

ABSTRACT

Robert C. G. Dickens PORTUGUESE SHORE WHALERS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY CALIFORNIA. (Under the direction of Dr. Donald H. Parkerson)
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Established in the mid-1850s, California's shore whaling industry endured for nearly fifty years. For the most part, Portuguese immigrants from the Azores controlled the industry. Not only did shore whaling contribute to the development of several Portuguese communities along California's coast, it also influenced the settlement patterns of California's Azorean population. Using primary sources such as the Great Register and the U.S. Census, this thesis analyzes the effect of shore whaling on the settlement patterns of California's Azorean immigrants and describes the demographic characteristics of several whaling communities. This thesis also provides a model for the analysis of intrastate movement for any immigrant group in nineteenth century California. Such a model is of great value because California's population was extremely transient after the decline of her gold mining industry in the late-1850s

PORTUGUESE SHORE WHALERS IN NINETEENTH CENTURY CALIFORNIA

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the Faculty of the Department of Maritime History
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by
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Mary Natalie Dickens.

It is through her that I developed my passion for history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My fondness for the Portuguese people came through my eight-month stay in Lisbon. Ostensibly, I was there to attend language courses. Shortly after my arrival in Portugal, I joined the Alges Dafundo Water Polo Club. Our team won the 1988 Portuguese Cup. More important than our victory were the deep friendships I developed with my team members. They opened my eyes to Portuguese culture; they taught me the Portuguese Language. For the production of this thesis, I wish to thank my director, Dr. Donald Parkerson. His encouragement and guidance were outstanding. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance I received from thesis committee members Dr. Timothy Runyan, Dr. Angela Thompson, and Dr. Jo Ann Parkerson. I would also like to thank my wife, Ashley Dickens; my father, Dr. Richard Dickens; and my stepmother, Dr. Janet Dixon for their support and suggestions. It is my sincere hope that this thesis will contribute to the rich but largely unrecorded history of the Portuguese American people.

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INTRODUCTION

The whale was sighted in the afternoon... Two boats were sent in pursuit. On coming up to the whale he was immediately attacked with a harpoon and a bomb lance. An exciting contest began which lasted until the whale made a savage and determined attack upon one of the boats and broke it in two amidships with his flukes. The boats crew, left struggling in the water, but being good swimmers, were able to reach the other boat and save their lives. The second boat, now loaded (with 4 men) was unable to pursue the contest and the whale disappeared. However, during the brief encounter with the whale, 25 bomb lances had been fired into his sides as well as several harpoons.¹

When most of us think of the American whaling industry, we conjure up the images of Moby Dick: large ships, long voyages, brutal captains and dangerous encounters. The above account, taken from a nineteenth century California newspaper is not, however, a description of the pelagic whaling characteristic of Melville's classic. Instead it describes a type of whaling less familiar to both the general public and to historians: shore-whaling.

Unlike whalers who hunted in boats launched from ships, shore whalers hunted from boats launched from the land. After killing a whale, shore whalers towed their catch to coastal stations where they processed the whales for oil.

California's shore whaling industry began in the town of Monterey in 1854. Soon after, whaling enterprises emerged at several locations throughout the state. The industry reached its peak in the early 1870s-- though some whaling did continue into the early 20th century.

¹Tribune, 1880, cited in Geneva Hamilton, Where the Highway Ends (San Luis Obispo: Padre Productions, 1974), 146. Hamilton did not give the specific date for this article, though it was a weekly.

For the most part, California's shore whalers were Portuguese from the Azores, many of who reached California as deserters of whaling ships, particularly the early years of the industry. Azoreans had served aboard American whaling vessels as early as 1820. It was at this time that many New England whaling captains, faced with the difficulty of hiring Americans to work for the unreliable lay system, began to tap into the Azores' labor supply.²

For the Azoreans, service aboard a whaling vessel offered the chance to escape a society with high taxes and few jobs, and to avoid a lengthy, compulsory service in the Portuguese military. The benefits were reciprocal; American whaling captains appreciated "[the Azoreans] daring pursuit of the fish and their quiet behavior on board."³

During Melville's service as a whaleman in 1841 and 1842, Azoreans had already become a frequent site aboard American whaling vessels:

No small number of these whaling seamen belong to the Azores, where the outward bound Nantucket whalers frequently touch to augment their crews from the hardy peasants on those rocky shores.⁴

²Although American whaling captains began to hire Azorean after 1820, they had hunted sperm whales around the islands long before this date. Thus, they were familiar with the Azores and its inhabitants.

³Walter Fredrick Walker, The Azores of Western Islands: A Political, Commercial and Geographical Account, (London, 1886), 279, cited in Jerry Williams, And Yet They Come: Portuguese Immigration From the Azores to the United States, (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1982), 4.

⁴Herman Melville, Moby Dick or the Whale, (New York, 1950), 118.

In 1853, the Azorean wine industry was virtually wiped out by a root fungus. This collapse furthered the exodus young Azorean men from the islands. After finishing their terms of service aboard the whaling vessels-- legally or otherwise-- these young men added to growing Portuguese settlements in New England and California. Later, women from their homeland would join them in both areas.

By 1854, gold fever had subsided for many of California's new residents. As immigrants looked for work outside of the mines, many fell back on former skills. It is not surprising then, that in their new land, many Azores gravitated to shore whaling. In fact, the lure of shore whaling was strong enough to influence the settlement patterns of the Portuguese along California's coast.

Unfortunately, the Portuguese shore whalers left no known official records. Perhaps this is because the shore whaling companies were loosely organized, or because most shore whalers were illiterate. Whatever the reason, in the absence of industry records, recent discussion of the industry comes from a patchwork of sources that include contemporary newspaper articles, federal fishery reports, and a history of shore whaling written in 1922 by E.C. Starks. The latter source used, in addition to the aforementioned contemporary sources, oral interviews with a few shore whalers who were by this time quite late in their years. When pieced together, these accounts provide a fairly good qualitative description of the whaling industry. The social history of the whalers, however, has been almost untouched.

The sources from which the story of the whalers might best be extracted are the

Federal Census records and voter registration lists. The latter source is commonly referred to by its proper name, The Great Register. Additional sources that provide information about individual whalers include directories and county biographies. While some recent accounts of shore whaling have cited these sources, I know of no scholarly work that has examined these records in depth. A comprehensive examination of these records has provided important quantitative and qualitative information about the whalers. My research has also indicated that information in the above-cited sources might also supplement the qualitative historical record of the shore whaling industry.

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze California's Portuguese shore whalers and shore whaling communities during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. This work is divided into five chapters.

Chapter One will describe all of California's known shore whaling stations. Moreover, it will establish which stations were Portuguese. Although this chapter will cover material that has been worked by historians and other scholars, I will make several additions and amendments to the qualitative historical record. Chapter Two will discuss Portuguese immigration to California, particularly to the whaling regions of the central coast. Then, it will discuss the role whaling played in this immigration. Chapter Three will describe specific settlement and persistence patterns of the whalers. Chapter Four will discuss the temporal and spatial aspects of whaler demographics.

CHAPTER I

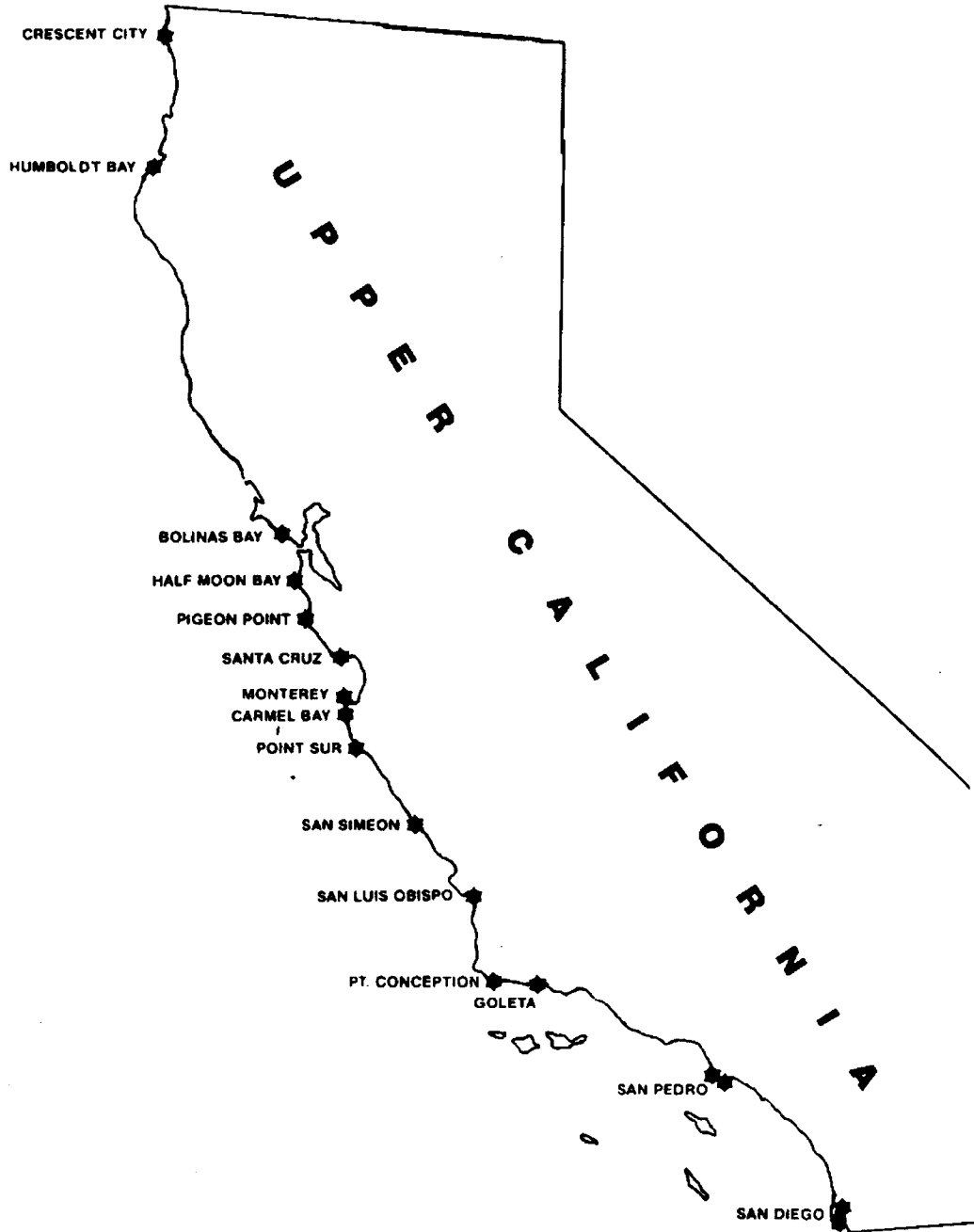
CALIFORNIA'S SHORE WHALING STATIONS

Under a precipitous bluff, close to the water's edge, is the station; where, upon a stone-laid quay, is erected the whole establishment for cutting and trying-out of the whales. Instead of rolling them onto the beach, as is usually done, the cutting-tackles are suspended from an elevated beam, whereby the carcass is rolled over in the water-- when undergoing the process of flensing-- in a manner similar to that alongside a ship. Nearby are the try works, sending forth volumes of thick black smoke from the scrap- fire under the steaming cauldrons of boiling oil. A little to one side is the primitive storehouse, covered with cypress boughs. Boats are hanging from davits, some resting on the quay, while others, fully equipped, swing at their moorings in the bay. Seaward, on the crest of a cone-shaped hill stands the signal-pole of the lookout station. Add to this the cutting at the shapeless and half-putrid mass of a mutilated whale, together with the men shouting and heaving on the capstans, the screaming of the gulls and other sea-fowl, mingled with the noise of the surf about the shores, and we have a picture of the general life at a California coast whaling station."⁵

In addition to this station described above, there were at least seventeen known shore whaling sites in California. Historical records report stations located in or near the present communities of Crescent City, Eureka, Bolinas, Half Moon Bay, Pescadero, Santa Cruz, Monterey, Carmel Bay, Point Sur, San Simeon, San Luis Obispo, Point Conception, Goleta, San Pedro, and San Diego. At or near some of these communities, such as San Pedro and San Diego, two distinct whaling sites existed. Also, in some locations such as Monterey, more than one station operated simultaneously.

