidson and John T. Woodis were successful as ship caulkers. Yet they were exceptions, because as in other construction trades, white artisans and ship-builders generally refused to work alongside Afro-Americans. Nonetheless, John T. Callendar, a Jamaican and former seaman, became a ship rigger in the 1880s. He ranked among the city's most prosperous Afro-Americans in 1889.

The waterfront and bay was an important setting for a number of incidents that were closely connected to the struggles of Afro-Americans. California law prevented them from testifying in court cases against whites until 1863. When a Black sailor was accused of killing a mate on board an American vessel, an important legal question came up, as the witnesses were Afro-American. The case went into federal court, and it had to resolve the issue of whether state law prevailed. If it did, the testimony of Blacks was inadmissible. The judge decided California law prevailed, and so the jury had to acquit the seaman.

About the same time the waterfront was a setting for the dramatic rescues of Blacks about to be whisked away into slavery. A daring rescue by W. H. Harper, an Afro-American who learned of the whereabouts of a slave girl, prevented her from being lost to bondage in 1854. Archy Lee, a slave who was transported across the bay to a waiting vessel that would return him to the south, was similarly saved just in the nick of time. Government officials rescued him, and he was eventually freed in one of the most famous cases in California history.

Numerous Black San Franciscans worked on the coastal and river steamers that made regular runs to and from San Francisco. William H. Hall, a leading civil rights advocate, and Henry M. Collins, a businessman, were among them. These workers kept close contact with the Afro-American communities in different places, carried messages, and performed favors for Black folk. Some, such as Richard Daulton, occasionally provided free passage for Afro-Americans. They also protected Negroes

from the discrimination they were likely to receive from white crew members.

Work on the steamers was more dangerous than the average American of today could contemplate. Zealous crews pushed their ships to the limit, and sometimes beyond. Such ships as the Antelope and the Chrysopolis raced from river city to river city. After leaving Sacramento in late 1865, the Antelope's boiler exploded, killing many passengers and crew.

The Brother Jonathan also brought tragedy to the families of San Franciscans when it went down in the summer of 1865. More than two hundred people were on board, but not even twenty were saved. The Elevator lamented the deaths of the Black crew members, among them Richard Daulton, chief steward, Charles Laws, chief cook, Mrs. Stevenson, a stewardess, and several passengers.

Usually, Afro-American experiences with the ships and the sea were not quite as dramatic. Black mariners performed the drudgery that was so much a part of maritime life. They toiled as common sailors in the Navy and on commercial ships. They served as cooks, stewards, and chamber-maids as well. Men and women worked on the clipper ships that came around the Horn, on coastal steamers, and on the riverboats, shifting from vessel to vessel according to their needs and the availability of work.

While the tips sometimes made the steamer jobs lucrative for Afro-Americans, they eventually lost the better jobs to the foreign-born. Throughout the city's history, Afro-Americans vied with whites

and Chinese for jobs, frequently working as strikebreakers and then losing everything after the conflict was settled.

In 1865, Black men replaced the deck hands of the steamer Brother Jonathan who had struck for higher wages. Most of the Afro-Americans had never worked on a ship, and some had never even been to sea. After a short trial, the chief officer informed the Elevator, a Black newspaper, "that they got along as well as any green hands he had ever had on shipboard. Before they returned, "four were appointed quarter-masters," and the chief officer reported they would be employed for the next voyage.

While in Portland, these Black deck hands made a favorable impression on the public when they unloaded the steamer. "Everybody seemed to think the change a good one, as they were less noisy, and appeared to work with greater willingness and more alacrity than the former deck hands." Moreover the chief officer observed he never "had cause to find fault with any of his new crew, and there was never less cursing, rioting, or abuse on the ship, either from the officers or among themselves." The Elevator could not praise them enough: "These men have added dignity to their occupation; and by their industry and uniform good conduct have elevated themselves to an equality with any who pursue their calling."

At other times the competition forebode future losses for Afro-Americans. While aboard a ship from San Francisco to the east, near Panama Bay, the San Francisco minister Reverend John J. Moore noted "an ominous development against the future reliability of menial

dependence for our living necessities." Chinese workers threatened Afro-Americans. Twenty Chinese worked on the ship for a mere \$110 a year --- wages lower than Afro-Americans or whites required. "Colored men could not live on such wages; hence they will necessarily have to seek living means from other sources," reported the divine.

Competition for sea-going jobs, like competition for service or longshore positions in the city, accounted for the small size of the Black San Francisco population. After the 1860s, few Afro-Americans managed to distinguish themselves in the maritime industry. They were relegated the least desirable jobs as common sailors, stewards, and stewardesses --- hardly different from the jobs they traditionally held in the hotels and restaurants or on the railroads.

Captain William T. Shorey stood out among Black maritime workers. Shorey was born on the West Indian island of Barbadoes in 1859, the son of a Scottish planter and a West Indian. The oldest of eight children, he went to work at an early age, learning the plumber's trade. Like many West Indians, he went to sea in search of opportunity. A cabin boy at first, he learned the art of navigation from a friendly captain, and later studied on his own. Then in 1871 he shipped out on a whaler. His talents permitted him to advance to the rank of officer in 1880.

The whaling industry was of especial importance for New Englanders. This activity, while profitable the first half of the nineteenth century, was particularly demanding as well as dangerous, as Herman Melville's Moby Dick indicates. Crews and ships scoured the ocean in search of the mammals, staying at sea often for two or three years. Discipline

was harsh, quarters were cramped, food was inadequate, and pay was low. More than once Shorey nearly lost his life.

