

a history of the
PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY



DEFENSE LANGUAGE INSTITUTE FOREIGN LANGUAGE CENTER

PUBLISHED 1970
Defense Language Institute West Coast Branch
Presidio of Monterey
Monterey, California
On the 200th Anniversary of its Founding

Designed and illustrated by Bruce Ariss
U.S. Army Museum models by Robert Cormier

REPRINTED 2000
Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center
Presidio of Monterey, California
Afterword by Dr. James C. McNaughton

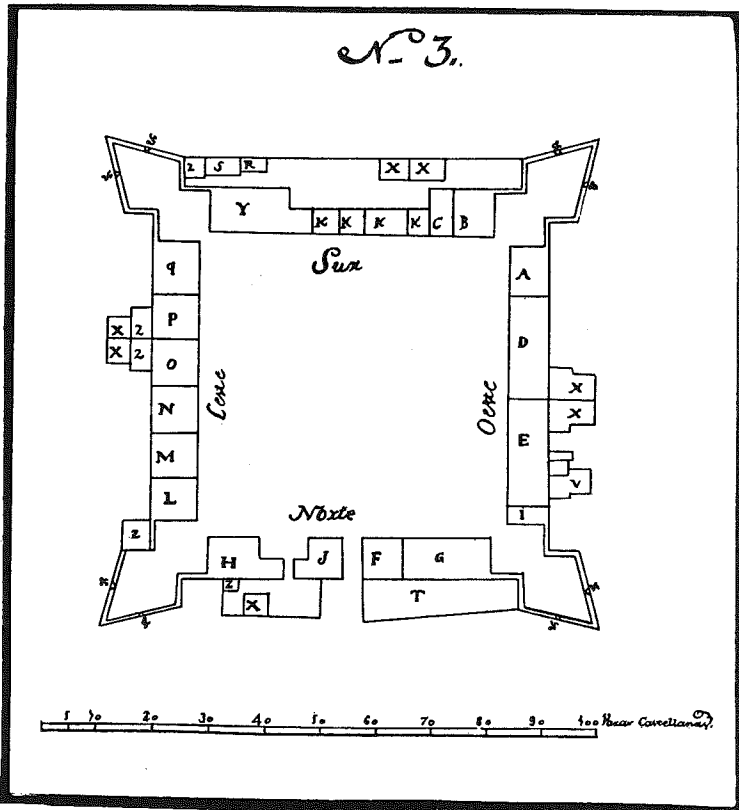
REPRINTED 2007
by the City of Monterey
with the permission of the
Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center

A HISTORY OF THE PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY 1770 TO 1970

by Kibbey M. Horne



Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center
Presidio of Monterey, California



Plano del Real Presidio de
S.ⁿ Carlos de Monterey.
Explicación

- | | |
|--|--|
| A. Iglesia actual | O. Casa del Zoumano |
| B. Iglesia nueva. | P. Enfermeria |
| C. Sotavia | Q. casa p. ^a las Semeitas de España |
| D. Cuartel de la Tropa de Cuera | R. Albergue p. ^a los nuevos Christianos |
| E. Cuartel de la Tropa de Voluntarios | S. Casa p. ^a las alaguas Semeitas |
| F. Cuartel de Suedia. | T. Comal para las Gallinas |
| G. Almacén del Almidón | V. Chiguero de Cerdos |
| H. Almacén del Rey | X. Cocinas en General |
| Y. Almacén de la Almazan | I. Casa de los Alcaides, relativo de España |
| J. Alameda del Oficial | Z. Ligueros Comunas |
| K. Alameda de los R. ^{os} Misioneros. | W. Escuelas |
| L. Alcaides, y Regua. | |
| M. Caspomenia | |
| N. Casa del Alvaro de Regua | |

- | |
|---|
| A. Present Church |
| B. New Church |
| C. Sacristy |
| D. Quarters for Cuera troops |
| E. Quarters for Irregulars (Volunteers) |
| F. Guard House |
| G. Presidio Warehouse |
| H. Warehouse of the King |
| Y. Mission Warehouse |
| J. Officers' quarters |
| K. Missionaries' quarters |
| L. Smithy and forge |
| M. Carpenter shop |
| N. Storehouse of the Queen |
| O. Surgeon's house |
| P. Infirmary |
| Q. House for transient Gentiles |
| R. Hospice for new Christians |
| S. House for Gentile women |
| T. Chicken yard |
| V. Pig pens |
| X. Kitchens in general |
| I. Storehouse for agricultural implements |
| Z. Privy-houses & Embrasures |

Proposed plan of the Presidio of Monterey. (Miguel Costansó, 1770)



INTRODUCTION

The term *presidio* can be confusing, since it is used by different people in different ways. In its broadest sense, and the one used by many of the early American travelers to California, it can be applied to any Spanish military reservation, no matter how small or how large. In this respect the word comes closest to its Latin ancestor, *praesidium*, meaning a garrison or fortification. On the other hand, modern Spanish usage restricts the term largely to prisons or places of deportment for criminals. Thus the language student who states that he learned Spanish at the Presidio of Monterey may have to explain this further to a Spaniard.

From the historical standpoint, however, the term *presidio* is usually restricted to a handful of Spanish military garrisons in the New World. The traveler, Count Jean François Galoup de Lapérouse, who visited Monterey in 1786, attempted to clarify the classification as follows:

“The Spanish generally give the title of *presidio* to all the forts, whether in Africa or America, which are in the midst of heathen countries, which implies that there are no inhabitants, other than a garrison living inside the fortification.”

There were five presidios in what is now the Western United States. Arizona had one, at Tubac, and California had four: San Diego, founded in 1769, Monterey, founded in 1770; San Francisco, established in 1776; and Santa Barbara, established in 1782. All four of the California presidios were designed by the same engineer, Don Miguel Costansó, and thus bore a strong resemblance to each other — a fact commented on in strikingly similar terms by numerous writers of the period, including José Bandini in 1828 and Alexander Forbes

in 1839. Forbes emphasized the presidial, or governmental, nature of these installations by the statement that "Upper California is divided into four military districts, the headquarters of which are respectively denominated the *Presidio*." The requirement that it house the headquarters of a permanent military area may explain why the presidio at San Diego, although the first military establishment in Alta California, was not referred to as a presidio until 1774, five years after its founding.

The classic description of the California presidio was written by a French diplomat, Eugène Duflot de Mofras, who visited Monterey in January 1842:

"Presidios were invariably built in the following uniform manner: After a suitable place had been chosen, a trench about 4 meters broad and 2 deep was then excavated. What earth was removed was used for an outer embankment. The presidio was then enclosed by a quadrangle that measured approximately 200 meters on each side. The rampart, or wall, constructed of adobes, was 4 or 5 meters high and a meter thick, with small bastions at each corner. The presidio had only two gates. These fortifications were never protected by more than eight bronze cannon, usually of 8, 12, or 16 pounds. Although incapable of resisting a serious attack by warships, these fortifications were adequate to repulse Indian raids. Not far from the presidios, at a point selected to conform with the local topography, stood the outpost batteries, inappropriately designated as the *castillo*, or fort. Within the presidio, the church, barracks for officers and soldiers, the houses of a few settlers, and the stores, shops, stables, wells, and cisterns were provided. Outside stood more groups of houses. A short distance beyond lay the king's ranch, called *el rancho del rey*, used to pasture the horses and pack mules of the garrison."

Only two of the four Spanish presidios in Alta California remain today, those at San Francisco and Monterey. The older of the two, Monterey, actually no longer stands at the original site of the presidio but on the location of what was once its *castillo*, built some twenty-two years later. Often erroneously called "the oldest continuously active military post in America," the Presidio of Monterey in fact has been moved, abandoned, and reactivated time and time again. At least three times it has been submerged by the tides of history, only to reappear years later with a new face, a new master, and a new mission. This short history has a two-fold purpose: to commemorate the two hundredth year of the founding of the Royal Presidio of San Carlos de Borromeo in Monterey, and to trace its many names and roles through the two centuries of its existence.

I



THE SPANISH PRESIDIO

Towards the close of the eighteenth century Spain, fearing that other nations - particularly Russia - had designs upon her empire in the New World, moved to occupy that portion of the western American coast which she had previously neglected. Meeting in 1768 at San Blas, near Mazatlán, the Spaniards decided to proceed with the military and religious colonization of Alta, or Upper, California. Key point of the new Spanish occupation was to be the famous natural port of Monterey, which had been visited and described some century and a half before by Sebastián Vizcaíno, captain of the ship *San Diego*.

Vizcaíno had landed on 17 December 1602 at the mouth of a small creek which ran into the bay of Monterey (at a point near the Artillery Street gate of the present Presidio, but now under Lighthouse Avenue). Vizcaíno had named the bay after the then viceroy of Mexico, Caspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monterey.

Vizcaíno's exaggerated account of the bay's potential as a port and his description of the surrounding countryside had so impressed the Spaniards that over 160 years after the bay had last been seen they elected to establish the main settlement of Alta California at that point. Accordingly an expedition was dispatched, partly overland and partly by sea, north from Loreto in Baja California in the year 1769 to find and colonize Vizcaíno's bay. Placed at the military head of the expedition was Governor Caspar de Portolá; its religious head was Father Junipero Serra, a Franciscan missionary.

By the time the expedition had reached the site of what is now San Diego, half of its members had died or deserted. Leaving Father Serra to recover from the arduous journey and to found a mission there, Portolá pushed on north on 14 June 1769 at the head of a group



Soldado de Monterey, showing "cuera" jacket. (José Cardero, 1791)

of only 73 men. Failing to recognize Monterey Bay from Vizcaíno's overenthusiastic description, Portolá' passed it by and marched as far north as San Francisco Bay. Although Portolá recognized the significance of the huge bay he had discovered to the north, his orders specified that he was to find and colonize the Bay of Monterey, so he turned south again. Backtracking down the coast, his party actually camped on the Monterey peninsula without recognizing it as such. Portolá' returned to San Diego on 24 January 1770, with his mission still unaccomplished and his men in very bad condition. To avoid starvation they had been forced for the last twelve days of their trip to eat a mule a day from the pack train, and they stumbled into San Diego "reeking of mules."

After re-supplying at San Diego, Portolá became convinced that he had passed Monterey Bay by mistake and that it was, in fact, the very bay on which he had camped. On 17 April 1770, therefore, he once again set out to the north. Father Serra, the engineer Miguel Costansó, the surgeon Pedro Prat, and others of the expedition sailed on 16 April aboard the ship *San Antonio*, to rendezvous with the overland party at Monterey. Portolá this time took an even smaller expedition than at first, consisting of himself and a servant, Father Juan Crespi, twelve Catalan volunteers under Pedro Fages, two mule-skinners, five Baja California Indians, and ten *soldados de cuera*.

These latter "leather soldiers" were a sort of rural mounted militia, raised on the Sonora border. They took their name from the buckskin jacket they wore as protection against the Indians' arrows. Engineer Costansó described them as follows:

"The soldiers of the presidio in California, of whom justice and fairness oblige us to say that they worked incessantly on this expedition, use two sorts of arms - offensive and defensive. The defensive arms are the leather jacket and the shield. The first, whose shape is that of a coat without sleeves, is made of six or seven plies of white tanned deerskin, proof against the arrows of the Indians, except at very short range. The shield is made of two plies of raw bull's-hide; it is carried on the left arm and with it they turn aside spears and arrows, the rider not only defending himself, but also his horse. In addition to the above they use a sort of leather apron, called *annas* or *defensas*, which fastened to the pommel of the saddle, hangs down on both sides, covering their thighs and legs, that they may not hurt themselves when riding through the woods. Their offensive arms are the lance - which they handle adroitly on horseback - the broadsword, and a short musket which they carry securely fastened in its case."

The land expedition reached Monterey Bay on 24 May and was

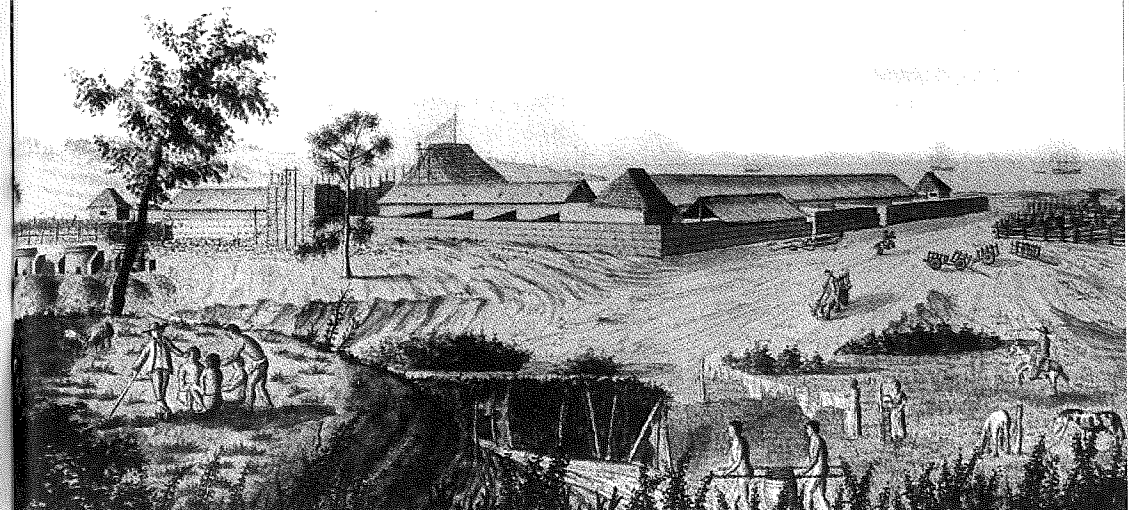
joined by the *San Antonio* on 31 May. On 3 June 1770 Portolá officially took possession of Alta California for Spain, and mass was celebrated on the same spot where Vizcaíno's party had celebrated mass 168 years before. Then, in compliance with his orders "to erect a fort to occupy and defend the port from the atrocities of the Russians, who were about to invade us," Portolá began immediate construction of a royal fortress, or presidio. The site chosen by the engineer Costansó was a level area "on the shore of an estuary which, in the rainy season, fills up and communicates with the sea, a little more than a gunshot from the beach and in sight of the harbor, from which it is distant only three gunshots." The original site corresponds roughly to the area currently bounded by Webster and Fremont Streets between Camino El Estero and Abrego Street.

The original presidio was a stockade made of earth and pine logs, from the trees which had covered the plain. Some small cannon were mounted on the parapet. With his mission accomplished, Governor Portolá sailed on 9 July aboard the *San Antonio*, taking with him the engineer Costansó. Left behind to man the northernmost outpost of Spain's California empire were three priests, Lieutenant Fages, Surgeon Prat, twelve Catalan volunteers, six *cuera* soldiers, five sick sailors, seven Baja California Indians, one blacksmith, and two mule-skinners.