⁵Charles M. Scammon, Marine Mammals of the Northwestern Coast of North America (San Francisco: John H. Carmany & Co., 1874), 5: 250.

MAP 1
CALIFORNIA SHORE WHALING STATIONS



SOURCE: Hazel Sayers, "Shore Whaling for Gray Whales Along the Coast of the Californias," in The Gray Whale, eds. M.L. Jones, S.L. Swartz, S. Leatherwood (Orlando: Academic Press, inc, 1984), 128.

MAP 2
CALIFORNIA COUNTIES IN 1998



Note- Klamath County existed from 1851-1875. Portions of Humboldt and Siskiyou counties comprise the former county.

SOURCE: California Patterns: A Geographical & Historical Atlas, David Hornbeck, ed. (Palo Alto: Mayfield Pub. Co., 1983)

While the areas mentioned above represent the known sites for shore whaling, there may have been additional stations. As Starks points out, "some stations were well organized commercial operations, others consisted of a few fisherman who would get together during slack periods of fishing. Some were part time farmers."⁶

The censuses of 1860, 1870 and 1880 list whalers in seven locations: Monterey, San Diego, San Simeon, Pescadero, Half Moon Bay, San Luis Obispo, and Carmel.⁷ At all of these sites except San Diego the stations were made up almost entirely of Portuguese, and in most cases, these Portuguese came from the Azores. Portuguese workers also manned at least one other station not mentioned in the census, the Portuguese Bend station in San Pedro.

The following section of this chapter will provide brief overviews of the documented sites of shore whaling. Each overview will provide chronologies of the stations and mention important names and events associated with each one. Here I will supplement the historical record of shore whaling with information I have gathered from the

⁶Edwin C. Starks, "A History of California Shore Whaling," Fish and Game Commission Fish Bulletin, no. 6 (1922): 51.

⁷The U.S. Census Industrial Schedule for 1860 mentions whaling stations only in Monterey County and San Diego County. The Industrial Schedule for 1870 lists companies only in Monterey, Carmel, Pescadero, and San Diego, and Santa Barbara. Paulson's two 1875 directories, which cover all coastal counties south of San Francisco, list whalers only in Monterey, San Mateo, and San Luis Obispo Counties. There are three possible reasons that these sources do not list whalers at the other locations. First, people may have whaled in other locations but not been listed as whalers. Second, whaling may have been seasonal in other locations and been out of season during the time data was collected. Finally, some whaling sites may not have been open the years information for these sources was gathered.

U.S. Census Population and Industrial Schedules, voting registration lists, Paulson's directory, and other primary sources. Many of these sources have not been consulted by other researchers. This section consists of three parts. The first will describe those stations that had established Portuguese connections. The second will describe those stations that had probable Portuguese connections. The third will describe those stations for which it is either impossible to determine the ethnicity of the whalers or at which the whalers were not Portuguese.

Monterey

The establishment of the Monterey Bay Whaling Company in 1854 marked the beginning of California's shore whaling industry.⁸ The company was founded by an American, Captain John Davenport.⁹ Davenport had considerable whaling credentials. He had served as a whaling captain, and owned one half of the schooner Alfred, a vessel that

⁸Some nineteenth century sources state that the first station opened in 1851. Starks fully treats the conflicting dates and provides strong evidence for 1854 as the opening date. See Starks, 17. Perhaps even more compelling support for the later date comes from a document not cited by Starks or, to my knowledge, cited by any subsequent authors. According to the California State Census of 1852, there were no whalers residing in Monterey. Moreover, there were only six Portuguese males in Monterey County at this time, hardly enough manpower to maintain a whaling operation.

⁹Some contemporary sources state that Davenport came from Massachusetts. While indeed he may have lived in Massachusetts before coming to California, according to the 1860 and 1870 U.S Census Population Schedules, Davenport was born in Rhode Island.

whaled and traded in the waters between California and Hawaii from 1845 to 1852.¹⁰

Davenport's initial shore whaling venture employed twelve men, most of who were probably Portuguese. The company, however, was short-lived; it disbanded during its first year of operation because of a decline in the price of oil.¹¹

Monterey's next whaling venture was the Old Portuguese Whaling Company, which began operations in 1855.¹² Originally, this company consisted of seventeen men. Several accounts of shore whaling state that this group and its founder and captain, Joseph Clarke, were from the Cape Verde Islands. Clarke, however, was not from Cape Verde; rather, he was from the island of Flores in the Azores.¹³ It is also unlikely that any of the other members of the company were from Cape Verde. Like Clarke, they were probably all from the Azores.¹⁴

¹⁰Hazel Sayers, "Shore Whaling for Gray Whales Along the Coast of the Californias," in The Gray Whale, ed. Mary Lou Jones, Steven L. Swartz and Steven Leatherwood (San Diego: Academic Press Inc, 1984), 6.

¹¹Starks, 18.

¹²It is not known if this company employed men from the Monterey Whaling Company.

¹³See description of San Simeon station, pg. 38.

¹⁴According to the 1860 census, there were seventeen men working for the Old Portuguese whaling company. Of these men, five listed their place of birth as the Azores. An additional 10 listed for their birthplace individual islands in the Azores. Four of this latter group came from Sao George, 2 came from Flores, 2 came from Pico and 1 came from both Fayal and Terceira. An additional 2 whalers listed their birth place as Portugal, though it is most probable that both of these men were also Azorean. (See Chapter 2 for discussion on why these men were likely Azorean.) Like the Azoreans, the Cape Verdeans played an important role in the international high seas whaling industry. For the most part, however, they did not enter the industry in substantial numbers until the 1870's. The erroneous

A short time after organizing the Old Portuguese Whaling Company, Clarke left it. Although I have found no source that gives the date of his departure, two sources shed some light on the issue. The first is the 1860 U.S Census for Monterey County. Clarke is not listed in the population schedule as whaler, or as a resident of Monterey County. On the other hand, the census lists an Azorean, Manuel Mariano, as the captain of the company. The second source, a nineteenth century history of Monterey County, gives the year that Mariano became the captain of the Old Portuguese Whaling Company, a date that likely represents the year Clarke left the company: "Upon a cruise to the Sandwich Islands [Mariano's] vessel, the United States, was condemned and from 1856 to 1862 he was at the head of the Monterey Whaling Company."¹⁵

Mariano's association with shore whaling actually lasted well beyond 1862. In fact, by 1877, Mariano had become the captain and part owner of the Carmel Company. This company had commenced operations on Monterey Bay in 1861, but moved the next year to Point Lobos on Carmel Bay.¹⁶

connection between the company and the Cape Verde Islands probably stems from an article in the Monterey Sentinel dated 10 November 1855 that states: "All 17 members of this company, including its captain, Joseph Clark (born Machado) were Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands."

¹⁵Manuel Mariano is actually listed as Manuel Marino Goncalves in Barrows. However, Manuel Mariano and Manuel Marino Goncalves is the same individual. See discussion of Carmel Station. Henry Barrows and Luis Ingersoll, eds., A Memorial and Biographical History of the Coast Counties of Central California (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1893), 404.

¹⁶Barrows and Ingersoll's two-volume work provides information about Mariano's term

In 1858, Davenport once again was engaged in the whaling business. In this year, he formed the New Portuguese Whaling Company.¹⁷ Like the Old Portuguese Whaling Company, the workforce of the New Portuguese Whaling Company were with few exceptions Azorean.¹⁸ One of these exceptions was a man from Chile by the name of Ben who was listed in the 1860 U.S. Census as a member of the company.¹⁹

Sometime before 1870, Davenport again left the whaling business. In her well

as captain of the Monterey Bay Whaling Company. The first volume is a history of the county. The second provides biographies of the county's "prominent citizens," though in most cases a prominent citizen was one who paid to have his or her biography in the volume. Barrows and Ingersoll's general overview of whaling in Monterey, which appears in the historical volume, is widely cited. This volume does not, however, mention Mariano. The information on Mariano comes from the biographical volume that few scholars have cited. Of those that have, I have found none that make the connection between the Mariano in Barrows and Ingersoll's biography, and the Mariano from the Carmel station and the census of 1860. Undoubtedly, this is because in Barrows and Ingersoll's biography Mariano is listed by his full Portuguese name (See discussion of Portuguese names), Manuel Marino Goncalves, and because Barrows and Ingersoll misspelled Mariano as Marino. It is quite likely though that this is the same individual for two reasons. First, the year of birth given for Mariano in Barrows and Ingersoll's biography is the same as that in the census. Second, Mariano was a relatively uncommon name among Portuguese on the coast of California. Third, I have found no record that contains both a Manuel Mariano and a Manuel Mariano Goncalves for the same year. Later sources such as the 1870 and 1880 censuses also list individuals with the name Manuel Mariano Goncalves and Manuel Mariano Gonsares. This is certainly the same individual that appears in Barrows and Ingersoll's biography as not only does the date of birth match, but the name of Mariano's wife (Chlohil) is the same in both the 1870 and 1880 censuses and in Barrows and Ingersoll's biography.

¹⁷The 1860 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule for Monterey County refers to this company as Davenport's Company.

¹⁸Chapter Two provides details on the theory that these men, along with the great majority of Portuguese immigrants to California, were Azorean.

¹⁹No last name for Ben was listed in the census.

researched history of shore whaling, Hazel Sayers states that Davenport's departure occurred in 1865. This date is supported by the censuses of 1860 and 1870. Davenport is listed in the former as a whaling captain with the New Portuguese Whaling Company in Monterey. In the latter, he is listed as a "wharfinger" in Santa Cruz Township. More specifically, he was probably residing in Davenport's Landing, a Santa Cruz County community founded by Captain Davenport.²⁰

After the departure of Davenport, the Old and New Portuguese Whaling Companies consolidated. There are conflicting dates for this merger. According to Starks, the debate hinges on two nineteenth-century sources. An article in the Monterey Weekly Herald states that this merger occurred after the close of the 1873 season. According to Barrows, however, the consolidation occurred in 1865.²¹ The 1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule for Monterey County offers insight into this conflict, noting that the old and new companies were consolidated.²² Thus, unless the companies came together twice, it appears that 1865 is the correct date for consolidation.

In 1870 the consolidated company employed 34 men, and operated year-round.²³

²⁰This small community is not found in the 1870 U.S. Census Population Schedule. Instead, it probably fell under the heading of Santa Cruz Township.

²¹Barrows and Ingersoll, 84.

²²This information appears as an addendum in the column of the 1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule.

²³1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule. This source also reveals several other pieces of information which, though related more to the whaling industry than the whalers, have not

That the station was open all year suggests that whaling was a primary, year-round occupation for most of Monterey's whalers at this time. According to the U.S. Census Population Schedules, all but one of the 34 whalers in Monterey in 1870 were Azorean.²⁴ The exception was Michael Noon, a native of Louisiana and a long time figure in California's shore whaling industry.²⁵

By 1870, the consolidated company also employed a new captain, Joseph Perera.²⁶ Perera, who is also listed in contemporary sources under the names Pedro, Pray, and Prayano arrived in Monterey no later than 1864, for in this year, he purchased the headquarters of the Old Whaling Station from an individual named Albert Trescony.²⁷

been published and are thus worthy of mention here. The company owned four boats and six try-pots. Also, the company grossed \$34,000 for the year and produced 34,000 (presumably gallons, the unit is unspecified) of oil.

²⁴This fact supports the claim that in 1860 all those whalers listed as Portuguese were in fact Azorean.

²⁵Though an American, Noon mixed well enough with his peers to one day become a shore whaling captain. He also took an Azorean for his wife.

²⁶1870 U.S. Census Population Schedule, Monterey County.