The whaling industry declined after the mid-nineteenth century, partly because the growing oil industry supplanted the need for whale oil. Nonetheless, Shorey found ample opportunity as a whaler, a profession he followed until he retired from the sea in 1908. He shipped out as a third mate on board the Emma F. Harriman in 1880, but by the end of the voyage he was the first officer. This whaler was rather large, measuring 118 feet in length and weighing 385 tons. Shorey and his shipmates traversed the North Atlantic to the South Atlantic, stopped at West Africa, sailed around the southern tip of Africa into the Indian Ocean, put in at Australia, entered the South Pacific and visited Latin America before sailing into San Francisco Bay.

He shipped out on the Harriman again in 1884 and 1885 on trips that lasted less than a year. Before long he became "the only colored captain on the Pacific Coast," testimony to his intelligence, knowledge of the sea, and ability to command respect. Shorey married a Black San Franciscan, Julia Ann Shelton, and the newlyweds sailed aboard the Harriman to Hawaii on a honeymoon. The Black captain was frequently accompanied by his wife and children in subsequent years.

In 1889 Shorey commanded the Alexander, a brig which weighed 136 tons and was 87 feet long. He made another voyage the following year, but in 1891 the Alexander struck an ice floe in the Arctic and sank. The fact that Shorey was able to save every crew member was testimony to his abilities as a captain. Despite this loss of his ship, the

West Indian continued to put to sea, making eight voyages as commander of the Andrew Hicks.

He also commanded crews aboard another whaler, the Gay Head, searching for whales in the North Pacific in 1894 and 1895. In 1896, again as captain of the Hicks, he put to sea. Interestingly, his crew, according to the Chronicle, was particularly heterogeneous, composed of "Americans ... rugged Northmen, yellow-skinned Chinese, brown Esquimax and kinky-haired sailors as black as ever walked the plank of a river packet." Before retiring from a declining industry, he went to sea five more times between 1903 and 1908 aboard the John and Winthrop.

The hazards of sailing were brought home once again in 1907, when the whaler was struck by typhoons. Sails were taken in, everything was battened, and sailors sought refuge below decks as the wind and waves swept the decks. The storm lasted thirty hours, then another struck, carrying away boats and sails. Later a fog shrouded the John and Winthrop, and it nearly struck a reef, but again Shorey's experience prevented a disaster. The next year the Black captain quit the sea and spent the remaining years of his life in Oakland, where he was a respected member of the East Bay community.

Eugene Lasartemay's career was probably more typical of the Afro-American seafarer. Born in Hawaii at the turn of the century, Lasartemay came to San Francisco in the 1920s. Discouraged because of job discrimination, he finally went to sea. Starting as a fireman, he rose to deck engineer and eventually to first engineer during the years he was a seaman. He traveled about the globe, singing as a member of a

group when the ship put into port, and learning photography. Today he is an officer of the East Bay Negro Historical Society.

The influences of the maritime industry were felt by San Franciscans who depended upon marine-related businesses. Boardinghouse and restaurant proprietors, saloon-keepers, and night club owners and longshoremen saw their fortunes rise and fall according to fluctuations in maritime shipping. Sea-going Blacks drew upon their skills to work on land and become settled residents of San Francisco. Abraham Cox quit the sea to open a sailor's boarding house at the foot of Broadway Street during pioneer days. Eventually it was taken over by John T. Callendar, who ran it for another twenty years. Cooks and waiters desirous of staying on land frequently worked in waterfront boardinghouses, restaurants, and saloons, using their contacts and knowledge of the sea to prosper.

Boardinghouse keepers such as Cox and Callendar served important functions in the nineteenth century. Besides providing board and bed to sailors, they found them jobs, loaned them money, held their valuables for safe-keeping, and performed other services. They also helped sailors deal with some of the problems connected with their jobs and the waterfront's peculiar mix of violence and adventure.

Such leading citizens, saloon-keepers, and other sailors were often the only friends seamen had when they were in port and far from home. With their meager earnings in hand, they sought entertainment, drink, and companionship in waterfront dives and along Pacific Street in the area known as the Barbary Coast. In 1897, the San Francisco

Call noted "down on Pacific Street a few dives still remain that are patronized by negroes and drunken sailors, and where whites and colored women of the lowest class are employed as waitresses."

Black and white patrons, some of them seamen, were likely to be shanghaiied when ship's crews could not be filled. Saloon keepers sometimes collaborated with ship captains to obtain crews by any means necessary. In addition to being preyed upon by these citizens, sailors of various races were cheated in games of chance, drugged, bludgeoned, and robbed by San Francisco hoodlums who knew sailors were relatively defenseless in a strange port where they had few friends.

Waterfront and saloon life was also marked by fights among its sailors and patrons. In 1873, Lloyd Bell, a Black cook on a coastal steamer "was involved in a murder in a low sailor-boarding house on the city front." The luckless man was prone to alcoholism like many seamen, but "except [for] his intemperate habits we never heard any evil of the poor friendless old man."