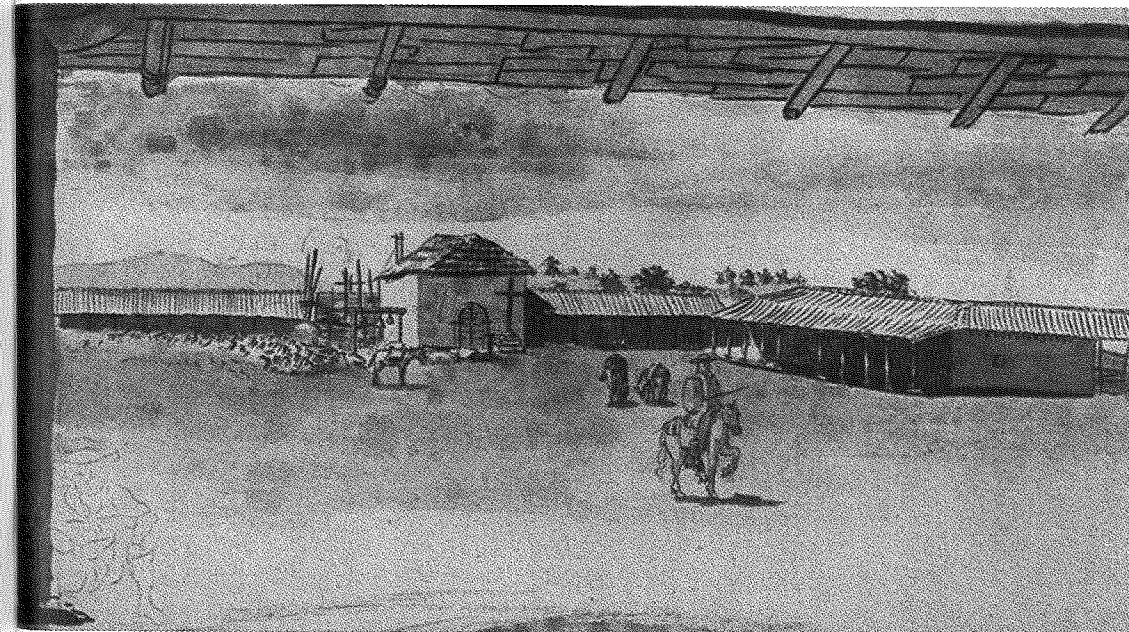
Under Costansó's supervision the first construction had taken only thirty days. During this time the stockade had been thrown up, enclosing three buildings: a combination church, warehouse, and Priests' dwelling; a barracks for the soldiers; and a small storehouse for powder. The walls of these first huts were of *palizada* construction, that is, made of poles driven closely together into the ground, filled with branches, and then smeared with mud inside and out. The floors were dirt. The roofs were flat, made of poles and twigs covered with a layer of sod and pitched to let the rain run off.

The plan Costansó left behind for the presidio, however, was much more elaborate. It called for a walled square fifty *varas* on a side, the *vara* being a standard Spanish unit of measurement approximately equal to 2.9 feet. This outer wall was to enclose an open plaza, whose sides were to be ringed with single-story buildings backed up against the outside wall, thus reducing the number of walls required to be built. The southern side was to contain the chapel, while the only gate was to be in the northern side. A ravelin, or triangular gun platform, was to be built at each corner of the square stockade, mounting a small cannon which could sweep the walls (*see frontispiece*).

In November 1770 Fages reported that the outer wall was complete.



Earliest known drawing of the Presidio of Monterey, made in 1791 by the artist José Cardero. He was attached to the Malaspina expedition, whose ships can be seen in the bay in this view looking north. Tallest roof is the chapel. Note blockhouses at corners of external wall.



Plaza of the Presidio, looking south, also by Cardero in 1791. Note cross in front of the church at right, and bells suspended from poles at left, after collapse of the bell tower. Building to right is soldiers' barracks.

By 20 June 1771 all internal construction but the new chapel was completed. The garrison remained woefully small, however; a condition that was aggravated by the necessity of maintaining guards at the two new missions which Father Serra had established at Carmel and Jolon. Relations between the military and spiritual leaders of the new settlement were never of the best, each feeling that the other should be subordinate to him. Father Serra, in fact, removed the principal site of his activities out of the presidio at Monterey on 24 December 1771 to the San Carlos Mission at Carmel. The statement is often advanced that Father Serra's purpose in this was to place some distance between the licentious soldiery and his female Indian charges, but the fact is that five soldiers accompanied the move. The actual reason for relocation was the presence of an Indian settlement at Carmel, while Monterey had none.

Besides the five soldiers required to guard the Carmel mission, an additional six were required for the San Antonio de Padua mission at Jolon, which was founded on 14 July 1771. This left only five soldiers and a sergeant under Lieutenant Fages at the presidio. In 1771 the total Spanish military garrison for all of Alta California, including San Diego, was 43 men. At the end of that year the province was reinforced by the arrival of twelve Catalan volunteers and eight *cuera* soldiers, raising the garrison at Monterey to a total of twenty. Among offsetting personnel losses, however, was the surgeon Pedro Prat, who went insane in 1771 and had to be sent away. The Spanish imperial forces of Alta California now numbered 25 Catalan volunteers and 35 *cuera* soldiers under the command of Don Pedro Fages, Comandante of the Royal Presidio of San Carlos de Borromeo in Monterey, charged with maintaining the peace of all Upper California, protecting five missions against hostile Indians, and preventing foreign aggression by any European power.

Supplies came to the Monterey garrison primarily by packboat out of San Bias. Always prey to scurvy and sickness, the crews of the supply boats often were unable to complete their supply runs to the outpost. In 1772 they failed to arrive at all, and the garrison was saved from starvation only by dint of a massive bear hunt organized by Fages. The Spaniards survived on bear meat until a packtrain could be brought up overland from San Diego with the needed supplies.

Living conditions were of the crudest sort, and remained that way despite some major improvements. In 1773 Fages again reported progress on construction at Monterey. There were now about thirty buildings inside the stockade, surrounding the plaza. Those against the eastern and western walls were of pole and mud construction with

sod roofs. The church and its outbuildings on the southern wall were of adobe on a stone base, as were the commandant's quarters, or *comandancia*, the jail, storerooms, and guardhouse against the northern wall. The north wall itself was similarly of adobe on a stone base, while the other three walls were still of logs and earth. Fages reported that these were soon to be replaced by stone and adobe, because the humidity was rapidly rotting the wood. At each of the presidio's four corners was a ravelin with two embrasures, mounting a single bronze campaign cannon. The northwest ravelin was of adobe and, together with three trenches, it commanded the main entrance.

On the far side of the estuary, a fifteen minute walk from the presidio, was a *palizada* powder magazine, surrounded by a pole stockade four *varas* high and provided with a small house a musket shot to the northwest, for the soldiers who guarded the magazine. A half a league, or one and a half miles, from the presidio (near the present airport) was a vegetable garden, guarded by two Catalan volunteers who lived in a hut nearby. Despite the existence of a presidio garden, however, Fages' garrison consisted of priests and soldiers, not farmers. Famine struck again in the summer of 1773, lasting until the spring of 1774.

On 1 January 1774 a reorganization of the province of the Californias made Monterey the residence of a captain commander, with jurisdiction over the territories of the Franciscan missions (thus resolving the struggle for supremacy in temporal matters in favor of the military over the church) and reporting directly to the governor of both Californias at Loreto. The garrison was to be one captain, one sergeant, 22 soldiers, two carpenters, four blacksmiths, four mule-skinner, and one storekeeper at Monterey. An additional corporal and five soldiers were to be the guard for the mission at Carmel. Fages, largely at the insistence of Father Serra, was relieved of his command and sent to fight Apaches in Sonora. In his place Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada was appointed captain commander and arrived in Monterey on 23 May 1774 to take command.

Rivera found little to please him at his new post. In his initial report the following month he complained that some soldiers had a gun but no sword, some a sword but no gun, and some had neither. Even a toughened frontier priest from the heart of Apache country had little good to say about the presidio. Father Font, who accompanied Don Juan de Anza in 1776 from the presidio of Tubac in Upper Sonora to Monterey, found Monterey's presidio a rough and ready post. He complained that de Anza "had to lodge in a storehouse and I in a dirty little room full of lime, while the rest of the people accommodated themselves in the plaza with their tents as best they could."

Water was a recurring problem, since the estuary dried up at intervals, and water had to be brought in from the surrounding area by Indian labor. In 1777 Rivera even went so far as to recommend that the presidio be moved to the mouth of the Monterey (now the Salinas) River, in order to ensure an adequate water supply. The viceroy approved the recommendation, but a royal order decreed that the presidio remain where it was.

Rivera was never too popular a commandant, and it was with relief that the garrison saw him go on 3 February 1777 as the result of still another reorganization. Don Felipe Neve arrived on that day as Governor of the Californias to reside in Monterey, thus making that village the capital of both Californias, Rivera was posted as Lieutenant Governor to Loreto, the former capital.

Neve was a more energetic commander than Rivera had been, and by 3 July 1778 he had completed the conversion of the log and earth stockade to a stone and adobe wall, twelve feet high, four feet thick, and 537 yards in circumference. Inside were ten adobe houses measuring 21 by 24 feet, and a long barracks, 136 by 18 feet, which was not quite finished. The newer buildings were thatched, rather than roofed with sod. By 1782 there were 205 soldiers in the four presidios of Alta California, plus a fifth presidio with 54 men at Loreto in Baja California, all under the central direction of the captain commander at Monterey. The Monterey garrison itself consisted of the governor, a lieutenant, an *alférez* (a junior lieutenant), a surgeon, a sergeant, two corporals, 27 soldiers, one carpenter, and two blacksmiths. At each of the three missions of Carmel, San Antonio, and San Luis Obispo the garrison maintained an additional corporal and five soldiers, with four more soldiers at the pueblo of San José" de Guadalupe. On 10 September 1782 Pedro Fages, now promoted to colonel of infantry, returned to the presidio as governor of both the Californias.

The French scientist, Lapérouse, who visited the presidio 14-24 September 1786, reported that: "a lieutenant colonel who resides at Monterey is governor of the two Californias. His government is more than eight hundred leagues in circumference but his real subjects are two hundred and eighty-two cavalymen who must furnish garrisons for five little forts and supply squads of four or five men at each of the twenty-five missions or parishes established in Old and New California. So small a force suffices to control about fifty thousand nomadic Indians." He also added that, of these 282 cavalymen, only eighteen were present at the presidio of Monterey during his visit.

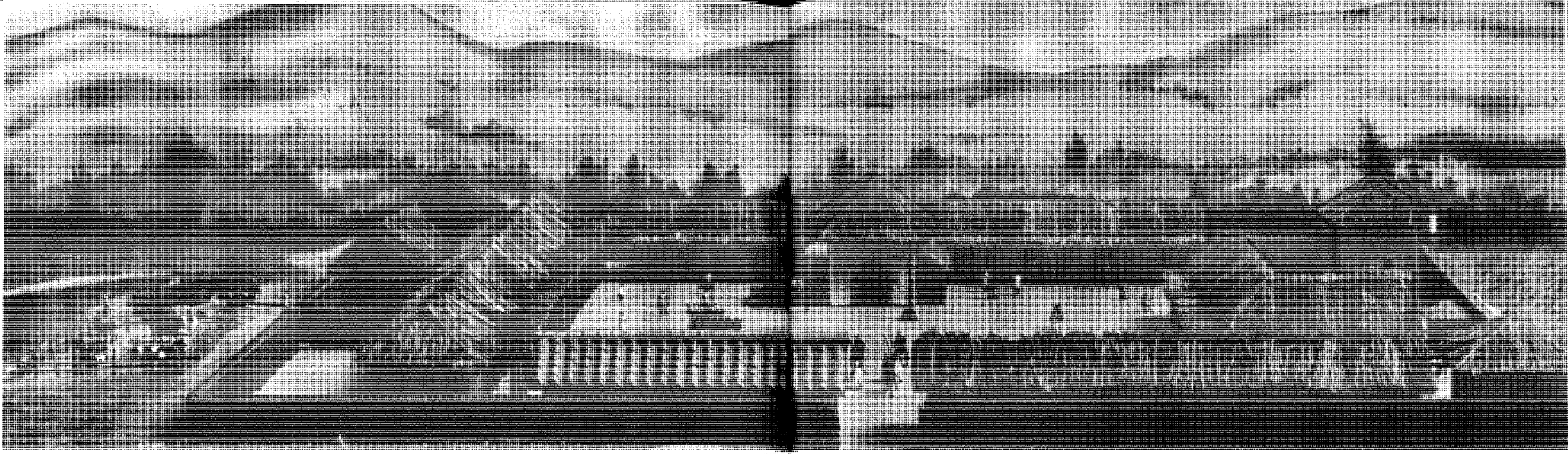
On 11 August 1789 the presidio was badly damaged by fire as the result of firing a salute to the ship *San Carlos* as it entered the port.

A flaming wad from the salute gun set fire to the thatched roofing of one of the buildings; the fire spread to almost the entire northern side of the presidio, and half of the buildings eventually were destroyed. They were not rebuilt until 1791. There was another fire in 1792, but it did not do as much damage. The Royal Presidio Chapel, which still stands, was rebuilt using the local stone. It was completed in 1794 by Indian labor under the direction of Manuel Ruiz, a Mexican stonemason who also completed the Carmel mission in the same year.

In September 1791 a Spanish expedition under Alejandro Malaspina spent a fortnight in Monterey, which gave the expedition's artist the opportunity to make the first known sketches of the presidio as it then appeared. A comparison of the original presidio plan by Costansó, Fages' earlier description, and the Malaspina expedition's sketches shows that the new buildings did not employ the external wall as their rear wall, but were separated from it by some distance. This space may have been used as corrals for the horses and for kitchen and latrine space. A bell tower which Fages had built earlier had collapsed by this time, and the bells were suspended from a wooden rack near the adobe rubble, which still had not been cleared away.

At the time of the Malaspina visit the local garrison consisted of the commandant (still Fages, who was awaiting the arrival of his successor, José Romeu), a lieutenant, an *alférez*, and 63 cavalymen. In order to keep the crews of the expedition's ships entertained, Fages held daily *novilladas*, a type of amateur bullfight using young bulls, in the plaza of the presidio. The log of the expedition also makes mention of what was to become a common practice at Monterey: the firing of cannon from the shore to guide ships into the landing area through the all too common fog. In the Malaspina log, the guns firing from the presidio are identified as "12 caliber cannon", which were probably the equivalent of 9-pounders.

The following year saw the arrival on 27 November 1792 of a British expedition under Captain George Vancouver. Vancouver, an astute although acid military observer, criticized the location of the presidio as unhealthily located on low swampy ground, which still did not have an adequate supply of fresh water due to the indolence of the Spaniards in failing to sink wells. "The buildings of the presidio," he wrote, "form a parallelogram or long square, comprehending an area of about three hundred yards long, by two hundred and fifty yards wide, making one entire enclosure. The external wall is of the same magnitude, and built with the same materials; and except that the officers' apartments are covered in with a sort of red tile made in the neighborhood, the whole presents the same lonely uninteresting



Life in early Monterey, as it looked in 1791, is reconstructed in this model in the U.S. Army Museum at the Presidio of Monterey. A cavalry patrol of leather jacketed "cuera" soldiers is leaving through the presidio gates. The seven cannon in front of the walls were never called upon to defend this first fort, although they were occasionally fired in salute, or to guide ships in through the fog.

appearance, as already described at St. Francisco ... At each corner of the square is a small kind of blockhouse, raised a little above the top of the wall, where swivels might be mounted for its protection. On the outside, before the entrance into the presidio, which fronts the shore of the bay, are placed seven cannon, four nine and three three-pounders, mounted; these, with those noticed at St. Francisco, one two-pounder at Santa Clara, and four nine-pounders dismantled, form the whole of their artillery. These guns are planted on the open plain ground, without any breast work or other screen for those employed in working them, or the least cover or protection from the weather . . .