²⁷Lee Motz and Bonnie Porter, "Archaeological and Historical Investigations at the First Brick House in California and the Old Whaling Station" (California Department of Parks and Recreation, 1983), 35.

FIGURE 1

Monterey's Old Whaling Station



Owned by John Davenport, this building served as quarters for many of Monterey's Portuguese whalers. Today a whaling museum, it stands next to the Old Brick House, Davenport's residence in Monterey.

Sometime between 1873 and 1879, the company replaced Pray as captain, and elected Manuel Lewis as their new leader.²⁸ Walton and Curtis' 1875 publication, The Hand Book to Monterey and Vicinity identifies Pray as the captain in the former year: "In 1873, the New Company Commanded by Captain Pray, captured a Right Whale seventy feet long."²⁹ In McKenney's directory for 1879, however, he was not listed as a whaler.³⁰ Also, the 1880 census lists Pray as a farmer.

Apparently, the company replaced Pray after a near disaster in which two of the boats were destroyed by a whale.³¹ Following the mishap, the company elected Manuel Lewis as their captain. Manuel Lewis is listed in both McKenney's directory for 1879 and in the 1880 census.³² Neither source, though, lists him as a whaling captain. This could be because the sources did not distinguish between whalers and whaling captains³³. It is more

²⁸Ibid., 37.

²⁹Walton and Curtis, eds. The Hand Book of Monterey and Vicinity (Washington: Library of Congress, 1875), 47.

³⁰L.M. McKenney, McKenney's District Directory for 1879 (San Francisco: L.M. McKenney, 1879), 484.

³¹This information comes from an undated newspaper article (no name given) reprinted in 1950 and cited in Motz and Porter, 37.

³²The earliest record I found listing a Manuel Lewis was the 1872 Great Register. Lewis (spelled Luis) was naturalized on 9/1/1863 in Monterey County. Given the relatively early date for his naturalization and his age at that time (30 years), it is quite possible that Lewis had been among the first whalers in Monterey.

³³That a source did not designate an individual as a captain does not mean that this individual was not a captain. In fact, the census was by and large the only list of individuals that did distinguish whaling captains. However, even the census did not always designate

likely, however, that Lewis' term as company captain had ended by this time. Jordan mentions that in 1879, the company was without a captain, but that a Mr. Verissimo was in charge of all the business.³⁴ Starks also believed that Mr. Verissimo served this role, though he stated that Mr. Verissimo assumed the role in 1880.³⁵ In McKenney's directory of 1879 a Verissimo Correia is listed as one of fourteen whalers.³⁶ Undoubtedly, this is the same individual mentioned by both Jordan and Starks.³⁷ Starks also states that Correia served this role until 1884. Verissimo Correia, however, moved to Half Moon Bay in 1880.³⁸ In this year he was listed as a whaler in the census for San Mateo County. He also registered to vote in San Mateo County in the same year. One possible explanation for this discrepancy is that Starks account is incorrect. A more plausible explanation is that Correia

captains.

³⁴David Starr Jordan, "Coast of California," in The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States, ed. George Goode, United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries, sec V, Vol. II, part 15. (Washington: Government Printing Office), 604.

³⁵Starks, 19.

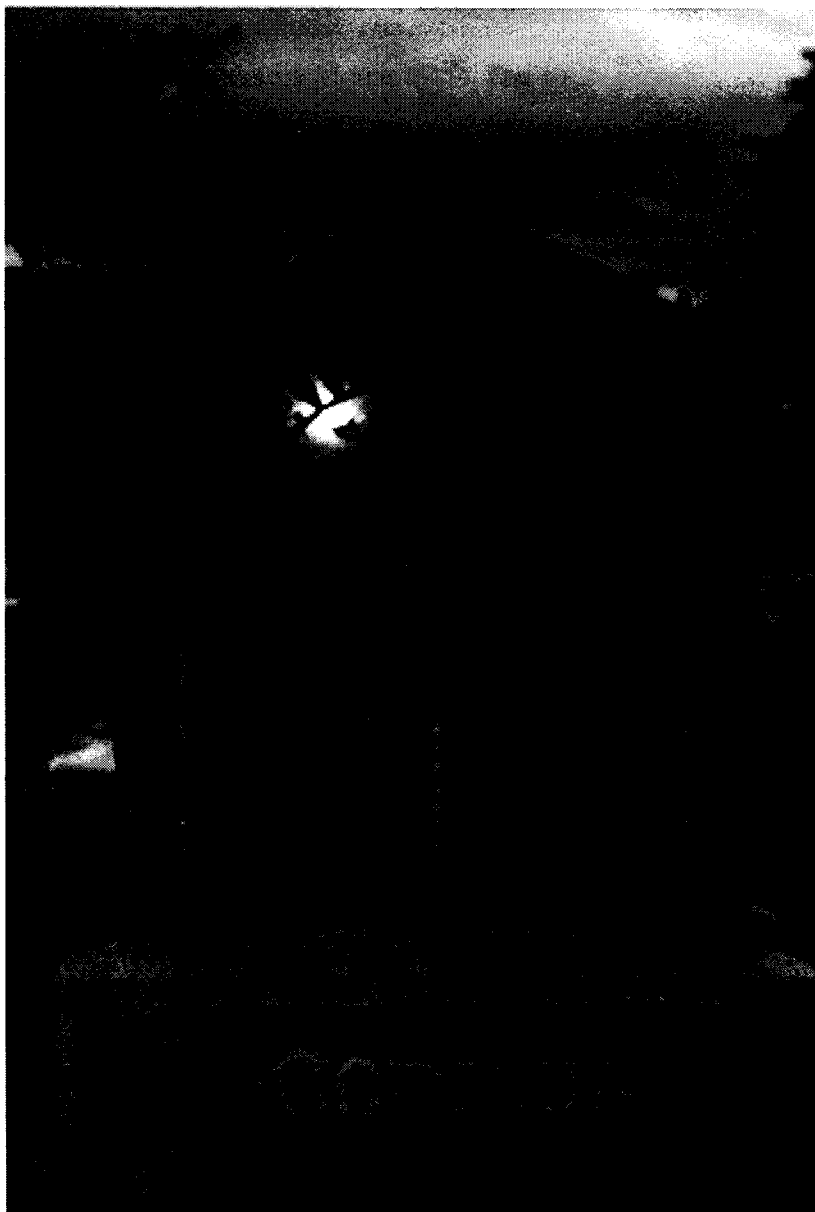
³⁶Although I have seen several variations on the spelling of Correia's name, I have spelled it as it appears on his tombstone in Monterey's Catholic Cemetery.

³⁷In my research I have found only one Portuguese, whaler or otherwise, with the name Verissimo. This and the fact that Verissimo Correia was whaling in Monterey in 1879 according to McKenney's Directory, the same year that Jordan visited the camp, suggests a very strong likelihood that this was the same individual. One further piece of evidence to support this proposition is the fact that Mr. Verissimo, according to Jordan came to California in 1867. In this same year, Verissimo Correia registered to vote in Monterey County.

³⁸Great Register, San Mateo County, 1880.

FIGURE 2

Verissimo Correia's Headstone



Many Portuguese including Verissimo Correia, a prominent figure in California's shore whaling industry, are buried in Monterey's Catholic Cemetery.

Inscription reads: Mariana I. Correia,/Born Mch 19 1845/Died June 7 1910
Verissimo Correia/Born May 2 1838/Died Dec 11 1906
Natives of the Azores

whaled in San Mateo County during the summer-- the time when the census was taken-- and whaled in Monterey during the winter.

The census indicates that by 1880, whaling in Monterey had declined. For this year, the census lists only 20 whalers in Monterey.³⁹ The most pronounced decline, however, would occur in the next decade. Starks states, "After some time in the eighties shore whaling in Monterey was sporadic."⁴⁰ Barrows also states that whaling as a regular business had become unprofitable and was finally abandoned in 1888. "John Dean Caton, writing in 1888 stated that `within the last few years [the stations] have been totally abandoned.'"⁴¹ Collins' fisheries commission report for 1888 states that no attempt has been made to take whales at Monterey since 1881.⁴² In a personal visit to Monterey in 1886,

³⁹Unfortunately, this number cannot be cross-referenced with the Industrial Schedule. In 1880, the Industrial Schedule changed format and did not include small industrial ventures. Thus, there are no whaling companies listed in Monterey or anywhere else in California in the 1880 Industrial Schedule. Also, it is not clear whether this decline represents an overall decline or the fact that whaling in the summer season, the time when the census was taken, employed fewer men. Interestingly, while the 1880 Industrial Schedules do not reveal any information on whalers, two other census schedules do. The first is the Mortality Schedule which reveals that Manuel Alexander, a whaler listed in the 1870 census for Monterey County, died of rheumatism in 1880. He was the only adult male Portuguese listed in the Mortality Schedules for any central coast town in 1860, 1870, or 1880. The Social Schedules also show that one of Monterey's old whalers, William Dutra, had been diagnosed with epilepsy. As a result, he was deemed insane and placed in an asylum. Though certainly not the scope of this thesis, my search of the Social Schedules revealed that it was quite common for epileptics to be classified as insane in the 1800s.

⁴⁰Starks, 19.

⁴¹Thomas Nichols "California Shore Whaling 1854-1900" (MA Thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1983), 70.

Townsend noted that the seasons of 1885 and 1886 were particularly dull but that whales were taken nonetheless.

Starks' statement appears to be the most accurate, for several men listed their occupation as whaler when they registered to vote between 1881 and 1888. In all likelihood then, whaling ceased for a year or two and resumed, in a diminished capacity.⁴³

Townsend gives the best explanation for the decline. He suggests that the decline in Monterey's whaling industry stemmed from increasingly cautious whales, which by this time kept farther out to sea. Townsend states, "I was told at several stations that shore whaling began its decline with the general use of the bomb-gun and lance by inexperienced persons, so many animals having been wounded as to make them wary."⁴⁴

In 1895, whaling made a brief resurgence in Monterey. In this year, Captain H. Schaufele opened a station that operated for two to three years.⁴⁵ In 1901, a U.S. Fish Commission report cited in Starks stated: "The whale fishery was followed by eight Portuguese and eight Japanese, who used whaleboats to pursue passing whales, which on

⁴²J.W. Collins, "Report of the Fisheries of the Pacific Coast of the United States," Report of the Commissioner for 1888, United States Commission of Fish and Fisheries (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1892), 58.

⁴³Of course, Starks had the benefit of hindsight. Any resurgence in Monterey's whaling industry in the late 1880's and 1890's would have come after the publications of the other sources.

⁴⁴Charles H. Townsend, "Present Condition of the California Grey Whale Fishery" in Bulletin of the United States Fish Commission for 1886, vol. VI (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), 347.

being killed are towed to shore stations."⁴⁶ This was probably the crew, which under a leader named Jose Pedro, was described in a colorful 1902 magazine article. This article contained pictures indicating that several of the whalers including Pedro were advanced in their years.⁴⁷

Another note in the chronology of Monterey's whaling industry also deserves attention.

⁴⁵Starks, 19.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 19. In a comprehensive search of the 1900 U.S. Census Population Schedule, I found no Portuguese whalers in Monterey. I did, however, find six Portuguese fisherman who were listed in either the 1870 or 1880 censuses as whalers. I also found four Japanese whalers in Monterey County in 1900. There was also a Harry Schaufel listed in the 1900 Census as a saloon keeper. He was born in Ohio in 1873 to a German father and French mother.