While evidence is sparse, occasionally the newspapers provided glimpses of the violent life endured by these sailors. In 1886 the Daily Alta California reported a row between a Black sailor, William Daniels, and a young Mexican, August Rivas: The latter "drew a knife and in true Barbary Coast fashion proceeded to carve up his rival." Daniels was cut badly on the hand before officers intervened and arrested Rivas, booking him for assault to murder. In 1903, in another Pacific Street row, a discharged U.S. Navy sailor, James Michens, drew a knife and slashed a Black man before he was arrested. In each case the row was over a woman; their companionship was highly sought.

after in this city of men.

Conflict marked longshoremen's struggles during the World War I years. White workers usually refused to admit Blacks when organizing unions to increase their wages and improve their work situation. When whites struck, Black strikebreakers took over jobs as longshoremen. The potential for violence often occurred. Columbus Isaacs and Mark Moore, Black and non-union, were attacked by striking longshoremen in the summer of 1916 at Embarcadero and Market Streets.

In the 1920s and subsequent decades, the threat of violence frequently hovered over Afro-Americans who only wanted to work. Eight hundred Afro-Americans, from southern California, Washington state, Georgia, and Texas landed in San Francisco in late 1919 or early 1920. Again, a longshore strike, this time against Matson Navigation Company, provided them with attractive jobs. They believed they would have "constant and highly paid work." They toiled loyally, braving the angry strikers, who attacked, injured, and maimed the Black workers when they had the chance. After the strike was settled and white longshoremen were rehired, most of the Black workers were laid off. The Matson Company admitted its debt to Black workers, for without them violence "would have crippled our industries." It acknowledged a "moral obligation" to these men who had come to the Bay Area waterfront "of their own volition". However, "unfortunately, this is the dull season on the waterfront When work picks up on the front we will re-employ those negroes we discharged." Undoubtedly many Blacks left the city rather than wait. Accordingly, San Francisco's Afro-American popula-

tion did not increase at a rate comparable to the newer cities of Oakland, Los Angeles, and Seattle.

In 1934 a general strike in support of the longshoremen's labor struggles paralyzed the Bay Area. These workers grew in number and influence in the course of the next few years, culminating in the formation of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.). This powerful organization was affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Workers (C.I.O.), which, unlike most other unions, actively sought to enlist Afro-Americans. Consequently the number of Blacks in the I.L.W.U. increased considerably, and some rose to important positions. One of the most radical of labor organizations, the I.L.W.U., also pioneered in race relations by treating Afro-Americans as union brothers.

More than 100,000 Black folk settled in the Bay Area during the Great Migration of the 1940s. Afro-Americans were promised good jobs, and recruiters encouraged them to migrate from Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, as well as from northern states. The west coast shipyards needed workers and welcomed the Afro-Americans as such, but at the same time many westerners hoped the newcomers would return to the south after the war ended. Undoubtedly some did leave after the shipyards closed, but many stayed, preferring the uncertainties of the west to the segregated south that they knew only too well.

The number of Blacks in waterfront-related jobs grew as C.I.O.-affiliated unions organized. Executive Order 8802, forbidding racial discrimination in war plants, also increased the variety of jobs available to Afro-Americans. During the war, the Bay Area's shipbuilding

activities quickened, and the war plants that brought Black migrants to the Bay Area from the south and other parts of the nation afforded jobs and excellent wages. The significance of this break-through was seen during World War II, when the Black population of the Bay Area swelled from 15,000 to 120,000.

Blacks also inhabited Marin City, situated on the bay just north of Sausalito, consisting of a public housing development. Nearby, Marinship, the shipyards, sprang up almost over night in mid-1942. By the end of that year, 5,500 people lived in the 1,500 family apartments and houses and 1,200 dormitory rooms. The workers from this community toiled alongside 15,000 others in the shipyards, launching the first ship, the William A. Richardson, on September 26, 1942.

Among the ship workers were a number of Afro-Americans, male and female, some of whom lived in nearby Marin City. They labored as welders, pipefitters, boilermakers, and at other skilled and unskilled jobs, although it is difficult to say how many were there during the war. By 1950, however, 40% of the 5,000 inhabitants of Marin City's public housing were Afro-Americans.

During the war, the Black workers at Marinship included Daniel J. Hayden, who arrived in early 1943. He worked as a ship scaler and later as a boilermaker before going into the army. He returned to Marin City in 1946 and was active in community life, including labor unions and a tenants' organization.

James Quiett also came to Marin City in 1943, after studying boiler-making at Southern University. Because of discrimination, he had to join a segregated auxiliary of a local union. Skyrall E. Sweeney,

from Colorado, worked in Marin City and enjoyed the exhilarating sense of freedom. Particularly during the war, and aside from union discrimination, he felt there was a sense of community in Marin City and found little racial prejudice: "It wasn't a case of white or black, but we're all just Marin City people."

Problems still persisted in the war plants. The local boiler-maker's union admitted Afro-Americans, but it segregated them into a local of their own, and then treated them unequally. The head of the San Francisco National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Joseph James, a member of the union, brought suit to end this discrimination. With the aid of lawyer Thurgood Marshall, future Supreme Court justice, James succeeded in winning the suit.

As a result of the migration of the 1940s, San Franciscans discovered their city had the racial problems similar to New York and Chicago, where Black ghettos had formed after World War I. Ghettos also developed in the Bay Area. Large numbers of Afro-Americans lived along Fillmore Street and at Hunter's Point, near the shipyards, in San Francisco; and in West Oakland on Seventh Street. They also began to congregate in East Oakland in Richmond.