"The four dismantled cannon, together with those placed at the entrance into the presidio, are intended for a fort to be built on a small eminence that commands the anchorage. A large quantity of timber is at present in readiness for carrying that design into execution; which when completed, might certainly be capable of annoying vessels lying in that part of the Bay which affords the greatest security, but could not be of any importance after a landing was accomplished; as the hills behind it might be easily gained, from whence the assailing party

would soon oblige the fort to surrender; nor do I consider Monterey to be a very tenable post without an extensive line of works."

The only other military establishment that met Captain Vancouver's critical eye in the Monterey area was at the mouth of the Salinas River where "a small guard of Spanish soldiers are generally posted, who reside on that spot in miserably wretched huts."

From the account of Archibald Menzies, who accompanied Vancouver, it would seem that the four dismantled cannon were already in place at the site of the future fort, for Menzies wrote that "six nine-pounders & three smaller ones were mounted on Carriages before the entrance [to the presidio] & we saw four nine-pounders without Carriages laying on logs of Wood on a small eminence abreast of the Anchorage." Menzies also clarified the role of the small guard that Vancouver had noticed: "To guard themselves therefore from any sudden alarm, [the Spaniards] have outposts a few leagues off where soldiers are stationed at the different passes to watch [the Indians'] motions and give timely intimation to the Garrison in case of any hostile appearance. One of these outposts, about five leagues to the eastward of Monterey, frequently terminated our ride; it was guarded by 6 or 7 soldiers and situated by a wide rivulet."

On 1 November 1793 the Vancouver expedition paid a second visit to Monterey, at which time Vancouver observed that "the cannon, which, on our former visit, were placed before the Presidio, were now removed to the Hill, mentioned at that time as intended to be fortified for the purpose of commanding the anchorage. Here is now erected a sorry kind of barbet battery, consisting chiefly of a few logs of wood,

irregularly placed; behind which those cannon, about eleven in number, are opposed to the anchorage, with very little protection in the front, and on their rear and flanks entirely open and exposed." By a "barbet" Vancouver meant an open gun position, whose only protection was afforded by a mound of earth or pile of wood over which the muzzle of the gun projected.

Menzies' observations again supported those of Vancouver: "The Garrison was saluted with 13 Guns which compliment was returned with an equal number from a few Guns that appeared to have been recently placed on the summit of a small eminence close by us to the Westward of the Anchorage; the number of Guns on this New Fort appeared to be about ten or a dozen, & from their reports they seemed to be of different sizes; All their Salutes were returned last year from five or six guns that stood before the gate of the Presidio, but as these were not to be seen there now, it is probable that they formed a part of the number on this commanding eminence which was to guard the anchorage."

Vancouver's report of eleven guns was more accurate than Menzies' estimate. The then commandant, José Joaquín Arillaga (Romeu had died on 9 April 1792, after only six months at Monterey), reported to the viceroy on 16 February 1793 that Monterey had eleven cannon: eight guns (presumably 9-pounders) and three *pedreros*. The latter was a lighter cannon, designed to shoot stone balls instead of iron shot; these were probably the 3-pounders that Vancouver had noticed. Arillaga added, however, that Monterey had only one or two men at the fort to man these guns. The fort, or *El Castillo*, was located on the site of the present Presidio of Monterey, at the first level overlooking the harbor.

The removal of the cannon to El Castillo marked the end of the old Spanish presidio as a true fort, and the old enclosure more and more assumed the character of an administrative center and unfortified barracks. Recognizing the shift in status of Monterey from a garrison to a town, Spain established a formal pueblo government for the presidial establishments in 1791, which went into effect in 1794. Also in 1791 the *rancho del rey* for the presidio was established on the site of modern Salinas by the transfer of 1200 cattle from San Francisco.

Between 1791 and 1800 the cavalry company at the presidio totaled between 62 and 85 men, including two officers, six sergeants and corporals, a surgeon, a phlebotomist (or master bloodletter — a forerunner of today's medic), fifty privates, two to three blacksmiths, and two "to 24 pensioners (retired military personnel, still available for military duty in an emergency). After 1796 the Monterey garrison

was increased to a total of 110 with the addition of seven artillerymen and twenty Catalan volunteers, part of an overall reinforcement of the Californias by 72 Catalans and 18 artillerymen, bringing the military strength of the entire province back up to 280.

The already flimsy fortifications at the presidio became progressively more decrepit with each passing year. In February of 1801 Arillaga informed the viceroy that the presidio was "in ruinous condition." The inability of the adobe construction to withstand the elements, even in such a mild climate as that of Monterey, is evident from the report that in March of that same year the main gate of the presidio was demolished by a wind and rainstorm. In 1803 the Catalan volunteers were withdrawn, reducing the local garrison to nothing but *cuera* soldiers and a handful of artillerymen. In 1804 Alta and Baja California were placed under separate governors. In 1810 the Spanish American Wars of Independence broke out, the most direct result of which was that the supply ships stopped coming to Monterey for a number of years and then only sporadically thereafter. From 1810 to 1820 the Monterey garrison, never too well paid at best, received no pay at all. Within a period of fifty years Portolá's royal fortress had become a forgotten outpost of a crumbling Spanish empire.

THE SPANISH GOVERNOR/COMMANDANTS
(dates indicate when assumed command in Monterey)

Caspar de Portolá	3 June 1770
Pedro Fages	9 July 1770
Fernando Rivera y Moncada	24 May 1774
Felipe Neve	3 February 1777
Pedro Fages	10 September 1782
José Antonio Romeu	13 October 1791
José Joaquín de Arillaga	9 April 1792 (acting governor on death of Romeu)
Diego de Borica	9 November 1794 (left 16 January 1800, died in Durango 19 July. No successor appointed. Arillaga acted as governor, but resided in Loreto.)

José Joaqum de Arillaga
José Darib Arguello

20 January 1806
25 July 1814
(temporary governor on death of
Arillaga, governed from Presidio
of Santa Barbara.)
30 August 1815

Pablo Vicente de Solá



*Near this spot, on June 3rd, 1770,
Don Gaspar de Portolá founded
the Presidio of Monterey*

II



EL CASTILLO

According to Vancouver's description given previously, the fort upon the hill where the present Presidio of Monterey stands began its existence as eleven guns behind a crude parapet of logs in 1792. In 1796 a lieutenant of engineers, Alberto de Córdoba, strengthened the battery by adding a new revetment of earth to the seaward side. The cost of the new construction was \$450 — for which the viceroy ordered \$444 paid in 1797. The expenditures were for an esplanade, casemates, and a wooden barracks for the artillerymen. The esplanade was a wooden platform on which the guns stood in order to have a level foundation; since a wooden platform could not support the weight of the guns by itself, the esplanade rested upon an adobe platform. The casemates were chambers in the parapet from which the guns could fire through embrasures. By February of 1798 an additional sum of \$381 had been spent for repairs to the battery.

Preliminary excavation of the site indicates that the original fort was in the shape of an open "V", with its east wing parallel to the beach about two hundred feet below it. At about a seventy degree angle from this wing was the north wing, which was of about equal length. The north wing commanded the approaches to the anchorage, while the east wing commanded the main anchorage and the old landing place, near the location of the present custom-house. It should be borne in mind, however, that the limited range of the cannon available to the fort was such that the shot could not have carried much beyond the middle of the bay.

Despite the impressive sounding terminology of casemates, esplanade, and embrasures, the new fort was not much stronger than the old barbette battery that Vancouver had dismissed so brusquely. Even

Córdoba reported in September 1797 that the battery was useless for the defense of the port. In 1805 an American sea captain, William Shaler, reported of Monterey that "there is a miserable battery on a hill that commands the anchorage, but it is altogether inadequate to do what it is intended for." As for the old presidio at the estuary, Shaler added: "The garrison is situated immediately in the vicinity of the anchorage, where they have no works capable of affording defense."

There is some question as to the number and caliber of the guns at the fort around the turn of the century. Vancouver and Menzies had reported eight 9-pounders and three 3-pounders in 1793. Córdoba is reported to have mounted some new guns in 1796. Four years later, in 1800, Arillaga reported that there were only eight small guns at Monterey, some of which had been left there a year earlier by Captain Bodega y Cuadra of the schooner *Sonora*, but that there were no artillerymen to man them. If new guns were in fact installed, they probably would have been 6- and 8-pounders, for there are conflicting reports of the fort having eight or ten 8-, 6-, and 3-pounders in the year 1805.

A certain amount of confusion in determining the rating of early cannon is to be expected, as the weight of the shot to be thrown is not dictated solely by the weapon's muzzle diameter, but also by the strength of the weapon's walls and therefore the amount of powder charge it will withstand. As in the case of the *pedrero*, the weight of the shot itself could be lessened while keeping the same diameter, if a different material were chosen for the ball. Much of the difficulty in determining the types and sizes of guns at Monterey can be laid to hasty observations by men who were not skilled artillerymen. In any case, it is very doubtful that the number and caliber of guns would have changed frequently at a neglected frontier post like Monterey, when one considers the enormous physical and technical effort required to move a cannon of solid iron or brass up or down a hill by hand with unskilled labor, and to replace a large store of heavy cannonballs with an equally large share of other heavy cannonballs of different diameter.

Perhaps the most reliable report is that of Peter Corney, an English sailor who first visited Monterey in 1815 on what may or may not have been a spying expedition for his return in 1818 to sack the city. Regardless of the purpose of his first visit, Corney as a privateer captain was probably a qualified observer of artillery and shore fortifications, who had the opportunity three years later to confirm his observations at first hand. He reported in 1815 that the old presidio consisted "of about 50 houses of one story, built in a square, sur-

rounded by a stone wall, about 18 feet high; on the south side of the square stands the church; on the west, the governor's house; and on the east side, the lieutenant-governor's house and king's stores; on the north side is the grand and principal entrance, gaol, and guard-house, and in the middle are two field-pieces, 6-pounders." These two field-pieces probably were the standard Spanish 6-pounder mounted on a crude wooden carriage with wheels, capable of being man-handled into position or being moved for longer distances by oxen.

As for El Castillo, Corney reported that "the fort stands on a hill, about one mile to the westward of the town; and just above the landing place, it is quite open on the landside, and embrasures thrown up on the sea side mounting ten brass 12-pounders, with a good supply of copper shot. At the landing-place, close to Captain Vancouver's Observatory [i.e. near the custom-house], is a battery of two long 9-pounders, manned by about thirty soldiers."

Corney's 1815 report is of special significance when taken in conjunction with the events that took place at Monterey three years later as a by-blow of the wars of liberation against Spain by its American colonies. On 20 November 1818 Captain Hippolyte Bouchard, a privateer in the Buenos Aires navy, entered Monterey Bay with two ships flying the flag of Argentina, or more properly of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata. Whatever flag they displayed, the two ships were patently engaged in privateering, seeking whatever pickings they could find along the California coast in the announced hope of causing that province to revolt against Spain. Bouchard's ship, the *Argentina*, had a mixed crew of 260 men, made up of "Sandwich Islanders [Hawaiians], Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Creoles, Negroes, Manila men, Malays, and a few Englishmen." Accompanying the *Argentina* was the *Santa Rosa de Chacabuco* with an equally mixed crew of one hundred men and captained by the same Peter Corney who had visited the port three years before.

On shore was a Spanish garrison consisting of the governor, Don Pablo Vicente de Solá, and forty men: twenty-four cavalymen and their *alférez* from the presidio, four veteran artillerymen, and eleven raw artillerymen of the militia. The fort was in as strong a condition as it ever would be, having been repaired with masonry in 1817. The artillery at the fort was under the command of *alférez* Manuel Gomez, who had two veteran artillerymen to help him. The 24 cavalymen under *alférez* José Estrada were also at the fort. The battery down at the landing beach near the present custom-house was under the command of the fourth veteran artilleryman, Corporal José de Jesus Vallejo, who had eleven militia artillerymen to serve his three guns.



Monterey's E Castillo came under attack by Argentine insurgents in 1818. This U.S. Army Museum model shows artillerymen returning the fire of the "Argentina" and the "Santa Rosa", free-booting ships under the command of Hippolyte Rouchard, a Frenchman, and Peter Corney, an Englishman. The Mexican battery repulsed the sea attack but was routed when the pirates mounted a land attack from the rear. The fort and the town were occupied and sacked.

The whereabouts of the only other officer of the presidio, Lieutenant José María Estudillo, is unknown, for no mention is made in official or unofficial records that he was even present at the time. Again there is some question as to the weight of the cannon available for the defense. The guns at el Castillo were reported as 6- and 8-pounders, while the three guns which Corney had reported as long 9-pounders were reported as three 18-pounders, behind a weak parapet of sand and branches.

Corney describes the subsequent events as follows: "The commodore [Bouchard] ordered me into the bay, and to anchor in a good position for covering the landing, while he would keep his ship under weigh, and send his boats in to assist me. Being well acquainted with the bay I ran in and came to at midnight, under the fort; the Spaniard hailed me frequently to send a boat on shore, which I declined. Before morning they had a battery manned, and seemed quite busy. I got a sping on the cable, and at daylight opened a fire on the fort, which was briskly returned from two batteries, the one [at El Castillo] being so much above us that our shot had no visible effect, the Commodore



came in with his boats, and we landed on Point Pinos, about three miles to the westward of the fort; and before the Spaniards had time to bring their field-pieces to attack us, we were on our march against it. We halted at the foot of the hill where it stood for a few minutes, beat a charge and rushed up, the Sandwich Islanders in front with pikes. The Spaniards mounted their horses and fled; a Sandwich Islander was the first to haul down their colours. We then turned the guns on the town, where they made a stand, and after firing a few rounds, the Commodore sent me with a party to assault the place, while he kept possession of the fort. As we approached the town the Spaniards again fled, after discharging their field-pieces, and we entered without opposition."

The pirates, added Corney, lost three men killed and three taken prisoner. After waiting three days in vain for an answer to their offer to exchange the town for the tree prisoners, the pirates destroyed all of the guns of the fort, fired the town, reprovisioned their ships, and sailed away on 1 December.

Understandably enough, the Spanish version of this engagement varies considerably, both in details and in the matter of the valiant defense ostensible offered by the Spanish garrison. There are at least two major Spanish version of the fight; that of Governor Solá, and that of the Vallejo family as corroborated by the Alvarado family. The noted California historian, Hubert Bancroft, gives both of them, but without knowledge of the narrative of Peter Corney, whom Bancroft

knew only as "Pedro Conde," commander of the *Santa Rosa*.

Governor Solá's official report stated that the fight between the *Santa Rosa* and the fort was an "obstinate combat of two hours," during which "the two artillerymen with their *alférez* [Gomez] kept up a constant and effective fire, doing much damage to the frigate, aided by the soldiers of the presidial company, who bore themselves at the battery with an unspeakable serenity despite the balls that were falling round them." The pirates, claimed Solá, lost five dead and more wounded in this exchange, after which they lowered their flag in token of surrender and sent a truce party of three men ashore to negotiate a cease-fire. This and subsequent surrender demands from Bouchard were supposedly repudiated with stirring oratory by Solá, who imprisoned the three pirate emissaries for giving him nothing but "lies and frivolous excuses."