⁴⁷Edward Berwick, "Offshore Whaling in the Bay of Monterey," *Cosmopolitan* II (1902): 632-637. There are two men with very similar names listed in the 1900 census that might have been the captain Pedro described in this article. The first is a Joseph Pedro listed as a saloonkeeper and married to a woman named Bascila. Interestingly, he was listed in the 1880 census as a Spaniard, though this is undoubtedly a mistake. The second is a Joseph Pray, listed as a fisherman. He is married to a woman named Felician and is the captain Perera mentioned as the whaling captain in the 1870s. (It is possible to make this connection because of the names of Perera's (Pray) wife and children given in both the 1870 and 1900 censuses.) I found no evidence besides the more similar name of the former individual that he was indeed the captain Joe Pedro mentioned in the article. (As stated throughout this paper, though, hybrids of Portuguese names occurred frequently throughout the contemporary records and in the Monterey Great Registers, I have seen the names Perra and Pedro used for the same individual in different years.) Motz and Porter believe that it was an individual married to a woman named Bascila who was the captain of the Company at the turn of the century. They offer no evidence, however, to support this claim, though. Two men with similar names, probably the two men mentioned above, also appear in several editions of the Great Register. Joseph Pedro a whaler standing 5' 11" and of dark complexion appears on the 1896 Great Register. In the article captain Pedro is described as immense and swarthy. It is likely then that this is Captain Joe Pedro. The other man, Joseph Perra, was also a long time whaler in Monterey, but he was smaller at 5' 8" and was of light complexion. Moreover, I did not find him in the Great Register after 1890.)

Starks states that there may have been yet another station at Monterey. This station began operations before the 1859 and operated until 1862.⁴⁸ This company, however, is not mentioned in the 1860 industrial schedules. Also, the 1860 census does not list any whalers outside of those associated with the Old and New Portuguese Whaling Companies.

Carmel

In an 1875 tourist's handbook of Monterey and vicinity, Walton and Curtis state, "In 1861 the Carmel Company was organized. At first they whaled in [Monterey], but in the spring of 1862 they moved to their present station on Carmel Bay."⁴⁹ The company whaled at today's Point Lobos State Park, located a few miles south of the famous resort town of Carmel. The site of the former whaling station is appropriately named Whalers Cove. According to Jordan, "Carmelo [was] a very good station inferior to Monterey only, but there [was] not so good a chance for long chases of the whales."⁵⁰

Although all evidence suggests that the whalers at Carmel were exclusively Portuguese, some debate exists as to where they came from within the Portuguese Empire. Jordan, who gathered his information in 1879, states the company consisted of "seventeen

⁴⁸Starks, 19.

⁴⁹Walton and Curtis, 46. In all likelihood though, they would not have been named the Carmel Company before moving to Carmel Bay.

⁵⁰Jordan, 57.

men all told; all Portuguese from the Azores Islands." However, in a widely cited historical article, Frederick Bohme states, "The station at Carmel, [was] opened in 1862 by a group of Azoreans and Maderians from Monterey."⁵¹ In fact, the census of 1870 indicates that all whalers at the Carmel station in this year were from the Azores.⁵²

In 1874, Scammon described this station. It is one of the best descriptions we have of any whaling community:

The localities of several of the station are quite picturesque. Some of them are nearly concealed from seaward view, being inside some rocky reef or behind a jagged point, with its outlying rocks, upon which each successive wave dashes its foam, as if forbidding the approach of ship or boat. The one which most interested us is half-hidden in a little nook, on the southern border of the Bay of Carmel, just south of Point Pinos. It is a pleasant retreat from the rough voyages aboard the whale-ship. The surrounding natural scenery is broken into majestic spurs and peaks, like their own native isles, with the valley of Rio Carmel a little beyond, expanded into the landscape loveliness.⁵³

Writing in 1879, Jordan stated that the company was- "commanded by Manuel Mariano [and the] outfit is owned outright by a company of four, of whom Mariano is one, and the rest are outside parties." He also states that Mariano had taken the company south to .

⁵¹Fredrick Bohme, "The Portuguese in California," California Historical Quarterly 35 (1956): 239.

⁵²In 1870 there was only one individual in all of the coastal counties who listed his birthplace as Madeira. This compares to 306 persons in the coastal counties who listed their birthplace as the Azores. The latter figure includes those who listed their birthplace as the Atlantic Islands or the Western Islands, but it does not include the 851 individuals who listed their birthplace as Portugal. As discussed in Chapter Two, however, most of those who listed their birthplace as Portugal were also Azorean.

⁵³Scammon, 250.

Point Sur two years earlier to whale there, thus indicating that he was its captain at least as early as 1877.⁵⁴

There seems to be some question as to when whaling ceased in Carmel. The 1880 census lists no whalers at Carmel. There are, however, a few Portuguese fishermen listed. Most of these had been whalers in the 1870 census. Several Portuguese who were listed as whalers in the 1870 census also were engaged in non-maritime occupations according to the 1880 census.

Although there are no whalers listed in Carmel in 1880, it seems unlikely considering the favorable report given of the station by Jordan a year earlier, that the station would have ceased operations by this time. A better explanation for the absence of whalers is that the station was out of season. Jordan stated that this company operated only from October to March. The 1880 census was taken in June. According to the 1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule, operations at this station lasted for nine months and employed an average of 16 hands.⁵⁵ That the station's season appears to have been three months shorter in

⁵⁴Interestingly, Mariano was listed as a whaler in the town of Monterey in both the 1870 and 1880 U.S. Census Population Schedules.

⁵⁵The 1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule also provides the following information: production for the year was 1000 gallons of oil valued at \$10,000. The company owned two boats, two guns, and a dozen harpoons.

FIGURE 3

Try-pots and Whalebones



These try-pots and the whalebones behind them attest to Carmel's whaling past. (Point Lobos State Park, Monterey County.)

1879 than it was in 1870 may indicate that the station was in decline, a situation Jordan's positive report could have overlooked. Indeed, within a few years of Jordan's visit to this station, it ceased operations.

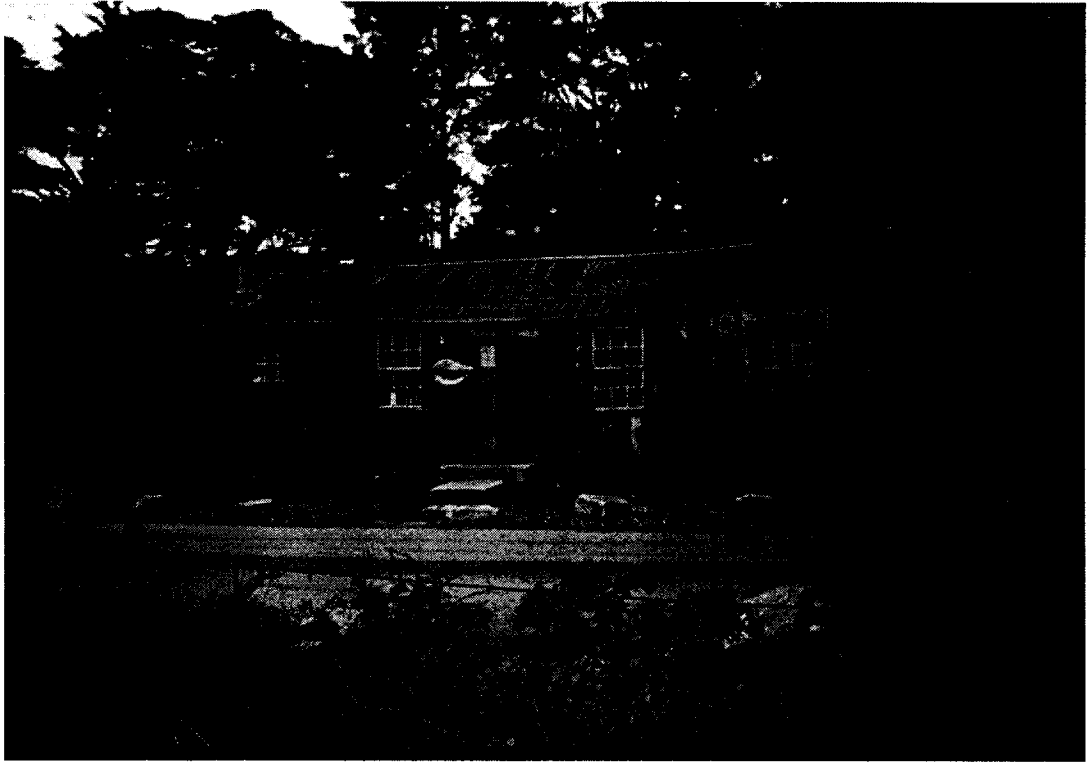
Collins believed this station was abandoned by 1884. Collins also states that a number of shore whalers were said to have left this station in favor of the greater profits to be made from San Francisco-based deep-water whaling industry. Collins did indicate that the whalers might have intended to resume activities in Carmel, as he states the station was "left, under cover."⁵⁶ In light of the evidence, it is likely that whaling indeed ceased in Carmel by 1884 and probably as early as 1882. There is also no evidence to indicate that the whalers returned to uncover the station.⁵⁷

⁵⁶Nichols, 122.

⁵⁷It should also be noted, that sometime prior to the closure of the whaling station in Carmel, Mariano apparently moved back to Monterey. He is listed as a whaler there in the 1880 U.S. Census Population Schedule. Also, in 1882 he registered to vote in Monterey, again listing his occupation as whaler. In 1892, however, Mariano listed himself as a fisherman when he registered to vote. The last record I found of Mariano was in the 1896 Great Register. By this time the 64-year-old Mariano, perhaps too frail for fishing, found work as a janitor.

FIGURE 4

A Characteristic Whaler Home



Carmel's whalers once resided in structures similar to the one above.
(Point Lobos State Park, Monterey County.)

Point Sur

A promontory along California's rugged central coast, Point Sur sits about twenty miles south of Monterey, fifteen miles south of Carmel, and five miles north of today's Big Sur state Park.⁵⁸

Little is known of the Point Sur Station. In fact, all information on this station comes from the six-part Fishing Commission Report of 1888. The following, from Jordan's review of California's shore whaling stations found in part six, is the most comprehensive statement on the Point Sur Station:

Last year Mariano's [Carmel] company was at Point Sur farther to the south in Monterey County. There are many whales at Point Sur, but the coast is very rugged and the sea runs very high, so that for much of the winter the boats had to be hauled out of the water and the men dared not venture out. In 1878-1879 at Point Sur, one humpback, three gray, and a right whale were taken, and in 1877-1878, at Point Sur, one gray and one sulphur bottom.⁵⁹

Comments in other sections of the report parallel this information.

Why Mariano left Carmel for two seasons is not clear. However, from Jordan's statement it appears that this was more than an attempt to extend Carmel's winter season. In fact, Jordan's statement suggests that this was a year-round, albeit short-lived, venture. It seems strange though (considering the quality of the Carmel station, to which Jordan

⁵⁸Nichols, 152.

⁵⁹Jordan, 57.

himself attested) that Mariano would have wanted to replace the Carmel station with one at Point Sur. One possibility is that Mariano may not have brought his entire crew to Point Sur. Instead, he may have divided his crew in an attempt to create a second station at Point Sur. Another possibility, as mentioned earlier, is that Jordan overlooked the fact that the station at Carmel was in decline, and that this station was founded in an attempt to supplant the station at Carmel.

Despite the paucity of information, one fact seems certain: by virtue of its association with the Carmel station, this camp was most likely manned by Azoreans.

Half Moon Bay

The coastal community of Half Moon Bay sits in San Mateo County about twenty miles southwest of San Francisco. Contemporary reports, as well as the research of Edwin Starks, indicate that a whaling station existed near Half Moon Bay.

Starks states that the whaling station was located at Pillar Point, the site of today's famous surfing site, Mavericks. According to Starks, a company began whaling at Half Moon Bay "about 1860 or 1861, and in a couple of years moved to Pigeon Point, after which another company was organized here."⁶⁰

⁶⁰Starks, 27. Unfortunately, Starks does not cite the source of his information, though it was probably Captain John Bennett's son, the same source that supplied much of his information on the nearby station at Pescadero.

I found no evidence of whaling in Half Moon Bay in the 1860 Census Population or Industrial Schedules. In fact, I did not find the community of Half Moon Bay, nor Spanishtown, as it was sometimes referred to in the 1800s, in the census for either San Mateo or Santa Cruz Counties.⁶¹ The 1870 U.S. Census Population Schedule does contain thirty-seven pages for Spanishtown. Furthermore, there was a substantial Portuguese community in Spanishtown by this time. Nevertheless, there are no whalers listed in this town. There is also no whaling company listed in Half Moon Bay in the Industrial Schedule for 1870. Certainly, this evidence seems to indicate that no substantial whaling operation existed in Half Moon Bay at this time.