Inadequate housing and job lay-offs after the war, poor medical treatment, and improper nutrition produced high mortality rates. From 1943 to 1947 the percentage of deaths of Black San Franciscans rose from 1.1 to 19.1%. According to the Chronicle (May 3, 1948, p.13): "In all, Negroes died at a much younger age than non-Negroes suffering from the same disease." The city that had promised so much in the

1850s offered little to Afro-Americans a century later. National Urban League spokesman Lester Granger believed discrimination in San Francisco was more devastating than in Dixie: "Negroes in far many more cases than the general public could believe possible can find more opportunity and less discrimination in the South than in the North."

Connections between San Francisco's waterfront and Afro-American history exist where one might least expect them. As an example of this, we might consider The Maritime Museum and the work of a San Francisco resident, Sargent Johnson, considered "the most admired sculptor of all black artists." (Mickey Friedman, S. F. Examiner, 9/20/27, p.6)

The triple-decked concrete building, which resembles an ocean liner, was constructed as part of a Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) project during the Depression. Costing nearly two million dollars, it was the futuristic bathhouse for a "Great Aquatic Park," where city dwellers could swim, sun, and entertain themselves. The main building had dressing rooms sufficient for 5,000 bathers each day.

Begun in 1935, the project involved not only construction of the main building, but of a beach and stadia as well. Artists were still at work when the park was opened four years later. Unfortunately, no one realized the water was too cold for the average person. Then tides swept the sandy beach away, the health department considered the water unsafe due to nearby sewerage, and the resort closed after less than two years. Later it served as a senior citizens' center and as an anti-aircraft battalion headquarters.

Karl Kortum, a seaman and scholar, conceived the idea of a

maritime museum. The complex opened again in 1951 as the San Francisco Maritime Museum, a unique entity which reflects the history of this part of the city.

As you approach the building from Polk Street, you might simply pass through the doors, ignoring both the unusual architecture and, even more significant, the incised relief above and on either side of the entrance. Here Sargent Johnson, working in green Vermont slate, which is rarely used in this fashion, depicted men and maritime life. He also contributed a mosaic mural and two sculptures on the promenade deck facing the bay.

Sargent Claude Johnson lived in the Bay Area from 1915 until his death in 1967. Born in 1887 in Boston of Black American, Swedish American, and Native American forebears, he studied at the Worcester Art School, but is usually associated with the California art movement. He was a familiar sight to North Beach citizens, for this artist lived in a modest apartment on upper Grant Street and befriended many people. A Sun-Reporter news editor observed: "He was the real article instead of the cliché bohemian artist." Moreover, "completely unattached to material things ... [Johnson] really lived for his work." (Examiner, 9/20/77 p.26)

Johnson was influenced by Egyptian and African sculpture as well as by the Black American folk tradition. Like the Egyptians, he applied color to some of his sculptures. Johnson also lived in Mexico and traveled in Japan, visiting historic sites and shrines, meeting people, and acquiring ideas for his works of art.

He studied art in the Bay area at the A. W. Best School of Art and at the California School of Fine Arts. Robert Stackpole and Benny Bufano were among his teachers. During his life he worked in a variety of media --- stone, wood, clay, ceramics, oils, watercolors, and graphics. As early as 1925, he won the sculpture award in the 45th Annual of the San Francisco Art Association; and again in 1931, and then in 1935 (when he shared it with Bufano). Besides winning other awards, he had his works exhibited by The Harmon Foundation, which featured Black artists, in the 1930s. He was elected to the San Francisco Art Association in 1932.

Johnson's talents were also recognized in commissions to do other projects besides the incised sculpture at the entrance to the Museum. Two Incas astride llamas, stone sculpture in the Court of Pacifica, near land's end, were done for the Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939. He also received the commission to do three statues, each representing homelife, agriculture, and industry for the Alameda-Contra Costa Building at the exposition. A carved mahogany panel for a Matson liner, the S. S. Lurline; a porcelain enamel mural for the Richmond City Hall; and the George Washington High School Athletic Field frieze are some of the works created by Sargent Johnson. They serve as evidence of the creativity of an Afro-American who dedicated his life entirely to art, enriching the lives of residents and visitors to the Bay Area.

THE FUN-SEEKERS

While few Black residents lived within or near the GGNRA in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, they participated in a number of kinds of recreational activities that made full advantage of the city's scenic views and unique opportunities. The desire for recreation, and the forms it assumed, reflected the nature of the inhabitants, their values, as well as their environment.

The recreational life of the Black residents was rich and varied from the mid-nineteenth century. They took advantage of the amenities available in a cosmopolitan coastal city. Soldiers, sailors, adventurers and tourists frequented the resorts along the waterfront and on Broadway and Pacific Streets. In addition to the Athenaeum Saloon, Blacks ran hotels. Mifflin W. Gibbs migrated west in the 1850s and stayed in a hotel kept by a colored man, and immediately he was impressed by the gold of the gambling tables. In 1859 the New York Weekly Anglo-African correspondent from San Francisco, Peter Anderson (later editor of the Pacific Appeal), described a hotel being constructed on Kearney Street between Jackson and Pacific as "the most extensive I have seen here." It was run by George Smith, formerly of the Golden Eagle Hotel, and it accommodated approximately seventy-five guests.