On the following day, according to Solá, Bouchard landed four hundred men with four field-pieces. In the face of such overwhelming superiority, the governor ordered *alférez* Estrada and his presidial company of 24 cavalymen to retreat, but only after spiking the guns at El Castillo and burning the powder so that the pirates could not use the battery. The Spaniards then allegedly fought a dogged rearguard action back to the presidio, where "some resistance was made, fruitless on account of their numbers." Solá then retreated fifteen miles away to the *rancho del rey* near Salinas, taking with him a 2-pounder (perhaps one of the small guns in the ravelins), two boxes of powder, six thousand musket cartridges, and the province's official documents.

The Vallejo family version of the defense differs materially from that of Solá, with Corporal Vallejo and his shore battery playing the principal role in the first repulse of the pirates. In this version the Vallejo battery opened fire upon the pirates from an unexpected location, killing thirty of them as they attempted to land in six small boats. *Alférez* Gomez is painted as the villain of the piece, with a nephew on board one of Bouchard's ships to whom Gomez had betrayed the location and weaknesses of Monterey's defenses. In light of the fact that these weaknesses, particularly on the land side, were common knowledge ever since Vancouver's visit twenty-five years earlier, and considering Corney's familiarity with both the fort and shore battery from his visit three years earlier, the Spanish versions of the incident can be said to lack a certain degree of credibility.

So far as is known, the Spaniards suffered no casualties in their "obstinate combat" and subsequent rearguard action, except for the capture of a drunken civilian named Molina. Corney reported taking

"several Creole prisoners," but this was after the retreat of the Spanish garrison from the presidio. The exact circumstances of the three pirates being taken prisoner under a flag of truce are not clear, but a logical interpretation is that they were sent ashore as a ruse to keep the Spaniards occupied while the land attack was being mounted. It is known that this entailed the transfer of six boatloads of pirates from Corney's ship to Bouchard's at about the time the negotiations were going on.

Before departing the pirates destroyed all of the guns at El Castillo and burned everything made of wood at the battery, including the artillerymen's barracks and the wooden esplanade upon which the guns rested. At the presidio they set fire to all of the buildings on the northern side, including the houses of the governor and the commandant, and three buildings on the southern side. Since the buildings were of adobe, the only parts which burned were the roof beams, which collapsed and allowed the tile roofs to fall inward, leaving the adobe walls intact. After the departure of the pirates Monterey had only two cannon which were still in serviceable condition: presumably the two-pounder which Solá had taken with him to Salinas, and another small cannon which had been sent to the interior in a cart just before El Castillo was abandoned by the Spaniards.

Local reinforcements for Monterey's defense against the pirates had joined Solá at the *rancho del rey* from San José, San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and San Diego, but returned when the pirates departed. In 1819 the entire province of California was reinforced by the arrival from San Blas of 100 infantrymen, 100 cavalymen, and 20 artillerymen. These new troops were distributed among the four presidios. The political situation, however, suddenly took a different turn in 1822, when Mexico became independent of Spain and California thus became a Mexican province. On 22 September 1822 the new Mexican flag was raised in Monterey.

The state of Monterey's defenses under Mexico was no better than under Spain. In March of 1827 a visiting Frenchman, A. Duhaut-Cilly, described the anchorage as "opposite a little hill on which are seen the remains of a fort," and the sketch made during his visit shows no visible fortification on the hill where El Castillo had stood. In the winter of that same year Captain Frederick Beechey of *H.M.S. Blossom* reported that "the presidio is in better condition than that at San Francisco; still as a place of defense it is quite useless. The fort is not much better." In 1828 José Bandini commented on the unsatisfactory condition of all four of the presidios and their outworks:

"At a distance of one or two *millas* from each presidio and near

the entrance to the anchorage, there is a little fort with some pieces of artillery of small caliber . . . the form of the walls and esplanades, in addition to other defects that may be observed, renders them almost useless." In that same year, 1828, the soldiers at Monterey rebelled against lack of pay and unsatisfactory living conditions, but were persuaded to return to their duties. In November of 1829 they rebelled again, this time under the leadership of a convict rancher named Joaquín Solís. The second mutiny, like the first, quickly collapsed, and the mutineers were sent to Mexico in irons.

Despite the unrest of the garrison, however, the fortifications of El Castillo were restored to a degree some time after 1827, for in 1829 Alfred Robinson reported that the castillo mounted "some ten or a dozen cannon." By 1830 the fort was reported to have seven brass and thirteen iron guns of 4 to 8 pounds. Some of these apparently found their way back down to the presidio by 1835, according to Dana's famous description in *Two Years before the Mast*:

"Monterey, as far as my observation goes, is decidedly the pleasantest and most civilised-looking place in California. In the centre of it is an open square, surrounded by four lines of one-story buildings, with half a dozen cannons in the centre; some mounted, and others not. This is the presidio, or fort . . . The presidio here was entirely open and unfortified. There were several officers with long titles, and about eighty soldiers, but they were poorly paid, fed, clothed, and disciplined. The governor-general, or, as he is commonly called, the "general," lives here, which makes it the seat of government. He is appointed by the central government at Mexico, and is the chief civil military officer. In addition to him, each town has a commandant, who is its chief officer, and has charge of the fort and of all transactions with foreigners and foreign vessels."

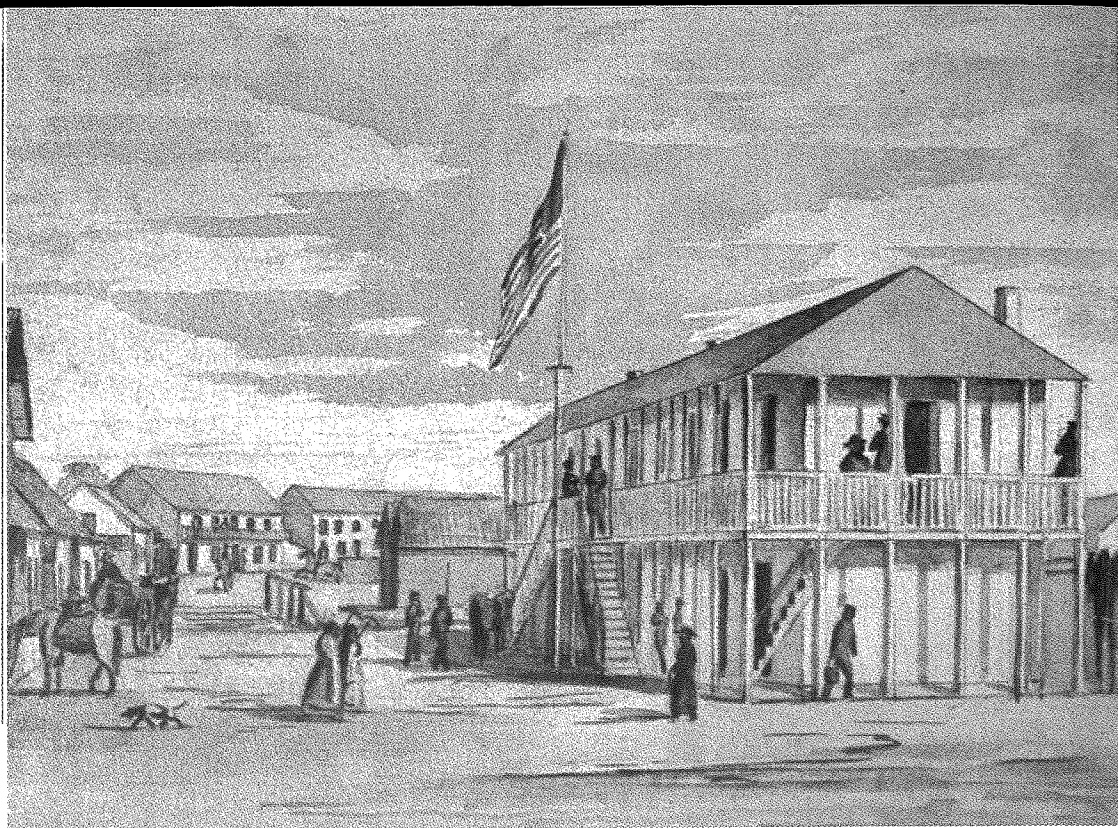
Dana's account of Monterey was more than slightly tinged with the romantic, for on 23 - 29 October of the following year a visiting doctor by the name of Ruschenberger observed more of the rubbish and filth of Monterey than he did of its pleasant and civilized aspects. His observations of the military garrison were also more to the point: "The government of Upper California, is at present, administered by Lieutenant Colonel Don Nicolas Gutiérrez. Don Nicolas resides at the presidio, or garrison, where he commands, without other assistance than that of a major of artillery, a captain and a lieutenant of infantry, and one or two corporals, fourteen men, & two field pieces. At the time of our visit they were nightly on guard, expecting an attack from some disaffected rancheros (farmers) and Indians. The day after our arrival we saluted the place, which was regularly acknowledged from

the garrison. The whole military force of Upper California does not exceed one hundred and fifty men."

In the week following Dr. Ruschenberger's visit, the "disaffected rancheros" struck. Leader of the group was Juan Bautista Alvarado, a 27 year old customs clerk. He was supported by a mixed band of Mexicans and Indians, armed for the most part with pikes, and some fifteen Americans with rifles under the leadership of Isaac Graham, a Pajaro Valley moonshiner of unsavory reputation. On the night of 3 November 1836 the insurgents took possession of El Castillo, and at daylight the following morning fired two guns to inform the garrison at the presidio that they had done so. At nine o'clock that morning a truce party was sent to the presidio to demand Governor Gutiérrez' surrender. As the hours wore by without the governor's decision, Graham decided to help speed up the process by firing one of the brass 4-pounders at the presidio. The cannonball he fired reportedly struck the very room of the *comandancia* where the governor was seated and knocked tiles and dust all over him and his officers. In any event, the agreement to surrender was received by nine that night.

There are several colorful tales connected with this lone cannon shot by Graham. According to them, the cannonball that was fired was the only one that could be found to fit any of the cannon; and, since there was also no powder at the fort, the riflemen all poured the contents of their powder-horns into the cannon and used this to fire the piece. Unfortunately for these tales, it is well documented that the insurgents actually received powder and shot in some quantity from at least one, and possibly three, of the American ships anchored in the harbor at the time. The contribution may have been voluntary or, as claimed by the Americans, obtained by extortion. According to Atherton, the insurgents captured the supercargo of the ship *Don Quijote* and refused to release him until he ordered all the arms and ammunition on board his ship delivered to his captors.

After this flurry of revolutionary activity Monterey fell back into its usual sleepy state. Belcher passed through in 1837 and found Monterey "very miserable, and wanting in the military air of 1827. The adobe or mud-brick battery remained, and had been newly bedaubed during the late ebullition of independence . . . [the fort] consisted of a mud wall of three sides, open in the rear, with breastwork about three feet in height; with rotten platforms for 7 guns, the discharge of which would annihilate their remains of carriages." In 1837 Petit-Thouars reported that the battery had eight guns. Two years later, Forbes reported that the fort at Monterey, "although its situation is good for commanding the anchorage, yet as it has no parapet and



El Cuartel, used as U.S. headquarters (Alfred Sully, 1847)

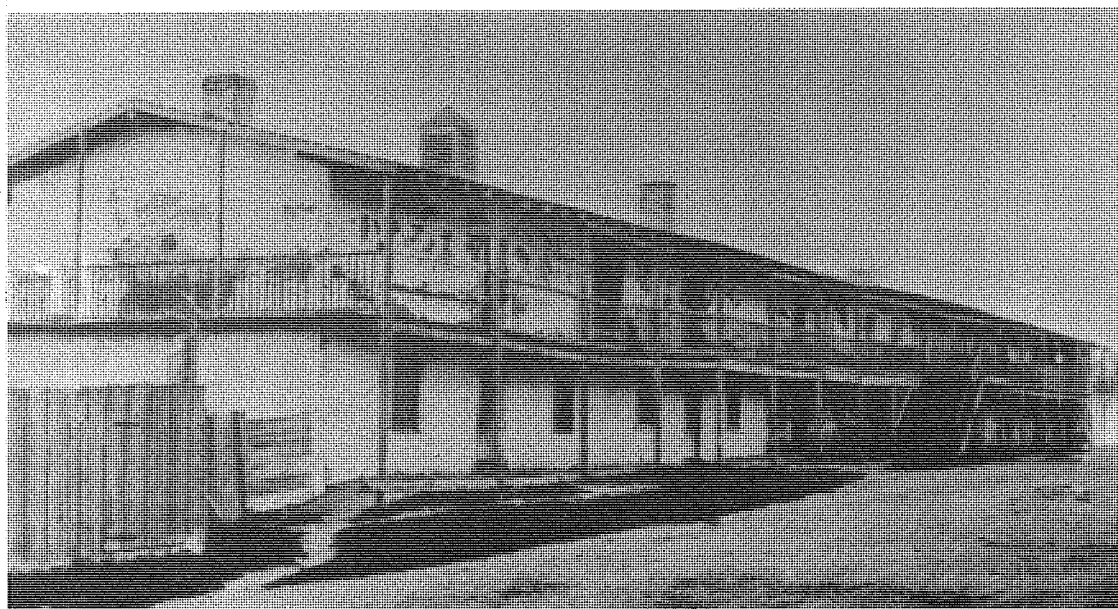


Photo of El Cuartel, about 1900, looking south.

counterguard, and can be readily approached on all sides since it is on a level with the surrounding land. In conjunction with the presidio its situation is strategic, for El Castillo properly built and equipped could sweep with its guns any ship that approached moorings.

“The ancient gun carriages, the two or three hundred copper cannon balls, the trucks, the ammunition chests of old Spanish material, all lie abandoned on the ground. The defense consists of 2 useless brass pieces, a brass falconet, 2 twelve-pounders, a sixteen-pound gun mounted on half-rotten gun carriages, and 2 pieces of eight, mounted on cart wheels. During public celebrations the latter, drawn by oxen, are used to fire off volleys and salute warships. Years ago these pieces, as well as those at San Diego and Santa Bárbara, were cast in bronze in Peru or Manila, and bear the insignia of Spain with the inscription *Real Audencia de Lima ó de Filipinas*. Opposite the battery stands the flagstaff, visible to ships entering the harbor. Obviously this so-called castle is incapable of withstanding attacks and its sole function is to reply to cannon fired during fogs by ships searching for anchorage. As a matter of fact the Spaniards were wise enough to establish a small battery near Point Pinos, but few traces of this now remain.”

The map accompanying this description shows the “Presidio de Monte-Rey (ruiné)” and gives the location of the battery on Point Pinos. Dufлот de Mofras also noted the existence of “a kind of barracks that house the officers, the soldiers of the garrison, and a school.” This building was El Cuartel, or la Casa de Gobierno, built by Governor Alvarado in 1840 at the then staggering cost of \$4000. It lasted some seventy years, reaching into the twentieth century. El Cuartel was located on what is now Munras Avenue, just south of the present Jules Simoneau Plaza.

At the beginning of 1842 Monterey, capital of Mexican California, stood ready with its garrison of sixty men and three workable cannon. It was its fate, however, to be invaded not by the European powers whom Spain had feared and against whom they had erected such fortifications as Monterey could boast, but by Mexico’s land hungry neighbors, the Americans.