Curiously, Charles Scammon stated in 1874 that a whaling company at Half Moon Bay was in operation.⁶² Also, the Great Register of 1878 listed five Portuguese whalers residing in Half Moon Bay. Additionally, there was one Portuguese listed as a second mate in this same source. One possible explanation for the absence of whalers at Half Moon Bay in the 1870 census is that Half Moon Bay was out of season when the census was taken. Also, it could have been "side-line" employment for men who had other occupations. It also may have functioned as a second site of operations for the whalers at Pigeon Point.

⁶¹Sometimes portions of one town in one county would appear in the census of another nearby county. Though Half Moon Bay never was in Santa Cruz County, in 1860 it was closer to the county border than it is today. Prior to its change in 1868, the border was just north of Pescadero, which sat in Santa Cruz County and about fifteen miles south of Half Moon Bay. Today, the border is about twenty-five miles south of Half Moon Bay, and Pescadero sits in the south of San Mateo County.

⁶²Scammon, 247.

FIGURE 5

Half Moon Bay's Pilarcitos Cemetery



Pilarcitos cemetery in Half Moon Bay is home of many of San Mateo County's Portuguese shore whalers. The catholic church, mentioned on the historical marker, is no longer standing.



According to Jordan, the second Half Moon Bay company had ceased its operations by 1879. The following year, however, there were at least 3 whalers living in Half Moon Bay.⁶³ Verissimo Correia was one of these whalers. The other two whalers were Frank White and Frank Perry.⁶⁴ Also, between 1882 and 1888, eight whalers living in Half Moon Bay registered to vote.⁶⁵ Starks states that whaling at Half Moon Bay was finally abandoned in the 1880s, an observation that accords better with the census and Great Register.

Pigeon Point/Pescadero

Located in San Mateo County the Pigeon Point whaling station sat about sixty miles southwest of San Francisco and about seven miles south of the old coastal hamlet of Pescadero.⁶⁶ Today, a lighthouse that was built in 1872 sits above the site of the station.

Starks states, "the station at Half Moon Bay moved to Pigeon Point about 1862."⁶⁷

⁶³Jordan, 54.

⁶⁴1880 U.S. Census Population Schedule. Interestingly, all three men were whaling captains at one time.

⁶⁵Great Register San Mateo County, 1888.

⁶⁶Prior to 1868 it was located in Santa Cruz County.

⁶⁷Starks, 27. The earliest contemporary reference to this station I found was a 1868 statement given to the Board of Inquiry in regards to the wreck of the ship, Hellespont. The following is an excerpt from this statement: "At last the surf threw me ashore...After awhile, I saw a small house, and went to it and reported the wreck. This house is at Pigeon Pt. I

According to census records, by 1870 the Pigeon Point company had eighteen whalers.⁶⁸ All whalers listed their birthplace as Portugal, though in reality, they were almost certainly Azorean. Writing in 1873, Colonel Albert Evans stated, "all the men at Pigeon Point were Portuguese, originating from the Azores or Western Islands." Also later census records such as the 1880 census and the 1900 census show that over 99 percent of Portuguese in San Mateo County were Azorean.⁶⁹ An 1871 article in the Alta Californian stated that the Portuguese whaling crew numbered seventeen and everyone owned a share in the company. There were two boats each manned by six whalers. Four men stayed on shore as lookouts and rendered the oil. The seventeenth man was a cook and a housekeeper for whalers with families.⁷⁰ One important feature of this article is that it closely parallels the census data one year earlier, thus supporting the accuracy of the census data.

believe. There were some Portuguese fisherman there, whalers, and their whaleboats. We went down to the beach, but could not find any bodies. The fisherman treated us very kindly and took care of my wounds where I had been cut." Eleven people died in the wreck of the Hellespont. Seven survived. Excerpt was taken found in Don Marshall's Shipwrecks of California.

⁶⁸1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedules for San Mateo County. The Industrial Schedules also reveals that the company caught 17 whales for the year. The company also produced 7750 gallons of oil worth \$2325 and 1000 barrels of bone valued at \$600. (Although I believe the above figures to be correct, the quality of the manuscript was poor and quite difficult to read.) This source also revealed that the men here worked on shares.

⁶⁹See Chapter 2.

⁷⁰Cited in Le Boef and Kaza, Natural History of Ano Nuevo (Pacific Grove, California: Boxwood Press, 1981), 34.

FIGURE 6

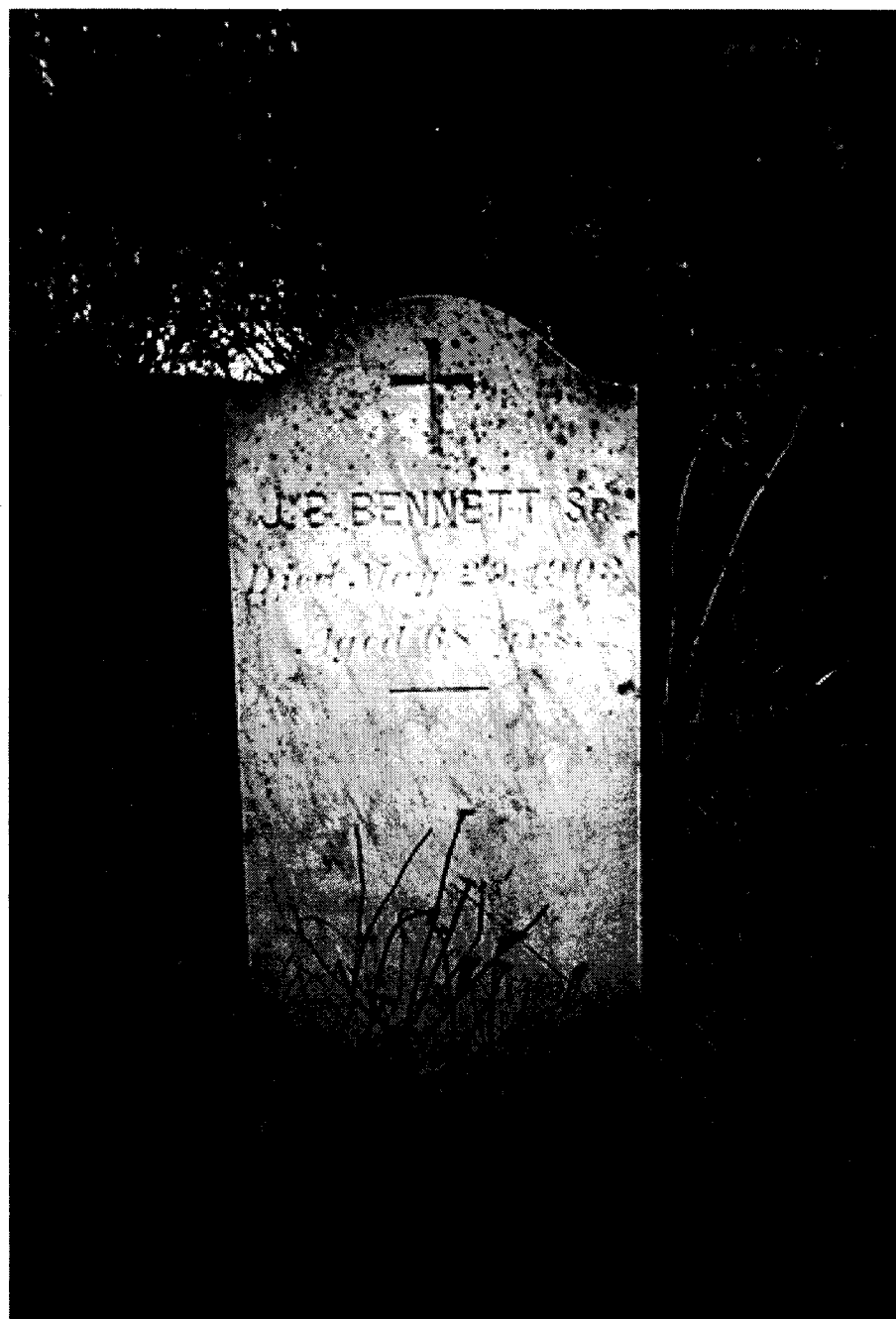
A Typical Whaleboat Launch Site



From this cove and similar such shelters, Pescadero's Portuguese launched their boats in search of whales.

FIGURE 7

John Bennett's Headstone



The grave of Captain John Bennett stands alone in Pescadero's Mount Hope Cemetery.
Inscription reads: J.B. Bennett Sr. Died May 29, 1903. Aged 68 yrs.

Jordan stated that upon leaving the Portuguese Bend station in 1877, the station's captain, Frank Anderson, came north to Pigeon Point. He does not state, though, whether Anderson took over as captain at Pigeon Point, or whether he brought any men with him.⁷¹

Anderson, however, clearly had an association with whaling in San Mateo County earlier than 1877. On June 11, 1873 he registered to vote in San Mateo County, listing his residence as Half Moon Bay and his occupation as a seaman. By 1875, Anderson had made his way to Pescadero, for Paulson's Directory lists a seaman named F. Anderson living in Pescadero in this year.⁷² One Frank Anderson, a seaman living in Pescadero, also registered to vote in San Mateo County in September 1877.⁷³

Another statement in Jordan's review of whaling may shed light on the apparent inaccuracy of the date he gave concerning Anderson's arrival in San Mateo County. Jordan stated that Anderson only worked the winters at Portuguese Bend.⁷⁴ He also stated, that the water was too rough at Pigeon Point in the winter to make it a good station. It is possible then that Anderson whaled at Pigeon Point during the summers before 1877, while remaining at Portuguese Bend in the winter.

According to Goode, Anderson left Pigeon Point in 1879 and took the entire

⁷¹Jordan, 55.

⁷²While this source does not state one's birthplace, this is almost certainly Frank Anderson, a supposition supported by the fact that Paulson's directory does not list an F. Anderson or Frank Anderson in Portuguese Bend or anywhere else in Los Angeles County.

⁷³Great Register, San Mateo County, 1879.

company with him. He then began operations in Cojo Viejo, near Point Conception.⁷⁵ Although Anderson moved, at least one whaler, Garcia Noya, stayed behind to continue whaling from Pigeon Point. He is found in the 1880 census for San Mateo County. Furthermore, Noya listed himself as a whaler from Pescadero when he registered to vote in 1886.

Since Noya could not have whaled by himself, it appears that not all whalers from Pigeon Point left with Anderson. Further evidence of this fact comes from an 1883 history of San Mateo County which uses the present tense to describe the station: "For a long time [Pigeon Point] has been the whale station of a company of Portuguese."⁷⁶ Though brief, this remark nonetheless suggests that whaling had been continuously prosecuted until the time when the information for the book was compiled (Presumably this was after 1879.)

Even if the station at Pigeon Point closed with the departure of Anderson, the cessation of activity was only temporary. An 1890s photograph of the station in operation helps to prove this point.⁷⁷ This photograph shows three whaling boats on the beach. The photograph also shows a few structures in the rocks above the beach. (Unfortunately, it is

⁷⁴Jordan, 55.

⁷⁵Ibid., 57.

⁷⁶Unknown author, History of San Mateo County, (San Francisco: B.F. Alley, 1883), 220.

⁷⁷See Mitchell Postel, Peninsula Portrait, (Northridge, Ca.: Windsor Publications, 1988), 79.

difficult to determine whether these structures are houses or storage buildings.) Starks, who apparently believed the first station shut down with the departure of Anderson, did find evidence of another station, which replaced the first station. He states, "Captain Perry commanded a new station here until about 1895 when it was abandoned."⁷⁸ Starks obtained this information through oral interviews with the son of Captain John Bennett, the latter being a principle figure in history of the Pigeon Point whaling station.