Afro-Americans also toiled and sought diversion in other resorts as well as the Black ones. Yet there were always Afro-American resorts, such as the Acme and the Lotus in the late nineteenth century, or

Purcell's in the early twentieth, or Jenkin's in West Oakland in the mid-twentieth century.

Black entertainers earned a living as minstrels, singers, and musicians in San Francisco's clubs, saloons, and cabarets. "Bert" Williams and George Walker, who later became famous in Black musicals in New York, started their careers in San Francisco resorts in the early 1890s. They performed as minstrels, sang, and danced, while Williams learned to play the ragtime songs that were the rage in the 1890s.

Numerous diversions and forms of recreation fascinated San Francisco's Afro-Americans. Churches gave fairs, bazaars, and dinners to remodel, improve, and purchase their buildings. Social affairs were also held to raise money for civil rights causes. There were holiday celebrations on August 1, West Indian Emancipation Day; January 1, Emancipation Proclamation Day; and the Fourth of July, with parades and addresses during the day and dances at night. A colored opera company, made up of Anna and Emma Hyers, played in San Francisco in 1879.

Bay Area excursions were popular during pioneer days as they are today. They enabled citizens to take advantage of the fresh air and the scenic views of the city and the bay, to enjoy the natural surroundings of the forests in Marin County or in the East Bay, and to amuse themselves with a variety of pastimes.

In June 1870, Afro-Americans had an "Excursion and Picnic" at San Rafael. "Everyone seemed to have enjoyed themselves in a happy

manner." The participants traveled by rail across from San Quentin. The trip "presents a beautiful spectacle to the beholder, and the refreshing air both seaward and from o'er the mountain tops adds strength and vigor to weak and strong." Moreover, "all wore the sweet smiles of joy and merriment. From the 'Shoo Fly' to the most enlivening note of the composers were played on the violin, cello and other instruments of full and harmonious sounds, and were ably discussed by Terpsichorean artists."

The returning steamer ride was especially pleasant. "The guests availed themselves a chance to occupy the upper deck of the steamer and danced until we came to the city. While passing the French gunboat in the harbor, the officers, on hearing the sound of our music, and the company arranged for dancing, they with the noble tars, saluted us with loud and welcome cheers amid the waving of their nautical caps, which were alike responded by the signal of handkerchiefs and whirling of hats." The reporter concluded, "We will not easily forget this pleasant trip, and the happy hours we have passed with some of our young ladies of this city, and those from other parts of the state."

These occasions were not always so pleasant. When a steamboat excursion was made in 1859 for the benefit of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church of San Francisco, the reporter to the New York Weekly Anglo-African noted that "a band of musicians was procured --- whites, of course, although a sufficient number of colored musicians could have been obtained, and, in the opinion of many, would have been more appropriate and satisfactory, for reasons I need not explain."

Shortly before noon the fun-seekers "went their rejoicing, across the bay, a few miles below the city in the neighborhood of Saucelitto, to a place called 'Raccoon Straits', where ... they indulged in music, fishing, etc., to their hearts' content, and returned about four o'clock, wiser if not better 'beneficiaries.'"

Such a wide range of activities appealed to a variety of urbanites. Views of the city, picnics and hikes in the countryside, games, dancing, and courting attracted Black citizens to the excursions and the parks in and around the bay. Different organizations sponsored and were featured in the affairs. Victoria and Hannibal Masonic Lodges, two of San Francisco's oldest Black fraternal orders, chartered the steamer San Antonio in the summer of 1865 to celebrate St. John's Day. When the steamer landed at Benicia, the Masons and passengers debarked to attend a procession, oration, and ceremonies of two other lodges. William H. Yates, a barber and musician, was one of the speakers, followed by William H. Hall, "'the silver-tongued orator of California.'" When military organizations such as the Brannan Guards participated in excursions and picnics, they frequently displayed their marching abilities and marksmanship.

The steamer excursion remained attractive in the mid-twentieth century, particularly when it combined historical and cultural activities with recreational. Recently the San Francisco African-American Historical and Cultural Society sponsored such an event so its members and friends could socialize while enjoying the Bay Area's spectacular views.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, urban

expositions were held on vast expanses of land --- such as Chicago's Midway or San Francisco's waterfront area from Fishermen's Wharf to the Golden Gate. The Panama-Pacific Exhibition of 1915 was held in just such a place. Another was held on Treasure Island in 1939. In addition, local attractions such as Golden Gate Park, the forts, the Sutro Baths, and Cliff House attracted Afro-Americans along with other city dwellers. Fun-seekers, hikers, swimmers, racing champions, and sun bathers mingled and consorted on such festive occasions in much the same way as city dwellers today, and often on the site of the Golden Gate National Recreation Area.

In 1893 the city held a Midwinter Festival. This affair featured a variety of exhibitions, including villages of peoples from throughout the world. The international and cosmopolitan flair was also enhanced by devoting certain days to specific ethnic groups. Colored American Day permitted Afro-Americans, a term preferred by some Black San Franciscans of the 1890s, to display their grace and dignity as their different organizations paraded solemnly about the fair grounds to the strains of Southern melodies.

To celebrate the opening of the Panama Canal, San Franciscans sponsored another exhibition. Ornate towers decorated with glass jewels and spotlighted at night, buildings such as the Palace of the Legion of Honor, and throngs of citizens made this one of the most spectacular of events in 1915.