THE MEXICAN COMANDANTES GENERALES
(Military Chiefs, not necessarily political heads as well, although some filled both offices for periods.)

Luis Antonio Argüello	11 November 1822
José María de Echeandía	? November 1825
Manuel Victoria	31 January 1831
José María de Echeandía	9 December 1831
José Figueroa	14 January 1833
Nicolás Gutiérrez	29 September 1835 (acting on death of Figueroa until confirmed on 2 January 1836.)
Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo	4 November 1836
Manuel Micheltoarena	25 August 1842
José Castro	22 February 1845



*Monument to Fr. Serra -
at site of El Castillo
on Presidio Hill*

III

FORT MERVINE

Surely one of the strangest military invasions of American history was the premature seizure of Mexican California by Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones* on 20 October 1842. Mistakenly believing that a state of war existed between Mexico and the United States, Commodore Jones, as commander of the Pacific Squadron of the U.S. Navy, moved to obey his orders to seize and hold the ports of California in case of war. His command at the time consisted of five ships: the *United States*, *Cyane*, *Yorktown*, *Dale*, and *Shark*. On 19 October 1842 the American Squadron entered the harbor of Monterey. At 11:30 on the morning of Tuesday, 20 October, Commodore Jones disembarked a force of 150 sailors and marines to take possession of the port, which had been surrendered to him the night before.

Don Mariano Silva, the aged captain in charge of the local Mexican forces, offered no resistance to the demand for surrender, since his garrison numbered only 29 regular soldiers and 25 untrained recruits. In his report to the governor of his actions, Silva also added that the eleven cannon of the fort were nearly useless, because of the broken down carriages on which they were mounted and the lack of sufficient ammunition for the guns. As for the fortifications themselves, Silva added that they were "of no consequence, as everyone knows." There were about 150 muskets on hand, along with a few carbines and less than 3000 rounds of ammunition. The only resistance to the invasion was offered by an old California militiaman at the fort, who so snarled the flag ropes that a midshipman had to climb up the

* "ap" is welsh for "the son of"



Monterey was captured twice by American naval forces. This sketch, by Gunner William H. Myers, shows the first abortive landing by Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones in 1842.

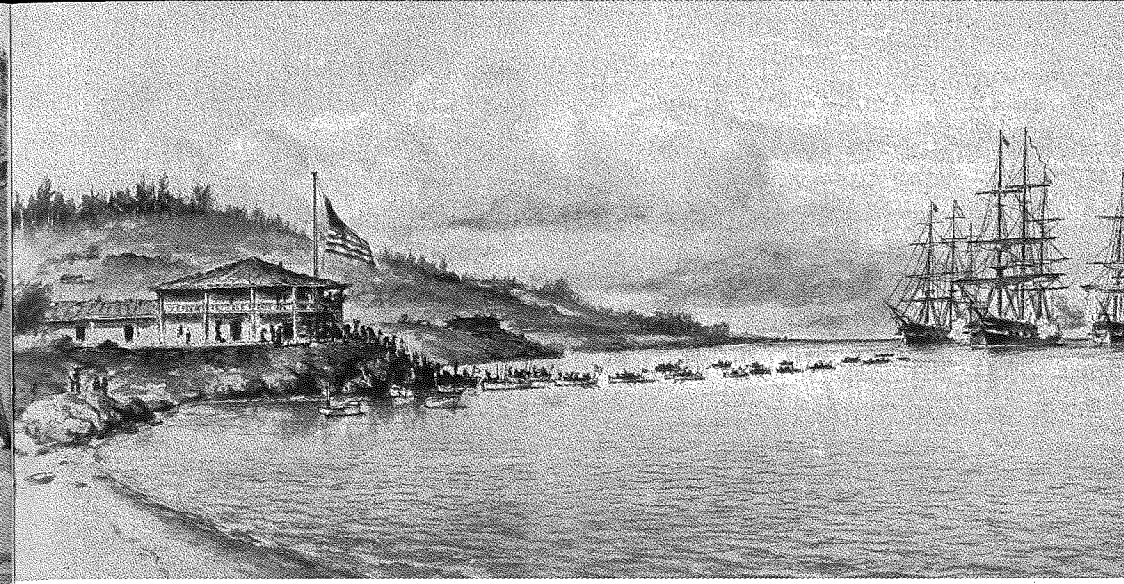
flagpole to free the Mexican flag before it could be pulled down and the American flag run up in its place.

A young naval surgeon, Dr. R. T. Maxwell, who accompanied the landing party ashore, described the landing in more dramatic terms than probably were warranted by the events:

"At 12 our forces took possession of the Fort of Monterey. The Mexicans abandoned the works as we marched up the ravine. At the time we landed, it was supposed this was a mere ruse to get us to land a small force, and then attack us on shore ... we were landed from the boats at the foot of a ravine, about twelve feet wide, leading up directly to the fort, about four hundred yards distant, and marched up six abreast. On reaching the summit of the hill, about twenty yards from the fort, we found nine long brass guns, concealed by green branches of trees, put in order of threes, above each other, commanding the whole ravine, these guns loaded with copper grapeshot and escopette balls, all primed, and the linstocks lighted and at hand, burning within a few inches. (In taking possession of the fort, we immediately unloaded these guns, and removed them to the breastworks again.) Every gun had a name - Jesus, San Pedro, San Pablo and other saints."

Midshipman Alonzo C. Jackson, who also accompanied the landing force, described the captured fort as follows:

"The battery of the fort consisted of 14 long brass and iron guns, with which an effectual resistance might have been made had they been properly handled. We found in the Magazine about a ton of powder, with any quantity of copper and iron shot. As soon as we had



This romanticized drawing, "The First Sketch ever made of this Grand Historic Event," shows the second landing by Commodore John Drake Sloat in 1846. It was painted in 1902 to help raise funds for the construction of Sloat Monument on the Presidio hill in 1905.

possession of the fort we went to work to prepare the fort for an attack from the inland."

Under the command of Lieutenant Dulany, Midshipman Jackson and the others also converted the magazine into a sleeping apartment for the officers, and dubbed their new position Fort Catesby.

On the following day, 21 October, however, Commodore Jones realized that he had made a colossal blunder. A survey of the local government records and the assurances of Thomas Larkin, leader of the local American colony, convinced the Commodore that a state of war did not in fact exist with Mexico, and that he had invaded a friendly nation by mistake. The landing party was withdrawn immediately, the muskets returned to the garrison, and the Mexican flag run back up the flagpole to the accompaniment of salutes by the American fleet and the Mexican battery. Commodore Jones retrieved the diplomatic situation at least partially by tendering an apology to the Mexican governor Micheltorena, who had prudently returned to Los Angeles on hearing of the landing, and who now replied to the apology by arranging a formal ball in honor of Commodore Jones.

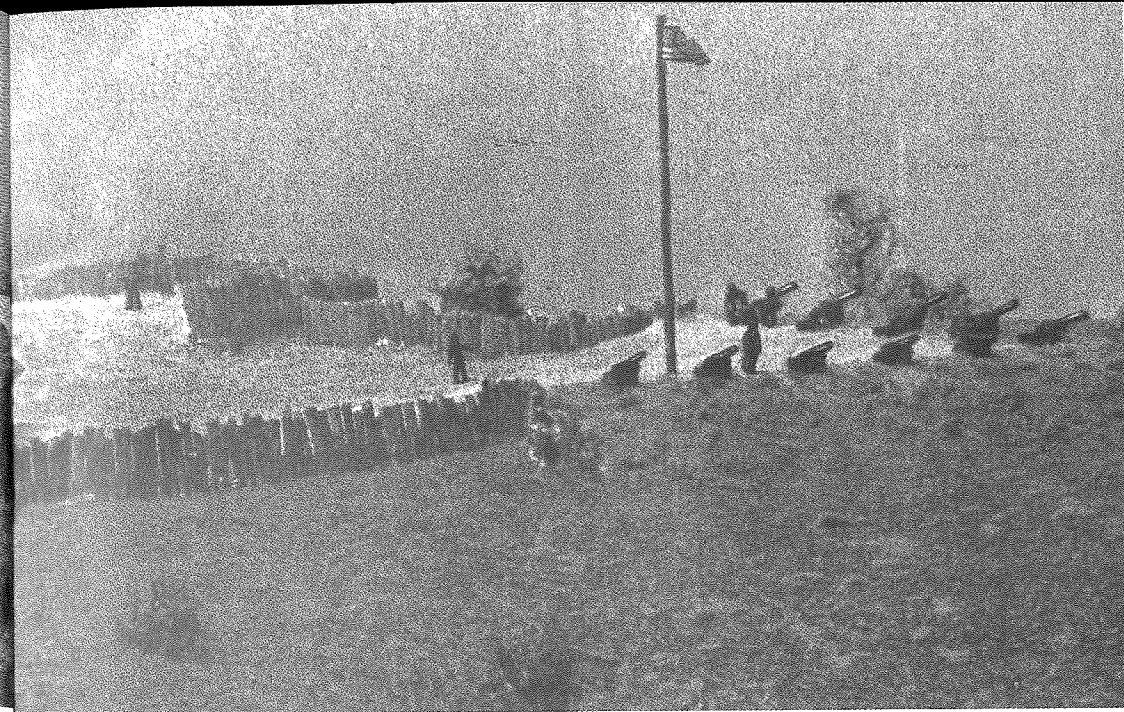
Friendly relations were in fact restored to the point where, on the 25th of October, the *USS United States* even delivered to the Mexican garrison at Monterey 95 pounds of gunpowder to replace the powder used by them in firing salutes during the changing of the flags. As it turned out, the Mexican garrison profited slightly from the exchange, as this was twice the amount of powder actually expended. The American fleet remained in the Monterey harbor for an extended period,



Commodore Sloat's first order of the day after taking possession of Monterey was to begin the construction of a large new fort on the hill above the old Mexican battery. During its construction this redoubt was called variously Fort Halleck, Fort Savannah and finally Fort Mervine. This model in the U.S. Army Museum at the Presidio of Monterey shows the fort as it looked in 1849.

the Montereños somewhat disgruntled at having their erstwhile conquerors now cast in the role of guests, but hospitable nonetheless. The invasion had other, less pleasant results for Monterey as well. Just prior to the arrival of Jones' fleet from Peru, a new governor, Manuel Micheltorena, had been appointed in an effort to resolve the bickering between the old governor, Juan Bautista Alvarado, and his *Comandante General*, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. The new governor arrived from Mexico with an army made up of liberated convicts and the unwanted regular officers and soldiers from Mexican units. These convicts and castoffs, or "cholos" as they were derisively called, landed in San Diego on 25 August 1842. They moved to Monterey in July 1843, well after the American squadron had departed. In an attempt to bolster Monterey's defense in addition to these ragtag reinforcements, 1843 brought some strengthening of Monterey's fort. A ditch was dug above El Castillo, and the redoubts were strengthened. At the same time another redoubt was built across the point of land near the old presidio walls down by El Estero.

This new military posture gave scant comfort to Monterey, however, as the "cholos" plundered and stole as if they were occupying hostile territory. Eventually, as a result of the deprivations of the



"cholos" and the indolence of the governor, Micheltorena was deposed by a bloodless revolution. Don Pío Pico became governor and José Castro the *comandante general*. Micheltorena left California in late March 1845, taking his "cholos" with him, to the regret of no one.

In 1846 Monterey was invaded once again by the Americans, in circumstances remarkably similar to Commodore Jones' abortive invasion, but with the all-important difference that the second seizure of California was a permanent one. On 1 July 1846 Commodore John Drake Sloat, Jones' successor as commander of the Pacific Squadron, anchored in Monterey Bay with three ships: the *Savannah*, the *Cyane*, and the *Levant*. Mindful of Jones' blunder, Commodore Sloat remained at anchor in the harbor for almost a week before becoming convinced that a state of war existed with Mexico and that he should carry out his standing orders of seizing and holding the ports of California, including that of its nominal capital, Monterey. Accordingly, at 10:20 on Tuesday morning, 7 July 1846, a force of 165 sailors and 85 marines under the command of Captain William Mervine, commanding officer of the *Cyane*, came ashore at the small beach near the custom-house and took possession of California for the United States.

Despite the fact that the American fleet had been in the harbor for almost a week, no resistance was offered or apparently even contemplated by the Mexican garrison — after all, they had been through all this once before. Since the mood of the captured populace was peaceful, nearly all of the sailors were returned at once to their ships,

leaving some Marines under Captain Ward Marston as the permanent garrison. Work was begun immediately to erect a more effective fortification that would protect the harbor and town.

Five days after the landing, Commodore Sloat wrote that:

"There are no guns at this place and you know the state of the forts. I am making a stockade around the rear of the upper battery, and shall build a blockhouse there, upon which I shall mount two or three of my 42-pounders to protect that side: on the front I shall mount three or four of my long 32s to protect and defend the bay."

Under the direction of Ensign Baldwin, C.T.M. Cecil, the carpenter of the *Savannah*, began to construct above the old site of El Castillo a new fort, consisting of a blockhouse and a battery mounting three 42-pounders, both surrounded by a ditch. This battery was at first called Fort Stockton, after Commodore Robert F. Stockton who took over command from Sloat on 15 July 1846, and then Fort Mervine, after the commander of the first landing party.

The "upper battery" mentioned by Sloat appears to confirm the existence of a second battery begun by the Mexicans after the first American landing. Writing on 1 March 1849, Henry W. Halleck, who eventually completed the construction of Fort Mervine, stated that "another battery in rear of and auxiliary to [the old battery] was begun by the Mexicans previous to July 7, 1846, and afterwards enlarged by the Americans and occupied by them, without intermission, to the present time." The 1875 guidebook to Monterey also reported that "about the year 1843 Gen. Micheltorena dug a deep ditch on the site of the present fort, with two or three embrasures for guns which were never mounted."

Construction of the new fort was taken over by the U.S. Army when 113 men of Company F of the 3rd Artillery landed in Monterey on 28 January 1847 from the *USS Lexington*. Commanded by Captain Christopher Q. Thompkins, the company's five officers included two lieutenants who were to become generals in the Civil War: E.O.C. Ord and William Tecumseh Sherman. An Army engineer, Henry W. Halleck, was also on board, charged with the construction of fortifications at Monterey and San Francisco.

The new Monterey *alcalde*, Walter Colton, observed that the *Lexington* was "laden with heavy battery guns, mortars, shot, shells, muskets, pistols, swords, fixed ammunition, and several hundred barrels of powder. She also has a quantity of shovels, spades, ploughs, pickaxes, saws, hammers, forges, all the necessary utensils for building fortifications of the first class."