One of the more intriguing aspects of the Pigeon Point station is its connection to the Monterey whaling community. Starks stated that "Captain J.F. Bennett, landing from a whaling voyage, took command and retained it for many years."⁷⁹ Actually, Bennett first came to the United States in 1849.⁸⁰ Perhaps, between this time and the time he arrived in California, he shipped aboard a whaler as Starks has suggested. Bennett also spent time in Monterey prior to coming to Pigeon Point, for he was naturalized there on 1 September

⁷⁸A whaler, Frank Perry appears in the 1870 U.S Census in Pescadero. A whaler, John Perry appears in the census of 1880 in Half Moon Bay. It is not clear which, if either, of these individuals was the captain referred to by Starks.

⁷⁹The 1870 U.S Census Population Schedule for San Mateo County lists two whalers with the name of John Bennett in Pescadero. Neither one, however, is listed as a captain. It is known, however, that Captain Bennett had children as Starks referred to Captain Bennett's son. Since one of the "John Bennetts" was married and later had a son, I identified him as Captain Bennett. Bennett was listed in the 1880 census as a farmer in Township 5. (By 1880, Pescadero was now considered Township 5 whereas in 1870 it had been Township 6.) By the turn of the century, Bennett had fared rather well. According to the 1900 U.S. Census Population Schedule he had become a farm owner. Bennett died in 1903. He was sixty-eight years old.

⁸⁰1900 U.S. Census Population Schedule, Township 5.

FIGURE 8

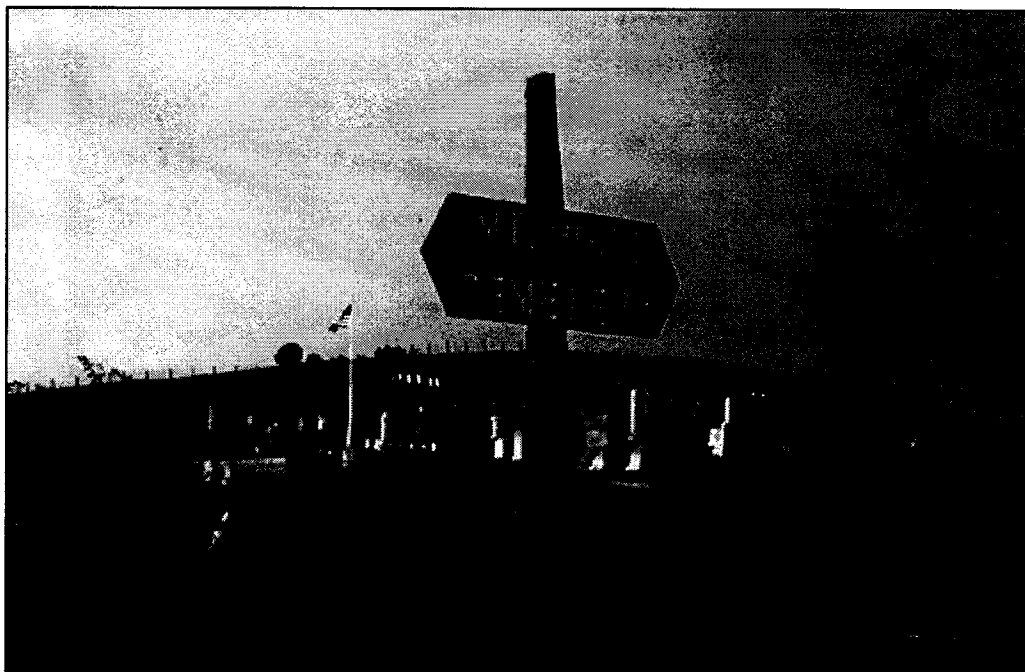
Pigeon Point Lighthouse



Built in 1872, Pigeon Point Lighthouse stands near a site where Portuguese whalers once launched their whaleboats.

FIGURE 9

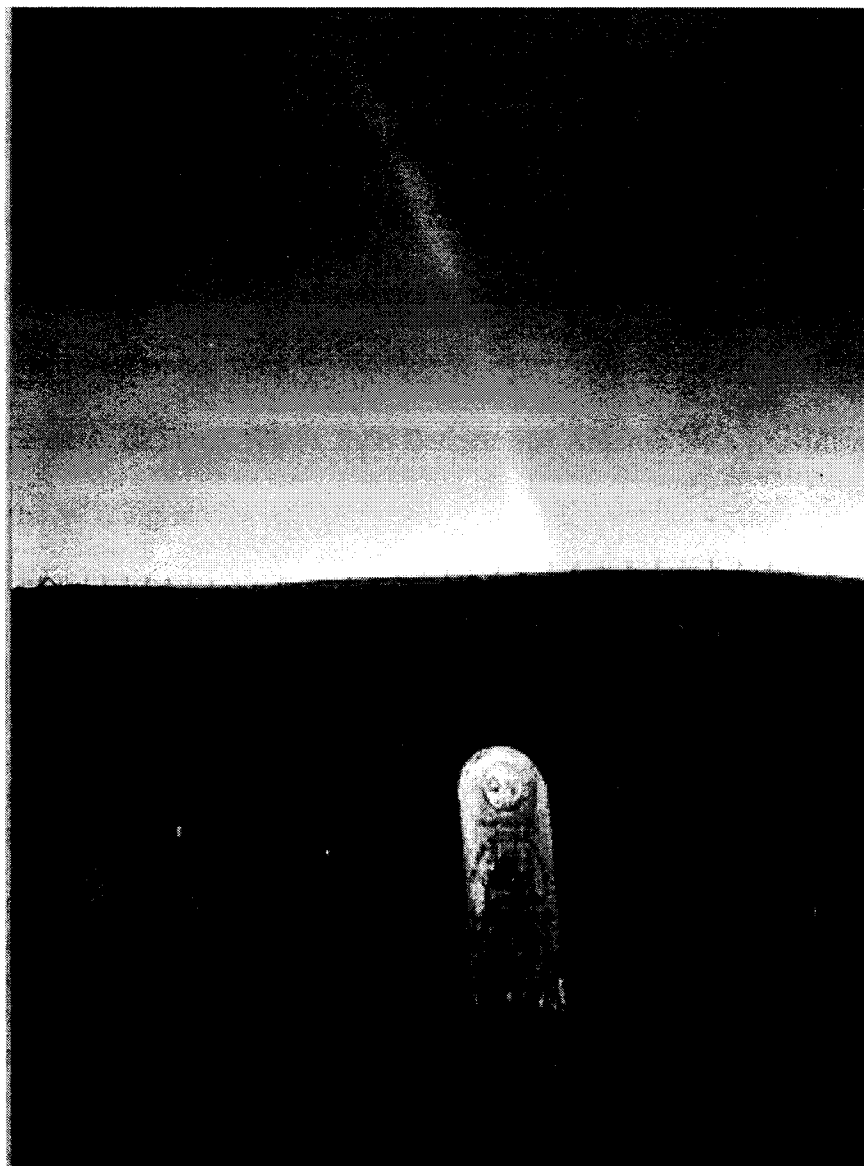
Pescadero's Mount Hope Cemetery



Home to many of Pescadero's whalers, Mount Hope Cemetery stretches across a hillside to the north of town.

FIGURE 10

Heaven and Earth



A rainbow kisses this lonely tombstone in Pescadero's Mount Hope Cemetery

1863.⁸¹ Considering Bennett's long association with whaling, and considering Monterey's role in the shore whaling industry, it is likely that Bennett was involved with one of the whaling companies in Monterey before coming to Pescadero.

Bennett was not the only whaler in Pescadero associated with the Monterey whaling community. Frank White, who was listed as a whaler in Pescadero in the 1870 U.S. Census Population Schedule, and who served at one time as a whaling captain in San Mateo County, was also naturalized in Monterey. His naturalization took place on 1 September 1862. Another of Pescadero's whalers, Antonio Noia, was also naturalized in Monterey on 1 September 1863.⁸²

The cases of Frank White, John Bennett and Antonio Noia provide a probable link between the whaling station at Pigeon Point and the whaling community in Monterey. Perhaps, these three men whaled at the short-lived station located at Macabees Beach in Monterey.⁸³ Starks did reveal the following link between the stations: "Mr. Noon, of

⁸¹This information actually comes from the 1894 Great Register of San Mateo County in which Bennett is listed as John Bernard.

⁸²White, who is one of the most frequently listed Portuguese in San Mateo County's Nineteenth Century records, appears in the 1870 census as a whaler in Pescadero. He also appears in the 1875 Great Register and Paulson's 1875 directory as a whaler in Pescadero. While Noia did not appear as a whaler in the 1870 census, he was the only whaler listed in Pescadero in the 1880 census.

⁸³Starks, 27. Starks states that an elderly whaler had informed him that the station located at Macabee's Beach in Monterey had moved to Pigeon Point. Starks, however, had concluded that this station had probably whaled in Monterey until 1863. If this station did come to Pigeon Point it would have come via Half Moon Bay as Starks states the company at Pigeon Point was located in Half Moon Bay first. On the other hand, Starks states that

Monterey, stated that the company that had its station at Macabees Beach, on Monterey Bay, later moved to Pigeon Point." For some reason, however, recent scholars have largely ignored this link. Even Starks seemed to subject the connection to afterthought. This may be because any connection between the Pigeon Point and Macabees Beach stations appears to contradict Stark's testimony that the station at Pigeon Point came from Half Moon Bay. Such a contradiction can be reconciled by arguing that the company at Pigeon Point represented a merger of two stations. Alternatively, it can be pointed out that Starks did not say that the station in Monterey moved directly to Pigeon Point.

The relationship, between the whaling communities in Monterey and San Mateo Counties does not appear to have been severed after White, Bennett and Noia left Monterey in the early 1860s. White, for example, returned to Monterey, in a move that was permanent enough for him to register to vote. He did this on 21 August 1875, listing his occupation as whaler. White, however, moved back to San Mateo County, for on 11 October 1880 he registered as a resident of Half Moon Bay. Again, he listed his occupation as whaler.

The connection between the two whaling communities in San Mateo and Monterey counties continued even after this time. On the heels of White's return to San Mateo County, Verissimo Correia came to Half Moon Bay. Here he is found in the 1880 U.S Census Population Schedule where he listed his occupation as whaler. The move appears to

the company came to Half Moon Bay in 1861. Thus there seems to be a conflict in Starks' record of this station. I have found no evidence to resolve this conflict.

have been more than seasonal as Correia registered to vote in San Mateo County on 4 May 1882. By 1884 Correia had returned to Monterey, for he is listed in the 1888, 1894, and 1898 registers as a resident of that city. He was also listed as a resident of Monterey in the 1900 census. It thus appears that after his brief stay in Half Moon Bay, Correia settled permanently in Monterey, a notion supported by his current residence in Monterey's Catholic Cemetery.

At least one other connection between the whaling communities in Monterey and San Mateo counties can also be made. The Captain Perry that Starks referred to as whaling at Pigeon Point in 1895 may well have been John Perera, a whaler listed as a resident of Pigeon Point in the 1894 register of San Mateo County. Not only had Perera whaled in Monterey, he had also whaled in San Luis Obispo and Santa Barbara Counties.⁸⁴

San Simeon

San Simeon sits in the northern part of San Luis Obispo County about forty miles to

⁸⁴I tracked Perera through the Great Register of each county mentioned by using his date and place of naturalization. Perera first registered under the name Joseph Pena in San Luis Obispo County on 4 September 1871, the same day he was naturalized. He gave his occupation a whaler. His name was listed as Joseph Pena. Perera then went to Monterey where he registered as a laborer on 4 November 1876, listing his name as Joseph Perra. He subsequently moved to Santa Barbara County where he registered as a whaler on 8 July 1879 under the name Joseph Perry. Perra eventually made his way to Pigeon Point where he registered as a whaler on 20 October 1892. In the 1896 register, the last in which I found Perera, he was living at Pigeon Point and working at the lighthouse. Specifically, his occupation was listed as "lighthouse service."

the north of the city of San Luis Obispo. The whaling station at San Simeon was located "on the inside shore of San Simeon Point which protects the bay of San Simeon from the prevailing northwesterly winds."⁸⁵

The whaling company at San Simeon was formed by Joseph Clark, the founder of the Old Monterey Whaling Company. Several sources state that this station was opened in 1865.⁸⁶ In fact, the San Simeon station was formed at least as early as 1864 as it is listed in the Internal Revenue Service assessment schedules for May of that year.⁸⁷ This date is supported by an early county history stating that Clark came to San Luis Obispo County in 1864 and commenced whaling in San Simeon the same year.⁸⁸ It is also supported by Townsend who gathered his information directly from Clark.⁸⁹

This station however, does not appear in the Census Industrial Schedules for 1870. On the other hand, the 1870 Census Population Schedules for San Luis Obispo County lists sixteen whalers in the town of San Simeon. Eleven of these whalers listed the Western Islands (another name for the Azores) as their birth place. Four whalers listed their birth

⁸⁵Hamilton, 141.