Afro-Americans participated in the activities along the northwestern part of San Francisco's waterfront. Major Walter Loving led

the Philippine band in concerts every afternoon. The Black students from Tougaloo University, Mississippi, displayed their work. The painting of the Black artist, Henry O. Tanner, received a gold medal. On Lincoln Day, nearly a thousand Black soldiers, members of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, led the parade. On Alameda Day, Afro-Americans rode on two floats during a parade. On one float sat several women, members of Oakland civic and social clubs, while the other held seventy-five Black children who waved U. S. and California Bear Flags. One Black girl, Virginia Stephens, was singled out during the parade. She won the contest for choosing the exposition's nickname, Jewel City. Black youth participated in the American Athletic University Track Meet on the Athletic Grounds. Royal Towns, a student who participated in the five events of the pentathlon, won a swimming contest in the Bay. He would have placed first in the other events, as well, he recalled, if the atmosphere had been as cold as the water in the bay.

Problems of discrimination often marred these events. Some Blacks opposed setting off a particular day for colored Americans in 1893, complaining it smacked of racial discrimination. In 1915 Negro leaders learned that San Francisco hotels intended to discriminate against Afro-Americans, and they had to make housing arrangements for visiting Black fair-goers. These racial problems were exacerbated when thousands of Afro-Americans migrated to the Bay Area in the 1940s and 1950s. A recreational area becomes even more meaningful in an urban area if it can deal with some of these problems by permitting equal access and enabling citizens to mingle and to get to know one

another without regard for race, color, class, or ethnicity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Citizens interested in the history of Afro-Americans in the Bay Area should examine such primary sources as the federal census, City Directories, local newspapers, and archival letters. The U.S. Manuscript Census for 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1900 is available to the public. By perusing it on microfilm readers, one can learn the number and names of Bay Area residents, their race, age, sex, marital condition, occupation and place of birth. Sometimes the parents' place of birth, real and personal estate, and other material are included. Polk's City Directories for Bay Area cities also give names, addresses and occupations, but they are not all-inclusive, as they usually limit their listings to heads of households. Also, after 1876 there are no racial designations.

The Black newspapers are invaluable. The Mirror of the Times (1857), of which there are only a few remaining copies, and the San Francisco Pacific Appeal (1862-1869) and San Francisco Elevator (1865-1898) contain editorials, letters from readers, reprints from eastern newspapers, obituaries, advertisements, and notices of church services and different social activities. For the twentieth century, one should consult the Oakland Western American, the San Francisco Spokesman, and the Sun-Reporter. Occasional mention is made of the Black San Franciscans in the city's dailies.

Letters and papers of Afro-American residents are rare. The

Bancroft Library of the University of California has the Jeremiah B. Sanderson Papers, consisting of letters of this early pioneer and his family. Photographs of members of his family are also in this library. Stanford University Library has a few letters of James E. Brown, a Black San Franciscan and journalist of the late nineteenth century. The Notary Public file in the governor's correspondence in the California State Archives has letters from William H. Blake, a barber and musician from the pioneer period.

There are a number of histories of San Francisco. Frank Soulé et al, The Annals of San Francisco is superb for the city's first few years. There are a number of mentions of Afro-Americans (see its index). Of course, the work reflects the racism of mid-nineteenth century American society, not only toward Blacks but toward other ethnic groups. Then, too, one should consult John S. Hittel, A History of the City of San Francisco ... and John P. Young, San Francisco: A History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis, 2 volumes; Benjamin E. Lloyd, Lights and Shades of San Francisco, Herbert Asbury, The Barbary Coast, and Charles Keeler, San Francisco and Thereabout provide details of the city's colorful side.

Some reminiscences of whites occasionally mention the Bay Area's Black residents. Sarah Royce, A Frontier Lady, focuses on the Gold Rush period, while Evelyn Wells, Champagne Days of San Francisco and Amelia Neville, The Fantastic City: Memoirs of the Social and Romantic Life of Old San Francisco, portray the late nineteenth-century city.

The history of Marin County has not been chronicled like San

Francisco. The Marin County Historical Society has useful material for the 1940s, especially clippings from the Independent Journal, such as "Marin City Its History and People" (October 15, 1949). Mary Wells, Old Marin With Love (1976), pp 60-65, mentions a few older Black families, but details are lacking.

For detailed information on Black soldiers in the nineteenth century, William Wells Brown, The Negro in the American Rebellion is a good place to begin. For more detailed information, the following titles give an idea of how much research has gone into various aspects of the history of Black soldiers: Herschel V. Cashin, Under Fire with the Tenth United States Cavalry (New York, 1899); Dudley T. Cornish, The Sable Arm: Negro Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865 (New York, 1956); Marvin Fletcher, The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891-1917 (Columbia, Mo., 1974); Willard B. Gatewood, Jr., "Smoked Yankees" and the Struggle for Empire: Letters From Negro Soldiers, 1898-1902 (Urbana, Ill., 1971); Edward L. Glass, History of the Tenth Cavalry, 1866-1921 (Tucson, 1921); William H. Leckie, The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Negro Cavalry in the West (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967); and John H. Nankivell, History of the Twenty-Fifth Regiment of United States Infantry, 1869-1926 (Denver, 1927).