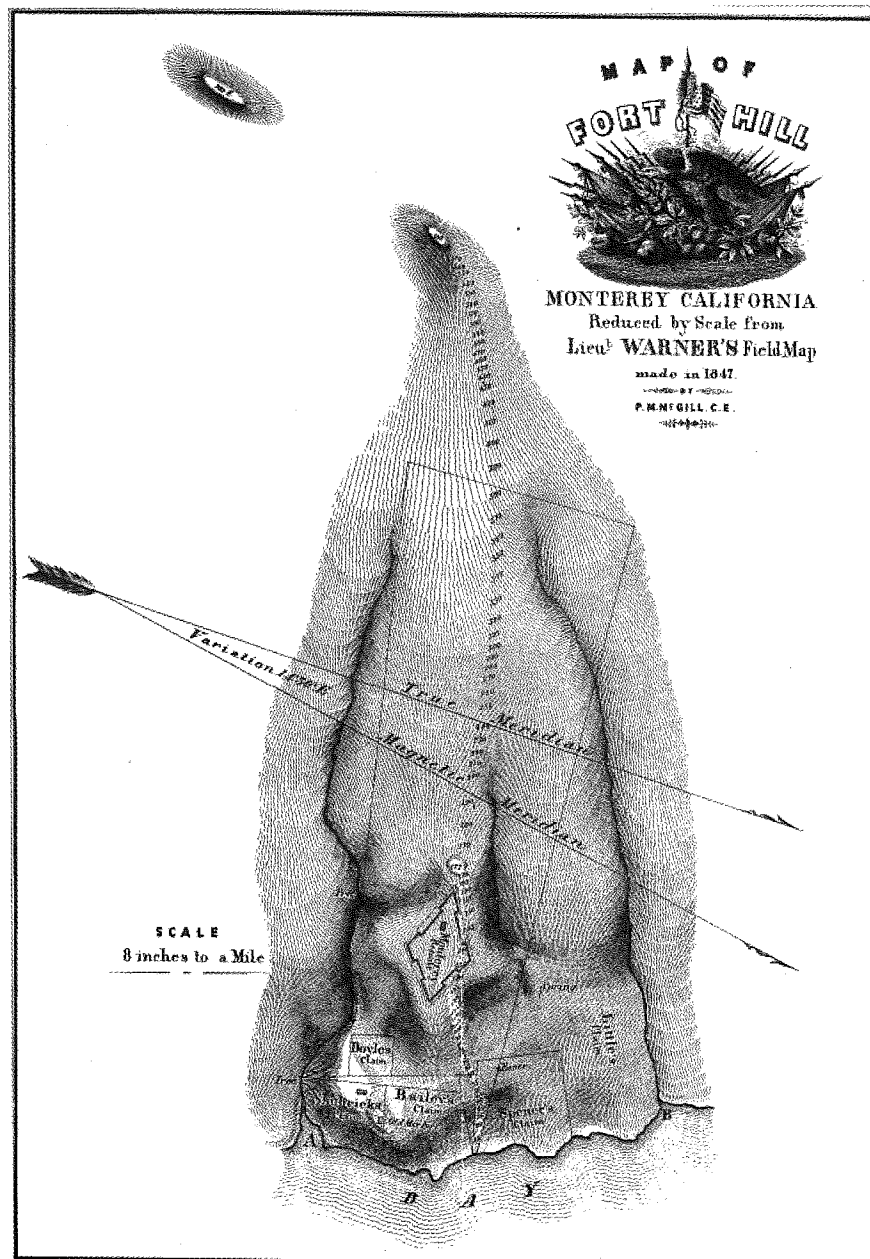
Lieutenant Sherman noted before disembarking that "on a hill to

the west of the town had been built a two-story block-house of hewed logs occupied by a guard of sailors under command of Lieutenant Baldwin, United States Navy ... It was soon determined that our company was to land and encamp on the hill at the block-house." Lieutenant Ord assumed command of Company F on 30 April 1847, two days after complaining that "my company is destined to stay here & build a fort . . . Tis disagreeable work & makes the men grumble & desert." Sherman was at this time Ord's second in command, but left the company shortly thereafter to become adjutant to Colonel R.B. Mason, 1st Dragoons, U.S. military commander at Monterey. In May of 1847 Sherman noted that "the company of artillery was still on the hill under the command of Lieutenant Ord, engaged in building a fort whereupon to mount the guns we had brought in the Lexington, and also in constructing quarters out of hewn pine-logs for the men."

By 23 June 1847 the fortifications had progressed to the point where Colonel Mason could inform the Adjutant General that: "The garrison of the place being of a mixed character, I have exercised the command myself, and caused the construction under the immediate superintendence of Lieutenant Halleck of engineers, of a redoubt in the form of a bastion, on a hill overlooking the town and anchorage. It has twenty 24-pounders mounted, and four 8-inch mortars on platforms. All the shot and shells brought out by the Lexington are piled within the redoubt. In the rear of the redoubt, I have caused to be constructed, mostly by contract labor, a stone house, 75 feet by 25, with an excellent shingle roof, containing ample room to store all the valuable ordnance stores sent out in the Lexington."

Shortly thereafter this redoubt came to be known as Fort Halleck, although it was referred to for a short period as Fort Savannah. An additional source of confusion in naming the fort is the fact that the old Mexican fort of El Castillo was occasionally referred to as Jones' Fort, and the hill on which both forts stood was often referred to as Fort Hill.

Assisting in the occupation of Monterey was a regiment of New York Volunteers, three companies of which (A,B,D) had arrived in Monterey with the 3rd Artillery, to be joined later in the year by Companies E, G, and I, along with the regimental commander, Colonel Jonathan Drake Stevenson. Companies E and G later were transferred to Los Angeles, and Company I to San Diego. The remaining Volunteers were garrisoned in Monterey itself in the old Mexican barracks, El Cuartel. With no military operations to keep them busy, the Volunteers amused themselves as best they could by producing amateur minstrel shows and theatricals.



Field Map of the Monterey Redoubt (Lt. Warner, 1847)

The end of the Mexican War and the discovery of gold in California effectively put an end to any military presence in Monterey. The news of the discovery of gold reached Monterey on 29 May 1848. In a report to the Paymaster General, William Rich stated that on 23 and 24 October 1848 Companies A, B, and D of the New York Volunteers were mustered out, and that nearly all of Company F of the 3rd Artillery had deserted by that time for the gold fields. One unforeseen result of this mustering out was the creation of Monterey's first theatre. The amateur actors of Stevenson's regiment persuaded a saloonkeeper, Jack Swann, to use his establishment for paid theatricals. The opening performance was *Putnam, or the Iron Son of '76*. The ex-Volunteers and some of their wives made up the bulk of the cast, and discharged soldiers most of the audience. Tickets were five dollars apiece, and on opening night the house was packed with an audience of about 95 men and a recorded five females of dubious virtue.

In 1847 a field map by Lieutenant Warner showed Fort Mervine as a diamond-shaped construction, about 650 feet long and 400 feet wide, with ravelins at each corner. The stone house reported by Colonel Mason was shown in the western corner. In June 1849 a travelling artist, William Hutton, sketched the fort, labelling it the Monterey Redoubt. Button's sketches showed two wooden buildings behind a log palisade and an earthwork rampart mounting ten 24-pounders, "5 each face." In August 1852 Company F of the 3rd Artillery departed, leaving the fort empty of troops, but with a considerable number of military stores on hand. The post was designated as the Monterey Ordnance Depot in 1852; the title and function were discontinued in 1856.

On 15 September 1855 Jacques A. Moerenhout wrote that: "the fort of Monterey has been disarmed in part. There were no more than ten pieces of twenty-four, the other ten having been transported to San Francisco. The powder, which has been here for five or six years, deposited under a wooden shed, could serve for no other purpose than for that of saluting. It is going to be transported to Benicia and only the projectiles, the cannon balls, bullets and small shells will remain here." Moerenhout's information was accurate, for most of the guns were soon sent to Benicia Arsenal. A few guns remained, however; two of which can still be seen in front of the Larkin House, thrust muzzle down in the earth and badly rusted. One served as a hitching post, while one on the corner was placed there to keep carriages from cutting the corner too sharply.

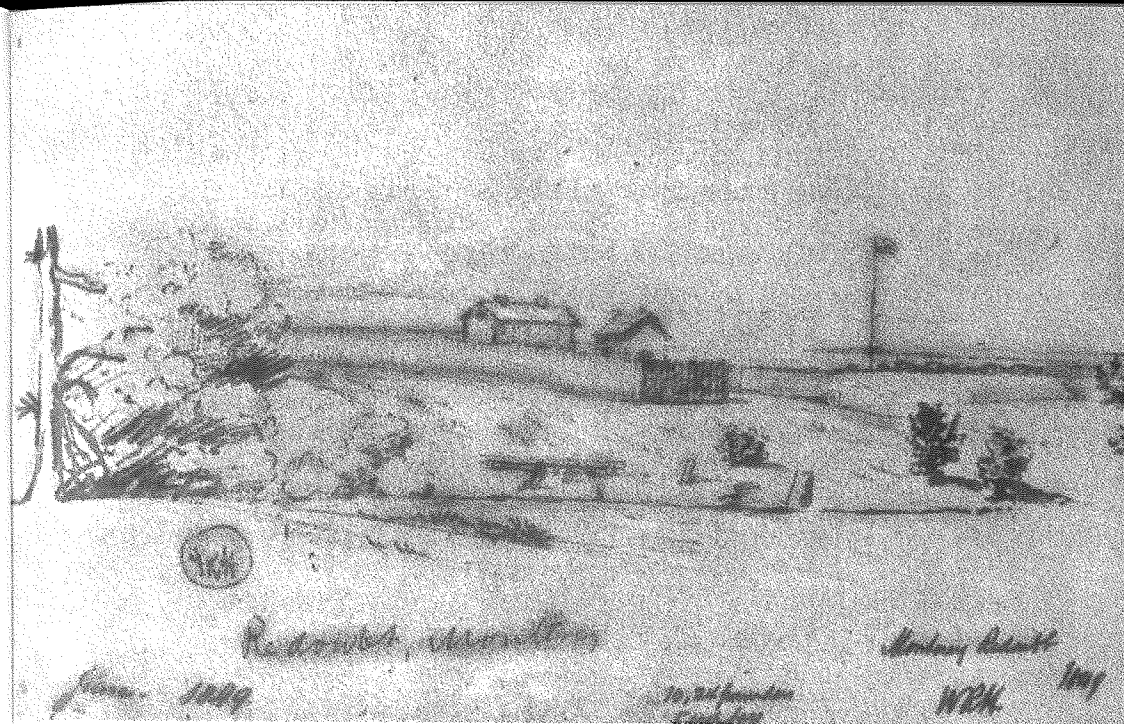
On 17 February 1865 the old fort on the hill was returned to temporary life by the arrival of 6 officers, 156 enlisted men, and a sur-

geon, all under the command of Major C. O'Brien. These were Company G, 6th Infantry and Company B, 1st Battalion, Native Cavalry, both of the California Volunteers, stationed at Monterey in the closing months of the Civil War. Two log huts were erected at the site of the old fort to house these troops, and the fort was renamed Ord Barracks. Later occupied by Company B of the 2nd U.S. Artillery, which departed on 18 October 1865, the redoubt was finally abandoned completely in August 1866.

At this time the military reservation consisted of about 158 acres, as established by an executive order of 23 November 1866, and according to Warner's survey. Through an error in a subsequent survey by Forman, only about 140 acres were actually occupied. With the departure of the troops, this land was left in the informal charge of a discharged veteran, Francis Doud, sergeant-at-arms of the Constitutional Convention of 1849 and founder of the well known Doud family of Monterey, with the request that he keep an eye on it. The log barracks eventually disappeared, although the blockhouse lasted into the twentieth century. Eventually only the military cemetery remained, along with the old dug-out jail, or *calabozo*, of El Castillo, which was still used until the end of the nineteenth century to sober up an occasional drunk.

In the town, El Cuartel continued to deteriorate. In 1875 it was described as a "two-story, ruinous looking adobe building, with a balcony running around it." In 1880 Lady Duffus Hardy wrote that "in the heart of the town there is a long, low range of deserted buildings formerly occupied by the military; the windows are all broken, the worm-eaten doors hang, like helpless cripples, on their hinges, and only the ghostly echo of wind goes wandering through the empty chambers." Shortly after the turn of the century El Cuartel had vanished completely.

Up on the hill overlooking the town, the old fort fared little better. There is a classic Monterey story that about 1890 the mayor of Monterey, Bob "Ironhand" Johnson, wrote the War Department, suggesting that the deserted fort and its lands be given to the city as a park. The return letter from the War Department is supposed to have denied the request, but to have thanked the mayor for "calling our attention to our land in Monterey, which we did not know we had." Rather like Isaac Graham's cannonball, however, the story is more colorful than the facts. Somebody in the War Department knew they owned the land, for in 1889 a license was issued to the Southern Pacific Railway Company to construct a line of track across the reservation, and in 1890 the War Department issued another license, to Mrs. Jane L.



Monterey Redoubt (William R. Hutton, 1849)

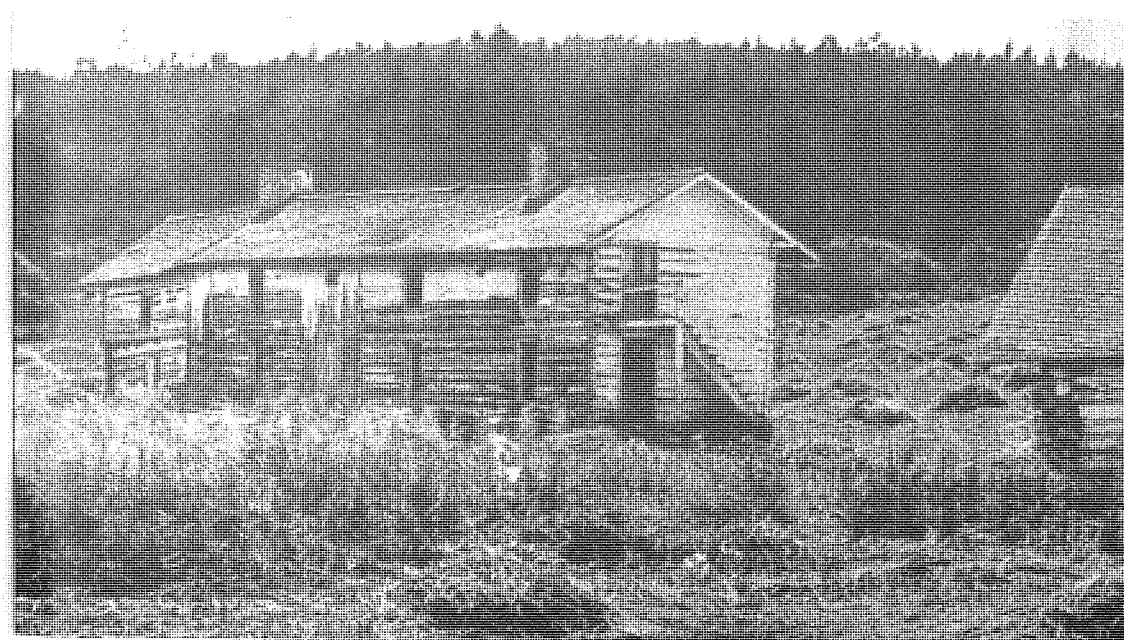
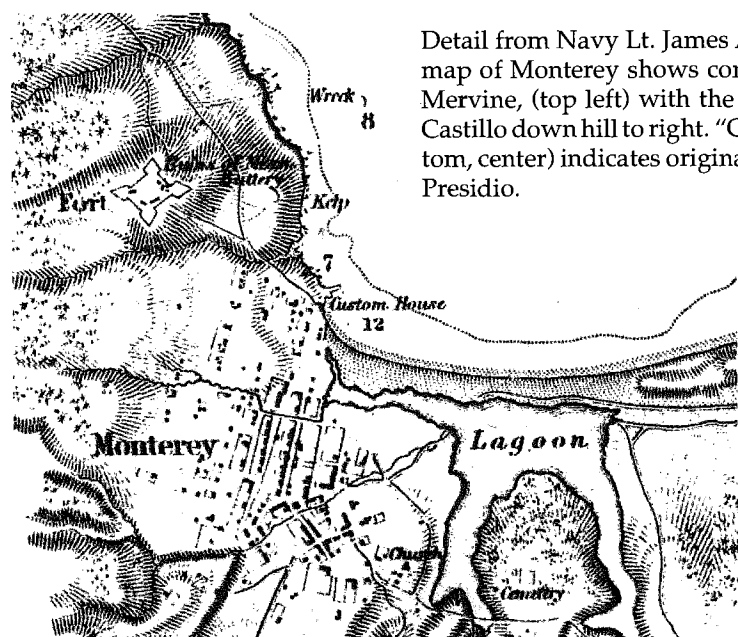


Photo of the blockhouse, around 1905. Note the double chimneys in this and the sketch above.