⁸⁶Jordan, (p 59) states, "the San Simeon whaling company was formed by Joseph Clark...in 1865." Starks (p 34) gives the same date for the commencement of whaling activity at San Simeon. Collins (p 49) also gives 1865 as the starting date for the station.

⁸⁷Bureau of Internal Revenue, Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for California, 1862-1866, (Washington D.C.: National Archives, 1988) on microfilm.

⁸⁸Myron Angel, History of San Luis Obispo County: with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Pioneers (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1883), 387.

⁸⁹Townsend, 347.

place as Portugal, though these were almost certainly Azoreans. One whaler, John Pesisa listed his birthplace as Madeira. In fact, Pesisa was the only individual whose birthplace was listed as Madeira in any coastal county of the 1870 census.

The San Simeon station remained under the command of Clark when "during several trips along the California coasts at various times from September, 1884, to January, 1886, [Townsend] visited the shore whaling stations of upper California."⁹⁰

In 1891 at the age of 56 Clark died, whereupon his cousin, Hipolite Marshall, inherited both Clark's property and whaling business. Marshall's command of the company, however, was short-lived. In 1894, due to a decline in the whale catch, Marshall sold the property to an American, Phoebe Hearst. This concluded whaling operations at San Simeon.⁹¹

Several sources indicate that whaling at San Simeon was a winter activity. Myron Angel stated, "[Clark] usually employs ten men sometimes twenty during the season, which lasts from November until April."⁹² Townsend stated:

Unlike Monterey, this station depends almost entirely for its business upon the gray whales, which pass southward with great regularity from December until February. The 'up season,' lasting until April is also profitable at San Simeon, but the catch there consists chiefly of males, the females keeping farther off shore when passing

⁹⁰Ibid., 346.

⁹¹Hamilton, 148.

⁹²Angel, 333.

northward with their young.⁹³

The census suggests, however, that the whaling season was considerably longer in 1870; for it was on June 3 of that year, that the census taker recorded the group of whalers in San Simeon.

Unlike the 1870 Census Population Schedules, the 1880 Census Population Schedules, (taken on June 2 in San Simeon) lists no whalers in the town nor in the entire county. In fact, this census lists Joseph Clark as a mariner and John Pereira, the Madeirense, as a stock raiser. It is known, however, that Clark and his men took 13 whales at San Simeon in 1880.⁹⁴ Thus, the absence of whalers from census records in this year suggests that by this time whaling had become the seasonal industry suggested by Townsend and others.

San Luis Obispo

The San Luis Obispo station was located at Port Harford and is sometimes referred to as the Port Harford station. Of the Port Harford station, Jordan states, "It was established by Captain Marshall (Marsiali) in 1868 or 1869."⁹⁵

⁹³Townsend, 347.

⁹⁴Goode, Geographical Review, 601.

⁹⁵Jordan, 60.

As with the San Simeon station, this station does not appear in the U.S Census Industrial Schedules for 1870. The Population Schedules for this year, however, list fourteen whalers, including Captain John Marshall, in San Luis Obispo Township.

Not all scholars agree that all members of this station were in fact Portuguese. For example, Bohme states, "about half the personnel [at San Luis Obispo] were said to be Portuguese."⁹⁶ The 1870 census, however, listed all the mens' birthplace as "Western Islands" thus establishing not only their Portuguese roots, but more specifically their Azorean roots. Another source that disputes Bohme is the Great Register of San Luis Obispo County, which lists only one whaler in any year who is not of Portuguese decent. This was Michael Noon, who was also the only non-Azorean whaling with the consolidated Monterey Whaling Company in 1870.⁹⁷

Undoubtedly, Jordan was referring to Noon when he stated that the Port Harford camp "consisted of 21 men, all but one Portuguese, and mostly from the Azores," for Noon provided Jordan with much of his information on the station.⁹⁸ The following comes from

⁹⁶Bohme, 239.

⁹⁷Michael Noon had a long association with shore whaling eventually becoming a whaling captain. Noon also had a long association with the central coast as he was well into his seventies when Starks interviewed him in Monterey in the early 1920s. It should also be added that while not Portuguese, Noon did, according to the 1880 U.S. Census Population Schedule, marry an Azorean woman by the name of Flora.

⁹⁸Jordan, 60

the information Jordan collected during his 1879 visit to this station:

the property was owned by four or five share-holders, the captain being one of them and the others are hired by these, each man receiving a particular lay, the oarsmen one sixty-fifth to one seventieth, the boat steerer one thirty-fifth to one fortieth, the strikers one seventeenth to one twentieth. The men in this company, as at San Simeon, are discharged in the summer, and a new set hired each fall, many of them different. Some of the its members are engaged in the summer in fishing for the market of San Luis Obispo."

Another section of Jordan's report states that three members of this company fished during the summers.⁹⁹

Marshall remained with the company until 1880, and the station remained open at least through the winter of 1886, as Townsend visited the station during this season.¹⁰⁰

Collins stated, however, that the station was abandoned in 1887 because the whales had become so scarce it was no longer profitable to whale there.¹⁰¹

Point Conception

Point Conception is located in Santa Barbara County about fifty miles west of the city of Santa Barbara. Whales were taken both here and at Cojo Viejo a little to the south.

According to Jordan, "the company arrived at Cojo from Pigeon Point April 25,

⁹⁹Goode, 33.

¹⁰⁰Townsend, 349.

¹⁰¹Starks, 24

1879.¹⁰² Jordan also stated:

the company consists of twenty men in the winter and eighteen in the summer. Fifteen of these constitute the management, own the property, and share the proceeds equally. Captain Anderson is employed by these. There are two others who [work on lays]. Two Chinamen also accompany the camp, receiving for their services the sinews of the whale, which are shipped to China, supposedly for soup... The Company have built for themselves a large house, in which they eat and sleep. Beside this, the Captain, who is accompanied by his wife, has a house, and the Chinese another after their fashion.

The 1880 U.S. Census Population Schedule provides valuable but perplexing insight into Point Conception's whaling history. This source lists groups of whalers in two locations: Point Conception and Enumeration District 4. Strangely, many of the individuals such as Frank Anderson are listed as residents of both locations. Moreover, different individuals conducted the census on the same day, June 25, in each location. It would be tempting to say that two individuals coincidentally gathered census information in the same location at different times during the day. This, however, does not appear to be the case, for with the exception of two Chinese residents, none of the neighbors in either location are the same. A more likely explanation is that the whalers had two distinct whaling sites and worked at both camps that day. Even this explanation raises the following question: why didn't the whalers mention to the second census taker the fact that his colleague had paid them a visit earlier in the day at the other location? Regardless of the explanation, however, it appears that nearly all of the whalers in Santa Barbara County were counted twice.

Besides the issue discussed above, the census accords with Jordan's account of the

¹⁰²Jordan, 57.

station. For example, Anderson and his wife lived in a house adjacent to the other whalers, all of whom lived under one roof. Also, the census lists two Chinese in a residence next to the whalers. One of these was a laborer, the other a cook.¹⁰³

Whaling at Point Conception appears to have lasted about eight years. On the one hand, Townsend mentions that whaling had taken place as late as 1886. On the other hand, Collins noted in his 1888 report that the station had been abandoned.

Portuguese Bend/Dead Man's Island

Dredged away in 1929, Dead Man's Island sat in San Pedro Bay, less than a mile offshore and about twenty-five miles south of downtown Los Angeles. Portuguese Bend sits about five miles north of the former site of Dead Man's Island.¹⁰⁴ Although these two stations were close, most scholars consider them two distinct sites of shore whaling.

As the name suggests, the station at Portuguese Bend was worked by the Portuguese. It was not, however, the Portuguese but an American who commenced shore whaling in the vicinity of San Pedro Bay. Captain Johnson, who had ties to San Diego's whaling industry, commenced whaling as early as 1860 at Dead Man's Island.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³The census taker also added a footnote at the bottom of the page. This stated that the Portuguese caught abalone in the summer.

¹⁰⁴Nichols, 112.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

Whaling continued at Dead Man's Island in 1861 and 1862 under the leadership of another American, Captain Hart.¹⁰⁶ Jordan stated that the station operated briefly in 1866, but then closed.

Jordan also provides a "terminus post quem" for the inception of the station at Portuguese Bend: "Joseph Clark after leaving Monterey went to San Diego and thence to Portuguese Bend. He went to San Simeon about 1864."¹⁰⁷

By 1869, however, whaling here was in the hands of the John Brown Whaling Company.¹⁰⁸ It is not known whether this company had Portuguese interests. In 1874, Frank Anderson became the captain of the station at Portuguese Bend, a position he held through the winter of 1877.¹⁰⁹

After Anderson's departure, whaling at the station was sporadic. Townsend stated in 1886 that "The San Pedro Station is now abandoned, the force gathered there in 1884 now being employed at Point Conception."¹¹⁰

E.M. Dias, a Portuguese scholar who extensively researched shore whaling, stated

¹⁰⁶Starks, 29.

¹⁰⁷Jordan, 55.

¹⁰⁸Los Angeles Star, March 13, 1869. Cited in Sayers, 142.

¹⁰⁹Jordan, 54.

¹¹⁰Townsend, 348. Since the whalers went to Point Conception, they must have been Portuguese; and since they were Portuguese, Townsend was probably referring to the station at Portuguese Bend and not the one at Dead Man's Island.

that whaling at Portuguese Bend was seasonal.¹¹¹ That Anderson resided in San Mateo

County during the time he was whaling here certainly supports this fact. The absence of whalers and the small numbers of Portuguese residents listed in both the census and the Great Registers for Los Angeles County during peak years of whaling further support this claim.

The above-mentioned sites, with the exception of the station at Dead Man's Island, were sites at which whaling was a Portuguese industry. (Dead Man's Island was included in the discussion because of its proximity to the station at Portuguese Bend.) In addition to these sites, there were two stations that had probable Portuguese connections.

Santa Cruz

Starks interviewed two individuals who both claimed that whaling had occurred in the area around Santa Cruz.¹¹² The son of Captain Bennett (of the company at Pigeon Point) claimed that whaling took place in the area "for some time."¹¹³ Michael Noon, the American whaler mentioned in the discussions of the Monterey and San Luis Obispo

¹¹¹E.M. Dias, "Baleeiros Portugueses na America," Boletim do Instituto Historico da Ilha Terceira. 35 (1979): 239.

¹¹² Pescadero and Pigeon Point were part of Santa Cruz County until 1868. Thus technically, the Pigeon Point Station was in Santa Cruz County from 1862 until 1868. This, however, would not have been the site of whaling referred to by the younger Bennett.

¹¹³Starks, 24.

stations, stated that Captain Davenport of the New Company of Monterey had "whaled [there] for a year or two."¹¹⁴

A contemporary history of Santa Cruz County also seems to suggest that whaling occurred here to a limited degree: "Whale fishing is carried on to considerable extent in the [Monterey] Bay. Most of the whale fisheries are situated on the opposite side of the Bay near Monterey."¹¹⁵ Of course, Santa Cruz was the reference point in this statement that implied "most", but not all whaling occurred in Monterey.