The previously noted Tompkin article on Captain William Shorey is the only published work that I know of that treats Blacks in the west coast maritime industry. For a general treatment of one aspect of the history of Afro-American sailors, see Harold D. Langley, "The Negro in the Navy and Merchant Service, 1738-1860," Journal of Negro History,

Vol, 52 (October, 1967), 273-86. Frederick Harrod, Manning the New Navy: The Development of A Modern Naval Enlisted Force, 1899-1940 (Westport, Conn., 1978) discusses the roles of Blacks in the Navy, the relatively good situation in the nineteenth century, and the emergence of segregation in the twentieth. As with so many general histories, the researcher must make good use of the index to find relevant data on Afro-Americans.

There are only a few Black autobiographies that deal with the western cities. A Reconstruction judge and U.S. Consul, Mifflin W. Gibbs, relates his San Francisco experiences of the 1850s in Shadow and Light: An Autobiography. While more colorful and perhaps less dependable, Captain Harry Dean, author of The Pedro Gorino, stayed in the bay city once. He discusses the life of sailing men. Garland Anderson, a playwright, describes his early years in San Francisco in From Newsboy and Ballhop to Playwright. More recently, Maya Angelou, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, relates her teen-age experiences in San Francisco during World War II.

Secondary sources directly relating to Afro-Americans are rare. Delilah L. Beasley, The Negro Trail Blazers of California, is the first state history of Blacks. Though it contains errors, it is invaluable for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sue Bailey Thurman, Pioneers of Negro Origin in California, like Beasley's work, is valuable for its pictures as well as the text. Elizabeth L. Parker and James Abajian, A Walking Tour of the Black Presence in San Francisco During the Nineteenth Century enables today's citizens to tour the

neighborhoods of Black residence. The World War II period is discussed in Charles S. Johnson, The Negro War Worker. Douglas Henry Daniels, Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco (Philadelphia, 1980) examines the urban life of Afro-Americans in this city from the Gold Rush days.

Several articles are relevant. E. Berkeley Tompkins, "Black Ahab: William T. Shorey, Whaling Master," California Historical Quarterly, LI (Spring 1972), 75-84; Rudolph M. Lapp, "Jeremiah B. Sanderson, Early California Negro Leader," Journal of Negro History, LIII (October, 1968), 321-33 and "The Negro in Gold Rush California," Journal of Negro History XLIV (April, 1964), 81-98 are good. James Fisher, "The Struggle for Negro Testimony in California: 1851-1863," Southern California Quarterly LI (December, 1969), 313-24 examines early civil rights struggles.

Detailed information and extended analysis on the role of Blacks in Bay Area maritime history is singularly lacking. For the life of William A. Leidesdorf, consult James Francis Manning, "William A. Leidesdorf's Career in California," M.A. thesis, U.C. Berkeley, 1942. Oral interviews can be useful here. The author interviewed Eugene P. Lasartemay, who worked on coastal steamers, and whose knowledge was consequently based on experience outside the Bay Area. He is agreeable to serving as an informant for the GGNRA, and can be reached through the East Bay Negro Historical Society in Oakland. Matt Crawford, who worked with Bay Area unions during the 1940s, is also knowledgeable of waterfront activities and prospective informants. He, too, agreed to help the GGNRA if contacted for information.

The development of Marin City and Marinship is chronicled in Marinship: The History of a Wartime Shipyard (San Francisco, 1947). Excellent graphic material could be lifted from this work. The blue-prints of ships on pp. 122 and 127 would be useful as background for photographs or displays. So would the construction photos on pp. 284 and 286. Several Black women are featured in a photo of welders (p. 229). The corporate executives connected with this industry published a useful newsletter, The Mariner, issues of which can be found at the Sausalito Historical Society. Joseph James, a Black resident authored an article in "The Stinger," a section of this publication. His "Marinship Negroes Speak to Fellow Workmen" appeared in the August 21, 1943 issue, p.5, along with a photograph. An excellent photograph of Black workers at Marinship appears in "Negro Workers at Marinship," p.6. See also September 16, 1942, p.11 for a photograph of Joe James. Other useful photos of Afro-Americans can be found in May 27, 1944, pp.2-3; and August 5, 1944, the cover. The following provide explanations which would be good for a GGNRA exhibit: "How We Build Liberty Ships, Lesson No. 2," The Mariner, November 16, 1942, and "Lesson No. 3," December 1, 1942; the back page of the September 16, 1945 Mariner shows a good aerial view of the shipyard.

I found several useful articles on the Maritime Museum and on Sargent Johnson. The history of the Aquatic Park Casino is reported in "Retrospect on San Francisco: Boondoggle Finally Found a Niche," The Progress, January 7, 1977, available from the Museum. (A copy is enclosed.) "Sargent Johnson: Retrospective," by E. J. Montgomery, a Bay

Area artist and leading authority on Johnson, was published by the Oakland Museum. It details his career and discusses his works of art. See also "Belated Honors For Outstanding 30's Sculptor," San Francisco Examiner, September 20, 1977. (Both enclosed.)

Informants can add a great deal to the sketchy written record. The Bancroft Library has interviews with Representative Byron Rumford, newspaperman E. A. Daly, labor leader C. L. Dellums, and civil rights advocate Tarea Hall Pittman. The Oakland Museum interviewed a number of Black residents. The San Francisco African-American Historical and Cultural Society has also interviewed a number of old-timers. Professor David Wellman, of the Institute for the Study of Social Change at the University of California, Berkeley studied the longshoremen's work and is knowledgeable of the names of union leaders and workers who might be interviewed.