Stanford, to erect a monument to Father Serra on the post.

THE AMERICAN MILITARY GOVERNORS

Commodore John D. Sloat	7 July 1846
Commodore Robert F. Stockton	29 July 1846
Lieutenant Colonel John C. Fremont	19 January 1847
General Stephen W. Kearney	23 February 1847
Colonel Richard B. Mason	31 May 1847
General Persifer F. Smith	28 February 1849
General Bennett Riley	12 April 1849



Detail from Navy Lt. James Alden's 1852 map of Monterey shows completed Fort Mervine, (top left) with the V-shaped El Castillo down hill to right. "Church" (bottom, center) indicates original 1770 site of Presidio.

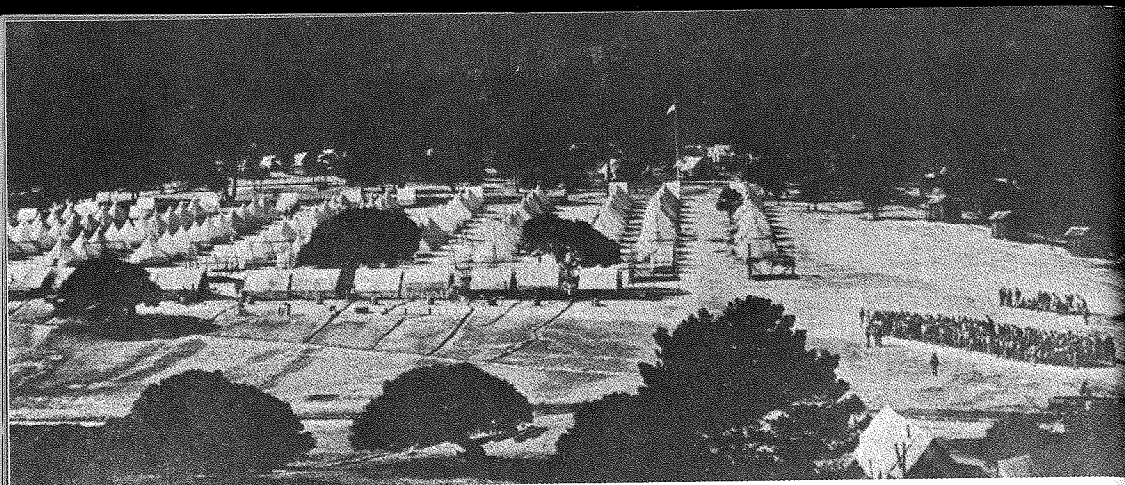
IV

THE AMERICAN PRESIDIO

With the end of the Philippine Insurrection in 1901, the U.S. Army cast about for posts in the United States to which it could redeploy its troops. One installation selected for this purpose was the abandoned area known as the Monterey Military Reservation, which had lain unused since 1866.

On 9 September 1902 Colonel Henry T. Ward, commander of the 15th Infantry Regiment, arrived at Monterey by transport with companies E and F of his regiment; their mission was to begin construction of a post which would house an infantry regiment and an attached squadron of cavalry. Joined shortly by the rest of the regiment, which arrived by rail, the men of the 15th cleared a camping ground on what is now Soldier Field and erected a tent camp in which to live while preparing more permanent structures. One of the first tasks in preparing their new post was the removal of the small cemetery near the old Fort Mervine, as the new headquarters building (now the NCO Club) was to be erected on that site.

Under the direction of Captain E.H. Plummer, quartermaster of the 10th Infantry, the 15th began construction of wooden buildings to house the regiment. Many of these are still in use today. First to be erected were the barracks, still readily recognizable by their open verandas running the full length of the buildings. Then came the quartermaster's building, the commissary, the hospital (now the Service Club), and the officers' quarters. In the construction of these latter quarters the troop labor involved appears to have been allowed considerable latitude, as no two houses on the post have the same floor plan.



The 15th Infantry's 1902 campsite while building the new Presidio, on what is now Soldier Field.

The troops moved into the new wooden barracks in June 1903, allowing the old campground to be cleared as a parade ground. On 13 July 1903 the Monterey Military Reservation was officially renamed Ord Barracks, only to have its name changed again one year later. On 30 August 1904 War Department General Order 142 designated the post as the Presidio of Monterey, in order to perpetuate the name of the old Spanish military installation that Portolá had established there 134 years previously. Additional land was purchased from David Jacks in 1903 and 1906. Of the 398 acres so purchased, eighteen already belonged to the military reservation, but had been mistakenly left out of the last survey. Stables were not erected until 1906, since the only animals in the infantry regiment were the officers' mounts and pack mules.

The 15th Infantry had been joined in late 1902 by the 1st Squadron, 9th Cavalry, but the cavalry was camped in tents at China Point, where the Hopkins Marine Laboratory now stands. The arrival of the cavalry afforded the inhabitants of Pacific Grove a full-time rodeo for some months, as the entire squadron was provided with unbroken horses at one time. Since many of the 9th's troopers were recruits who did not know how to ride, this gave man and horse a chance to start off even, and the air was full of flying "buffalo soldiers," — the name given the Negro cavalymen of the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments in recognition of their long and valiant service in the Indian Wars. The squadron of the 9th was replaced in 1904 by the 3rd Squadron, 4th Cavalry, which remained through 1906.

Although there was usually a squadron of cavalry stationed at the Presidio, the principal unit at that station was an infantry regiment. The 15th Infantry stayed until 1906, when it was replaced by the 20th Infantry. The 20th arrived just in time to be ordered to San Francisco to establish order after that city's earthquake and fire. On completion

of this duty the regiment returned to Monterey, where it remained until 1909, when it was replaced by the 12th Infantry. The 12th Infantry was joined by the 1st Cavalry in 1914. A school of musketry was also located at the Presidio from 1904 to 1911, and a school for cooks and bakers from 1914 to 1917.

In 1917 the Army purchased from the Jacks family an additional 15,809 acres across the bay as a maneuver area. This new acquisition, named Gigling Reservation after a family living in the area, eventually was designated as Camp Ord in 1939 and in 1940 became the Fort Ord that exists today. Fort Ord now dwarfs the Presidio, but initially it served only as a maneuver area for the troops stationed at the Presidio. For the period between World Wars, these troops belonged to the unit which is most closely associated with the modern Presidio, the 11th Cavalry Regiment. Organized in 1901 at Fort Myer, Virginia, the 11th Cavalry had specialized historically in what would now be termed counterinsurgency operations. Formed to take part in the Philippine Insurrection, the regiment remained in the Philippines from 1902 to 1904. From 1906 to 1909 it took part in the Cuban Pacification, and accompanied the Punitive Expedition into Mexico during 1916 and 1917.

On 9 July 1919 the 11th's regimental headquarters, machine gun troop, supply troop, and first squadron were ordered from Fort Myer to the Presidio of Monterey. There they were joined by the other two squadrons of the regiment, which had been scattered throughout Georgia and Wyoming and along the California border with Mexico. Initially one troop remained stationed at Camp L.J. Hearn, California, as a border patrol, while the rest of the regiment moved into the Presidio. The regiment's strength at this time was 26 officers and 661 enlisted men, down from its 1916 Mexican Campaign strength of 32 officers and 905 men. As the peacetime Army cut back its strength, further organizational changes took place. The National Defense Act of 1920, which was implemented in 1921, reduced the regiment to two squadrons of three lettered troops each (A through F), a regimental headquarters, a headquarters troop, and a service troop.

On 31 August 1922 the 11th Cavalry was joined by the 2nd Battalion, 76th Field Artillery, which arrived aboard the transport *Buford* from Camp Lewis, Washington. The 76th Field, formed from the old 2nd Cavalry in 1917, was a horse-drawn artillery battalion with an authorized strength of 333 men. Detachments from the Medical, Quartermaster, Signal, Ordnance, Finance, and Veterinary Corps made up the rest of the Presidio's complement.

In February 1928 the 11th Cavalry underwent another reorgan-



Camp Pryor, 1932, on the site of the present DLIWC permanent buildings.

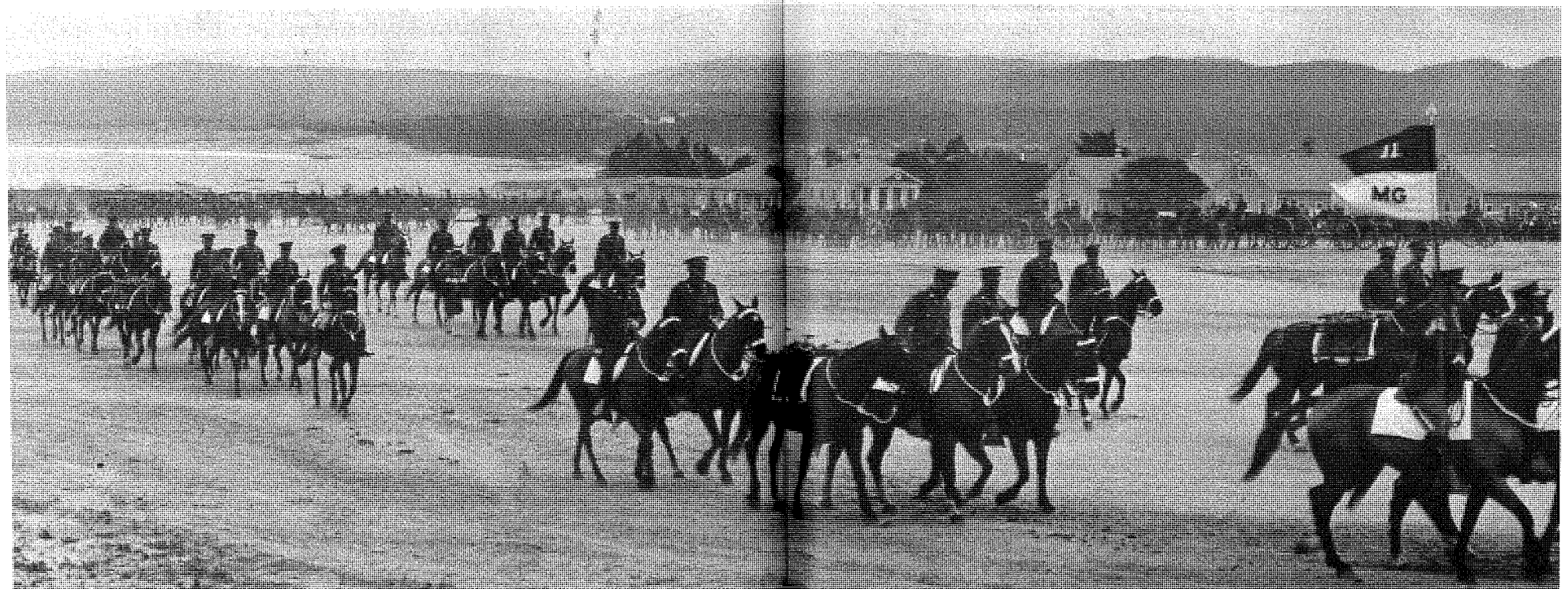
ization, which reduced the number of lettered troops from six to four. Troops A and B made up the First Squadron, and Troops E and F the 2nd Squadron. In addition the service troop was consolidated into the headquarters troop, and the machine gun troop was reinstated. This left the regiment with an average strength of about 690 men, in an organization it would retain until 1939: Headquarters Troop (78 men), Band (28 men), four rifle troops (119 men each), and the Machine



Gun Troop (108 men). Each rifle troop had a troop headquarters, three rifle platoons, and a machine rifle platoon; all platoons consisting of three squads each.

The 11th was to remain at the Presidio for 21 years, in the peaceful period between 1919 and 1940. From August 1927 to March 1933 the regiment was assigned to the 3rd Cavalry Division, and from October 1933 to October 1940 to the 2nd Cavalry Division. It did not, however,

The 11th Cavalry parades on Soldier Field, Army Day, April 6th, 1933.



move from the Presidio except for short exercises. The 11th's unit records during this period speak more of maneuvers, horse shows, and parades than of skirmishes and campaigns. Holding themselves in readiness for a war that never came, they drilled at Gigling Reservation, riding to and from the area along Del Monte Beach; they filled a tiny new post cemetery, mostly with their wives and children; and they left an indelible mark on their civilian neighbors in Monterey. The older residents of Monterey still recall with nostalgia taking the horse trolley out to the Presidio to see the parades on Soldier Field, and an amazing number of young Monterey and Pacific Grove boys seem to have learned to ride by helping the troopers to exercise their mounts. Other neighbors, more colorful but less respectable, also went riding. On Sundays the girls from Flora Woods' and La Ida's establishments on Cannery Row appeared at the Presidio in their finery to ride the horses. As their professional predecessors had attended the 1849 theatricals of the New York Volunteers, the girls were also steady patrons of the 11th Cavalry's boxing matches, which were held down by the Sloat Monument.

With the age-old affection of soldiers for dogs, each troop and battery had its mascot. Senior of these was Sergeant Beans, a small short-haired black dog with white spots, who joined the 11th Cavalry in 1920 in a barracks bag, smuggled in on the transport bringing the Machine Gun Troop. Sergeant Beans remained on the troop's roster until his death in 1935, when the entire troop fell out for his funeral. The troopers also chipped in for a bronze plaque to his memory; originally erected over his grave, it now stands at the corner of one of the new barracks, Combs Hall. There is also a Sergeant Beans Avenue on post. There are no such permanent monuments, however, for the other mascots, like Eightball, the airedale of the 76th Field's D Battery, who had his own charge account. Five dollars a month were set aside in the battery fund to provide ice cream cones for Eightball, to be signed for by whichever member of the battery Eightball decided to accompany to the canteen.

Construction of the present post continued. The theater was built in 1910, the gymnasium in 1934, and the Tin Barn in 1935 — the latter as a quartermaster warehouse. The Civilian Conservation Corps added concrete steps to Soldier Field in 1936. Roads were built along the old horse trails and names given to them which reflected the post's history. Plummer Street, for example, was named after Captain E. H. Plummer, who supervised the first construction. Private Bolio Road honors Private George Bolio, Headquarters Troop of the 11th Cavalry, who, together with Private Eustace V. Watkins, Battery E of the 76th



A cavalry trooper, his horse and dog. (circa 1935.)

Field, was killed on 14 September 1924 while attempting to extinguish an oil tank fire near Cannery Row. Fitch Avenue is named after Colonel Roger S. Fitch, commander of the 11th Cavalry from 1928 to 1930, who was instrumental in beautifying the post, and after his retirement an active local historian. Corporal Ewing Road is named after Corporal Horace K. Ewing, Battery D of the 76th Field, who was accidentally killed while taking part in a public gun team competition on 30 November 1929. Corporal Evans Road honors Corporal William J. Evans, Company H of the 30th Infantry, an outstanding athlete of that regiment, who died at the Presidio on 27 July 1928. The 30th Infantry operated the Civilian Military Training Corps (CMTC) summer training camp on the upper post from 1932 to just before the start of World War II. This summer camp was known as Camp Pryor, it and Pryor Road being named after Captain John D. Pryor, a Pacific Grove resident killed in World War I in an action that earned him the Distinguished Service Cross.

The 1939 German invasion of Poland and the subsequent outbreak of World War II ended the days of the horse cavalry forever. The 11th left Monterey in 1940 for stations at San Diego, Campo, and El Centro from which to patrol the border with Mexico. In 1942 the regiment left California for Fort Benning, Georgia, where on 15 July 1942, as the last mounted regiment in the U.S. Army, it became the 11th Armored Regiment. At this writing the regiment is now serving in Vietnam as the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, the only such regiment

to have been committed to combat in the last 25 years.

With the departure of the cavalry, the Presidio of Monterey was host to a variety of units between 1940 and 1946. In December 1940 it became temporary headquarters for the III Army Corps. Soldier Field was filled with two-story wooden barracks and a central supply warehouse, and on 18 January 1941 the post became a reception center for inductees. It remained in this capacity until 22 December 1944, when the post was declared inactive. Hardly a month later the post was reactivated, on 1 February 1945, as a Civil Affairs Staging and Holding Area (CASA), with the mission of training officers and enlisted men for the administration of occupied territory. In January 1946 the CASA was deactivated, and for the months of January and February the post became the site of VII Corps Headquarters.

In June 1946 the Presidio of Monterey became the permanent home of the Military Intelligence Service Language School. Originally activated as the Fourth U.S. Army Intelligence School at Crissy Field on the Presidio of San Francisco on 1 November 1941, the school taught only Japanese. On 25 May 1942 the school was shifted to Camp Savage, Minnesota, and once again on 15 August 1944 to Fort Snelling, Minnesota. In July 1946 the school began classes at the Presidio of Monterey, adding Russian and Chinese to its curriculum. On 1 September 1947 the school was redesignated the Army Language School. On 1 July 1963 it received its current designation as the Defense Language Institute, West Coast Branch (DLIWC), as the result of the Army, Navy, and Air Force language schools being combined under a single Defense headquarters in Washington.

The arrival of the language school in 1946, however, was not the first time that language training had been conducted at the Presidio, for Japanese was taught there starting 13 September 1943 at a secret school under the II Armored Corps Training Center. The original direction of this training came from the Military Intelligence Service Language School in Minnesota. From its rather modest beginnings DLIWC has since expanded into the largest language training facility of its kind in the world, conducting instruction in two dozen languages to approximately three thousand resident students at a time.

New roads and new buildings continue to appear in support of the Presidio's new mission. In keeping with past tradition, they are assigned names which reflect the men who passed through the post. Hachiya Way bears the name of Tech. 3 Frank Tadakazu Hachiya, one of the first graduates of the Japanese language course. He was killed in action at Leyte P.I. on 3 January 1945, and was awarded the Silver Star. Bellegarde Way commemorates Sergeant Nicolai Bellegarde, a



Japanese gardens, fences and stairs, with one of the new Russian language buildings in the background, show the modern character of today's language school on the two century-old Presidio of Monterey.

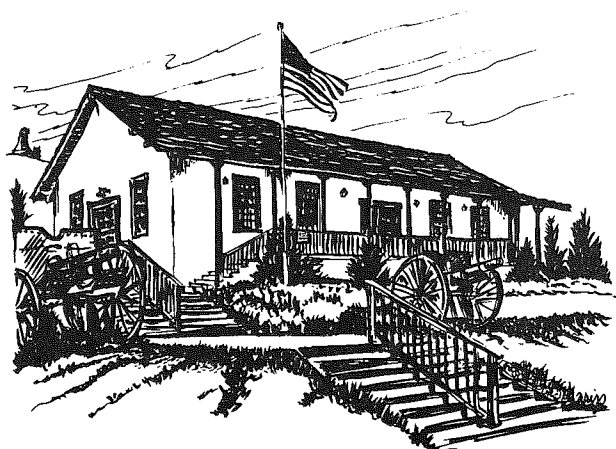
military member of the Army Language School's Russian faculty, killed in action in Korea on 1 February 1951. New permanent buildings are being built as barracks and classrooms on the site of the old upper cavalry drill field. These bear bronze plaques naming them after language school graduates who died in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam. First of these buildings to be named was Nisei Hall, in honor of the second generation Americans of Japanese ancestry who served so valiantly in World War II, and from whose ranks came both the instructors and the students of the original Army language school.

That language school has now been at the Presidio longer than the 11th Cavalry's 21 year stay. The Presidio once again has a commandant in residence, since the commanding officer of a service school traditionally bears that title. To those who are stationed here tradition is always around them. Two hundred years of history stretch out behind the Presidio of Monterey, a history marred by famine, pillage, war, and revolution and broken by long years of neglect and oblivion.

Grim as these events may sound, however, Monterey seems to have exercised its own softening effect on them all. Famine is averted by a bear hunt; the pirates capture only the town drunk; the war's first invasion is a mistake and the second invasion a friendly one; and the revolutions replace one official with another without bloodshed. It may well be that Dana's assessment was correct and that Monterey is truly "the pleasantest and most civilised-looking place in California."

THE COMMANDERS OF THE 11TH CAVALRY

Colonel John M. Jenkins	1920-1923
Colonel Herbert J. Brees	1923-1925
Colonel Leon B. Kromer	1925-1928
Colonel Roger S. Fitch	1928-1930
Colonel Ben Lear	1931-1933
Colonel Ralph M. Parker	1933-1936
Colonel Troup Miller	1936-1938
Colonel Homer M. Groninger	1938-1940



U.S. Army Museum, Presidio of Monterey



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Atherton, Faxon Dean. *The California Diary of Faxon Dean Atherton 1836-1839*. (Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed.) San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1964.

Bandini, José. *A Description of California in 1828: by José Bandini*. (Doris Marian Wright, trans.) Berkeley: Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1951.

Bonsteel, Captain F. T. *The Eleventh Cavalry: 1901 to 1923*. Privately printed, 1923.

Colton, Walter. *Three Years in California*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949.

Corney, Peter. *Early Voyages in the North Pacific: 1813-1818*. Fairfield, Wash.: Galleon Press, 1965.

Dana, Richard Henry, Jr. *Two Years before the Mast*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1946.

Duflot de Mofras, Eugène. *Duflot de Mofras' Travels on the Pacific Coast*. (Marguerite E. Wilbur, ed.) 2 vols. Santa Ana: Fine Arts Press, 1937.

Duhaut-Cilly, Auguste Bernard. "Duhaut-Cilly's Account of California in the Years 1827-28," (Charles F. Carter, trans.) *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, 1929, pp. 130-166.

Fages, Pedro. "A Description of California's Principal Presidio, Monterey, in 1773 by Captain Pedro Fages," (M. Geiger, ed.) *Southern California Quarterly*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3, 1967, pp. 327-336.

Farnham, Thomas Jefferson. *Travels in California*. Oakland: Bio-books, 1947.

Forbes, Alexander. *California: A History of Upper and Lower California*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1839.

Hardy, Lady Duffus. *Through Cities and Prairie Lands*. New York: R. Worthington, 1881.

Hutton, William Rich. *California 1847-1852. Drawings by William Rich Hutton*. San Marino: Huntington Library Press, 1942.

Jackson, Midshipman Alonzo C. *The Conquest of California*. Privately printed letters of 1842 and 1846: Edward Eberstadt, 1953.

Lapérouse, Jean F. G. de. *The First French Expedition to California: Lapérouse in 1786*. (Charles N. Rudkin, trans.) Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1953.

Maxwell, R. T. *Visit to Monterey in 1842: by Dr. R. T. Maxwell*. (J. H. Kemble, ed.) Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1955.

Menzies, Archibald. "Menzies' California Journal," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. II, 1924, pp. 265-340.

Moerenhout, Jacques A. "The Second Incumbency of Jacques A. Moerenhout," (A. P. Nasatir, trans.) *California Historical Society Quarterly*, Vol. XXVII, 1948, pp. 203-214.

Ord, Angustias de la Guerra. *Occurrences in Hispanic California*. Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1956.

Palóu, Francisco. *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palóu*. (Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed.) 4 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926.

Pritchard, William E. *Preliminary Archeological Investigations of El Castillo, Presidio of Monterey, Monterey, California*. Typescript: Central California Archeological Foundation, March 1968.

Revere, Joseph VJ. *Naval Duty in California*. Oakland: Biobooks, 1947.

Robinson, Alfred. *Life in California before the Conquest*. San Francisco: Thomas C. Russell, 1925.

Ruschenberger, William S. W. *Sketches in California: 1836*. Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1953.

Shaler, William. "Shaler's Description of California," Appendix B to: Cleland, Robert Glass. *A History of California: The American Period*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1922, pp. 470-482.

Sherman, William Tecumseh. *Memoirs of W. T. Sherman*. New York: D. Appleton, 1876.

Vancouver, Captain George. *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*. London: J. Stockdale, 1801.

Vancouver in California 1792-1794. (Marguerite E. Wilbur, ed.) Vol. 2. Los Angeles: Glen Dawson, 1954.

Waseurtz et Sandels, G. M. "The King's Orphan's Manuscript," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, Vol. III, No. 2, 1926, pp. 58-98.

Historical Record, Property, Presidio of Monterey, California. Official U. S. Army Record, undated.

Presidio of Monterey 1938. Little Rock: Parke-Harper, 1938. (Year-book of the Eleventh Cavalry).

Regulations for Governing the Province of the Californias: Approved by His Majesty by Royal Order, dated October 24, 1781. (John Everett Johnson, trans.) San Francisco: The Grab-horn Press, 1929.

The Spanish Occupation of California: Plan for the Establishment of a Government: Junta or Council Held at San Bias, May 16, 1768; Diario of the Expeditions Made to California. (Douglas S. Watson, ed) San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1934.

Secondary Sources

Bancroft, H. H. *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft.* Vols. 18-22 (Vols. I-V of "History of California"). San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft and Co., 1884-1886.

Bolton, Herbert Eugene. *Anza's California Expeditions.* 5 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930.

Brooke, George M., Jr. "The Vest Pocket War of Commodore Jones," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, 1962, pp. 217-233.

Cleland, Robert Glass. *A History of California: The American Period.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1922.

Cresap, Bernarr, "Early California as Described by Edward O. C. Ord," *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, 1952, pp. 329-340.

Culleton, James. *Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey.* Fresno: Academy of California Church History, 1950.

Cutter, Donald C. *Malaspina in California.* San Francisco: John Howell, 1960.

Delkin, James Ladd. *Monterey Peninsula.* American Guide Series. Berkeley: Courier, 1941.

Egenhoff, Elisabeth L. (ed.). *Fabricas: A Collection of Pictures and Statements on the Mineral Materials Used in Building in California Prior to 1850.* Supplement to *California Journal of Mines and Geology*, April, 1952.

Eldredge, Z. S. (ed.). *History of California.* Vols. 1 and 2. New York: The Century History Co., 1915.

Ford, Tirey L. *Dawn and the Dons.* San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1926.

Gay, Antoinette G. *Presidio of Monterey 1770-1940.* Monterey: privately printed, 1940.

Geiger, Maynard J. *The Life and Times of Fray Junipero Serra, O. F. M.* 2 vols. Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959.

Giffen, Guy J. *California Expedition: Stevenson's Regiment of First New York Volunteers.* Oakland: Biobooks, 1951.

Hoover, Mildred Brooke; Rensch, Hero Eugene; and Rensch, Ethel Grace. *Historic Spots in California.* 3rd ed. (rev. by William N. Abeloe). Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Kirsch, Robert and Murphy, William S. *West of the West: Witnesses to the California Experience, 1542-1906.* New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1967.

Knox, Dudley W. *Naval Sketches of the War in California: by William H. Meyers.* New York: Random House, 1939.

Nasatir, Abraham P. *French Activities in California*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1945.

Neasham, Aubrey. *The Historical Evolution of Monterey*. Berkeley: unpublished typescript, 1938.

Powers, Laura Bride. *Old Monterey: California's Adobe Capital*. San Francisco: San Carlos Press, 1934.

Richman, Irving Berdine. *California under Spain and Mexico 1535-1847*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911.

Stubbs, Mary Lee and Connor, Stanley Russell. *Armor-Cavalry, Part I: Regular Army and Army Reserve*. Army Lineage Series, Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1969.

Van Nostrand, Jeanne. *A Pictorial and Narrative History of Monterey: Adobe Capital of California 1770-1847*. San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1968.

and Coulter, Edith M. *California Pictorial: A History in Contemporary Pictures, 1786 to 1859*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948.

Welts, Allen W. *El Castillo*. Monterey: unpublished typescript, undated.

Historical Episodes in Monterey County 1542-1905. Writers' Program, California Division of Recreation, Works Progress Administration. Monterey: unpublished typescript, 1938.

The Handbook to Monterey and Vicinity. San Francisco: Bacon & Co., 1875.

AFTERWORD

Col. Kibbey M. Horne published this booklet in 1970, two hundred years after Spanish soldiers and Franciscan priests founded a mission and presidio on the Monterey Peninsula. For thirty years readers have found it an indispensable source about one of America's most historic military posts. We proudly offer this reprint to a new generation of readers.

Time has not stood still since this booklet was first published. From the perspective of two centuries, thirty years may seem short. But not from the perspective of those who lived through those years from the Vietnam War to the post-Cold War era. Just as far-off imperial rivalries first brought the Spanish to Monterey, events around the world today continue to impact the Presidio.

The Presidio's physical appearance continues to evolve. The historic district still looks much as it did in 1902-03, when the War Department built the "modern" post for a new Army and a new century. Still overlooking the harbor are monuments to Father Junipero Serra and Commodore Sloat, testimony to historic events of the 18th and 19th centuries. Fort Mervine still stands guard over the city and harbor. A time traveler from the days of the 11th Cavalry between the two world wars would still find much that was familiar. The temporary barracks that covered Soldier Field since World War II have been removed. Outside the historic district new classrooms, barracks, and support facilities have sprung up.

In 1970 Col. Horne was writing as commandant of the Defense Language Institute, West Coast Branch, which soon changed its name and much else. In 1974 the Headquarters, Defense Language Institute, moved here from Washington, DC, and merged with the West Coast Branch to form today's Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center. When Fort Ord closed in 1994, the Presidio of Monterey became a separate installation, part of the US Army Training and Doctrine Command. At the same time the Presidio of San Francisco also closed, making Monterey the last of California's four historic presidios to remain in US Army hands.

History is far from over for the Presidio of Monterey. The Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center remains a vital part of our national security and has made itself the nation's leading center for foreign language education and testing. No longer an isolated outpost, the Presidio of Monterey continues to serve the nation in war and peace into a new century.

James C. McNaughton
Command Historian
3 June 2000