There are several residents whom I have talked to at length. Matt Crawford worked with labor unions during World War II. Freddie McWilliams was an entertainer from the early 1920s and is extremely knowledgeable of Black performers and night life in the Bay Area from those years. In addition to these citizens, Royal E. Towns consented to serve as a speaker/resource person for the GGNRA. Civil rights issues could be discussed by C. L. Dellums, Vivian Osborn Marsh, and Matt Crawford.

All kinds of possibilities exist for visual as well as aural presentations. Early histories such as Soulé have woodcuts depicting various races. Photographs of Black residents can be obtained in the

Bancroft Library and the California Historical Society. The East Bay Negro Historical Society has the most photographs of any Black organization. If I spoke to them they might be willing to cooperate with the GGNRA. A number of old-timers also have family photographs. In fact, citizens are more likely to have visual than written documents.

After 1900 the newspapers included photographs or sketches based on photography. Examples of the latter are in the San Francisco Call, April 5, 1899, p.7. Sketches of individual Black soldiers of the Twenty-fourth Regiment are in this issue, while the Chronicle, July 2, 1899, p.1 has sketches and photographs. The Drum Major, Reverend Allen Allensworth, and a splendid group portrait of "A Little Game in the Quarters" would be invaluable additions to the Presidio Museum. Of course the Black newspapers have numerous useful photographs. The newspaper articles accompanying the portraits could also be displayed.

Various kinds of visual material could accompany exhibits. The usefulness of The Mariner has been noted. The Black newspapers and pages from the Manuscript Census and City Directories might be used as a background for the photographs. Letters, diaries, spectacles, household goods, and clothing, such as on display at the East Bay Negro Historical Society, would also add a human interest dimension. Informants may be agreeable to sharing artifacts as well as reminiscences.

Given the importance of music in Afro-American life, any history of Bay Area Negroes should be accompanied by music of the particular era. Besides the European classics, religious songs, and national

anthems, mid-nineteenth century San Franciscans listened to the sentimental songs and ballads that the other Americans enjoyed.

In the late nineteenth century they listened and danced to, played, and sang the popular ragtime songs of such composers as Scott Joplin, James Scott, and Tom Turpin. Bert Williams and George Walker performed to these songs in San Francisco. The trio of James Weldon Johnson, J. Rosamond Johnson, and Bob Cole also played the town. Ragtime records are available and so are music sheets. I would recommend "Scott Joplin - 1916", Biograph (BLP 1006Q); and "Heliotrope Bouquet, Piano Rags (1900-1970)", Nonesuch (H-71257).

During and after World War I, New Orleans musicians came to and played in the Bay Area. Ferdinand "Jelly Roll" Morton opened a night club in San Francisco and described his west coast sojourn in Alan Lomax, Mister Jelly Roll. The following records present his music: "Jelly Roll Morton", BYG Records (529080-Vol.30); and "The King of New Orleans Jazz", RCA Victor (LPM 1649). In addition, Joe "King" Oliver played another side of New Orleans music. He emphasized the blues tradition and his Dixie syncopators can be heard on "King Oliver 'Papa Joe' (192801929)", Decca (DL79246).

In recent decades such popular band leaders as Edward "Duke" Ellington and William "Count" Basie played in the Bay Area on numerous occasions. In 1939 Black musician and composer W. C. Handy was honored at the exposition on Treasure Island.

A band of Black musicians should be featured in a night club, cabaret, waterfront, or Army post scenario. This would give evidence

of their importance to entertainment in the Bay Area. Moreover, it would enable musicians to gain exposure and experience especially if they played in the different styles of the past one hundred years and dressed appropriately.

VITA

- PERSONAL:** Douglas Henry Daniels
October 12, 1943
Chicago, Illinois
- EDUCATION:** Ph.D. - History, University of California, Berkeley, 1975
M.A. - History, University of California, Berkeley, 1969
B.A. - Political Science, University of Chicago, 1964
- WORK EXPERIENCE:** Assistant Professor, History and Black Studies, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1979 -
Assistant Professor, History and Ethnic Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1975-1978
Lecturer, University of Santa Clara, Fall, 1974
Acting Instructor, University of California, Berkeley, 1973-74
Primary school teacher, U.S. Peace Corps, 1965-67
- CONSULTING EXPERIENCE:** National Endowment for the Humanities, 1979
Educational Testing Service, Princeton, N.J., 1977-79
- PUBLICATIONS:** Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of the San Francisco Bay Area's Black Residents, 1850-1940, Temple University Press, forthcoming
Images of Our Roots: Photographic, Oral, and Written Documents of the San Francisco Bay Area's Black Pioneer Residents, 1850-1930, Callcott-Collinson, forthcoming in late 1979
"The Camera and Our Roots," Discovery, University of Texas at Austin, June 1976
"Searching For A Home: The Travelcraft Skills of San Francisco's Black Residents," Umoja, University of Colorado, Boulder, Summer 1977
- PAPERS PRESENTED:** "Black Cosmopolitans," Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History Conference, 1975 and "Blacks on the Urban Frontier," 1978
"Written, Oral, and Photographic Documents," Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association Conference, 1978
"Race Relations and Visual Documents," American Ethno-history Society, 1978

Douglas Henry Daniels

Page 2

HONORS:

National Defense Education Act Fellow

John Hay Whitney Fellow

Ford Foundation Fellow

Newberry Library Summer Fellow

National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow

Danforth Associate

4/27/79