Primary sources from the latter half of the Nineteenth Century do not, however, verify the existence of a substantial whaling industry in Santa Cruz County. For instance, neither the 1860, 1870 nor 1880 U.S. Census Population Schedules list any whalers in the county. Additionally, none of the U.S. Census Industrial Schedules mention any whaling ventures in Santa Cruz County.

As mentioned earlier, Captain Davenport is listed in the 1870 Census as a resident of Santa Cruz Township. Presumably this was Davenport's Landing, a hamlet he founded in the late 1860s. Whether he whaled from this spot is not clear from the census, which lists him as a "wharfinger."

Davenport apparently whaled a few miles north of Davenport's Landing at New Year's Point. On 18 September 1871, Davenport enrolled on a poll list that "legally

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵W.W. Elliot, ed., History of Santa Cruz County, California, (San Francisco: W.W. Elliot Pub., 1879), 52.

qualified [him] to vote ... at the Judicial election, to be held on the 18th day of October, 1871." He listed his occupation as a whaler and his residence as New Year's Point.¹¹⁶

Surprisingly, the above source lists no other whalers in New Year's Point. Another whaler, however, Daniel Flanders of Massachusetts did register to vote in New Year's Point on 7 November 1870.¹¹⁷ Nonetheless, even if we assume that Flanders worked for Davenport, a whaling station would have required additional assistance. One explanation for the absence of other whalers in the census and Great Register is that whaling was a second occupation for Davenport's employees.

In addition to whaling at New Year's Point, Davenport may also have whaled in Soquel, about five miles south of the town of Santa Cruz. Prior to establishing Davenport's landing, Davenport had lived in Soquel for a few years. He listed this as his residence when he first registered to vote in Santa Cruz County on 6 April 1867.¹¹⁸ Moreover, he listed himself as a whaler.¹¹⁹ Davenport, however, was the only man from Soquel who listed this

¹¹⁶The promontory known as Ano Nuevo-- referred to today by its original Spanish name-- actually sits just inside San Mateo County along its southern border with Santa Cruz County. While there is little left of the community of New Year's Point, in 1871 it was apparently considered a part of Santa Cruz County. Today a state reserve, Ano Nuevo is best known as the breeding grounds for the elephant seal.

¹¹⁷I did not find Flanders in the 1870 census.

¹¹⁸1872 Great Register, Santa Cruz County.

¹¹⁹By 1880, Davenport had become a Justice of the Peace and was residing in the Second Township of Santa Cruz, presumably, Davenport's Landing. 1880 U.S. Census Population Schedules.

as his occupation.¹²⁰ In fact, aside from Davenport and Flanders, none of the Great Registers mention any other whalers anywhere in Santa Cruz County at any time.

A summary of whaling activity in Santa Cruz County might read that while it is likely whaling did occur here, there appears to be no evidence to suggest that it was a long term or large scale operation. Certainly, there is no evidence in the contemporary lists of individuals to suggest that a permanent whaling community existed in Santa Cruz County.¹²¹ On the other hand, considering Davenport's association with Portuguese whalers, it is likely that he would have used Portuguese labor in any whaling activities at New Years Point or Soquel.

Goleta

Moore's Landing was the site of whaling operations at Goleta, a community located in Santa Barbara County about ten miles west of the city of Santa Barbara.

Jordan states that this station operated from 1870 to 1878.¹²² Starks states that it

¹²⁰Again, the same point made in regards to whaling activities at New Years Point may be made here: Davenport needed others to help him whale.

¹²¹In addition to the census and the Great Register, Paulson's Directory of 1875 lists no whalers in Santa Cruz County.

¹²²Jordan, 55.

opened in 1870 and operated until 1880.¹²³ Both agree, however, that three distinct companies operated there, the first comprised entirely of Jamaican "Negroes". It is likely, however, that both Starks and Jordan were unaware of an earlier station at Goleta. In fact, the first station may have been established in 1867 by Samuel Hackett of San Diego who sold his interests in 1869. Apparently, petroleum floating on the ocean surface gummed up the whale lines and frightened whales away.¹²⁴

One scholar, E.M. Dias, has found a Portuguese link to the Goleta station: "the Goleta station was comprised of only two houses where six whalers lived together with a Chinese cook. Their food consisted primarily of whale meat, which they consumed in the form of steaks or meatballs, and seal liver."¹²⁵ Unfortunately, Dias did not cite his source of information. If, however, we include this as a company distinct of those mentioned by Jordan and Starks, it appears that at least five companies operated from Moore's Landing, and at least one of these companies was manned by Portuguese.

Aside from Dias' unnamed source and the scanty details provided by Jordan, contemporary sources have provided few details of Goleta's whaling past. For instance, the 1870 U.S. Census Population Schedule lists no whalers in Santa Barbara County.

¹²³Starks, 29.

¹²⁴C.A McGrew, City of San Diego and San Diego County, the Birth Place of California, vol. 1 (Chicago: American Historical Society), 318-320. Cited in Sayers, 141.

¹²⁵Relations between the Portuguese whalers and the Chinese were not always so pleasant. For example, in Monterey, in 1895, Chinese fishermen sued Monterey's whalers for cutting their nets.

Moreover, I found only six Portuguese in all of Santa Barbara County in this census, none of which were engaged in maritime activities. I also found no Jamaicans or "Negroes" listed in the census.

The 1870 U.S. Census Industrial Schedule did, on the other hand, list a whaling operation, The Kimberly Company, in Santa Barbara County. This company was probably not a shore whaling operation in the traditional sense as it possessed a schooner and whaled in the Santa Barbara Channel.¹²⁶ It is likely, however, that they towed their catch back to shore to be processed.

In addition to the U.S. Census Population Schedule, Paulson's 1875 Coast County Directory for Santa Barbara County lists no whalers. Also, none of the Great Registers for Santa Barbara County lists whalers prior to 1879; those whalers that appear in the 1879 Great Register were associated with the Point Conception station. Finally, the whaling station at Goleta also receives no mention in any of the county histories of Santa Barbara. As Hazel Sayers states, "this was apparently a small station which operated casually or at

¹²⁶ The 1870 census for Santa Barbara County lists only one individual with the last name Kimberly. Martin Kimberly was listed a "sheepraiser." Kimberly did however, have an association with the sea, participating in the hunting and trading of sea otter. Kimberly disappeared on a trip to hunt otter off Northern Japan in 1878. Three of the men who hunted otter with Kimberly were possibly Portuguese: Manuel Cordero, Mariano Ruiz and Crispine Vasquez. The interesting story of Martin Kimberly is told in Phillips' History of Santa Barbara County, 107-112. That Martin Kimberly is the only man with this last name in the 1870 census, and because Martin Kimberly had an association with maritime industries suggests that he was the owner of Kimberly Company whaling outfit.

irregular intervals."¹²⁷

In addition to the stations discussed thus far, there were four stations with which Portuguese ties cannot be established.

Crescent City

Crescent City sits about fifteen miles south of the Oregon border in today's Del Norte County. Little information exists on whaling in Crescent City. None of the federal fishing reports mention this station, nor does Scammon. I found no evidence of this station in the U.S. Census Industrial Schedules for 1860 or 1870, or in the Population Schedules for these years.

Starks, cites a few contemporary newspaper articles in his brief summary of this station. One of these, a September 1854 article from the Crescent City Herald describes a whaling incident that Starks used to date the inception of this station. Another of the articles cited by Starks implies that two stations may have existed here: "The Crescent City Whaling Company on Wednesday, September 17th took two whales, and on the following Friday, Captain McCoy's company killed one, the largest of the season at Crescent City."¹²⁸ Whether McCoy's Company and The Crescent City Whaling Company were one in the

¹²⁷Sayers, 141.

¹²⁸ Sacramento Daily Union, October 2, 1856, cited in Starks, 20.

same company is impossible to determine from this rather ambiguous report.

Not only are the details of this station scanty, but neither Starks nor any subsequent scholars have provided any information revealing the ethnicity of any of the whalers associated with the station, or stations, at Crescent City.

Humboldt Bay

Humboldt Bay is located in Humboldt County near the town of Eureka, about seventy-five miles south of the Oregon border and two hundred and fifty miles north of San Francisco.

Sayers mentions a whaling station at Humboldt Bay. The source for her information comes from an article printed on January 20, 1855 in the Eureka Times. The article states, "Whales were taken in the bay in 1855 by the crew of the steam tug Mary Ann. They tried out at Humboldt Point."¹²⁹ I have found no other sources that mention this station or reveal the presence of whalers in Humboldt County. As with the station at Crescent City, there is no means to determine the ethnicity of the whalers at this station.

¹²⁹Sayers, 131.

Bolinas Bay

A coastal hamlet in southern Marin County, Bolinas sits about twenty miles northwest of San Francisco.

Though Starks mentioned it as a shore whaling company, the Bolinas Bomb-Lance Whaling Association did not fit Scammon's definition of a shore whaling station. This company owned several small vessels that sailed offshore searching for whales. The catch was flensed alongside the ships, which docked bi-weekly and unloaded their cargo of blubber to be tried out and refined.¹³⁰

The first mention of this station is noted in The Daily Alta California, which on 13 November 1857 stated that financial backers had invested \$100,000 in this company. This figure eclipsed, by a considerable amount, the recorded capital invested in any other shore station at the time.¹³¹ Scammon did not list this station in 1874, so it probably had closed by that time. Starks stated that it did not last long, but did not give a closing date.¹³²

¹³⁰Ibid..

¹³¹Starks, 21.

¹³²Ibid..

San Diego

The best modern account of this station is Ronald May's "Dog-Holes, Devil-Fish: Boom Times for the San Diego Whaling Industry." May lists 23 whalers he found in the Great Registers of San Diego County and other contemporary sources. For fourteen of these whalers, May lists their birthplace-- all were Americans. Also, of the six whose birthplaces are not listed, none appear to have Portuguese or Americanized Portuguese names.¹³³

A sub-section of Goode's 1887 Fish and Fisheries Commission report entitled "Portuguese Fishermen on the Pacific Coast" makes no mention of Portuguese whalers in San Diego County.¹³⁴ The fact that this report consistently mentions Portuguese whalers in other counties suggests that those compiling information for this report found no evidence of Portuguese whalers in San Diego County.

My research did uncover seven whalers in the 1870 U.S. Census Population Schedule, a source that May did not cite. None of these whalers, however, were Portuguese; although two of the whalers, Prince and Alf Packard, did have a Portuguese

¹³³Ronald May, "Dog-Holes, Bomb-Lances and Devil Fish: Boom Times for the San Diego Whaling Industry," Journal of San Diego History," 32, 2 (1986), passim.

¹³⁴Goode sec IV, 33. It does mention that only one Portuguese fisherman lived in the county as of 1879.

father.¹³⁵ Twins from Massachusetts, the Packard Brothers are generally given credit for initiating shore whaling in San Diego.¹³⁶ They commenced operations in 1858.¹³⁷

The Packard brothers left the whaling business in 1878 and retired to farms.¹³⁸ This was not, however, the end of San Diego's whaling history. Enos Wall of Maine established a shore whaling company in San Diego from 1883 to his death in December of the next year. Interests in Wall's former company were purchased by Thomas Higgins, who had been struggling to establish a company of his own as early as January of 1884. By 1886,

¹³⁵1880 U.S Census Population Schedule. The census of 1880 actually lists the birthplace of one's parents. Earlier census schedules did not list this variable.

¹³⁶May, 75.

¹³⁷There are no whalers listed in the 1860 census for San Diego County. There are, however, two whaling companies listed in the Industrial Schedule for 1860: "Johnson & Co." and "Tilton & Co." The Packard Company is not listed. Both companies employed eight men and both had \$3,000 of capital invested into the operation. The listed annual product for Johnson & Co. was 800 barrels of oil with a value of \$8,000 and for Tilton & Co. 1,000 barrels with a value of \$10,000 dollars. Tilton & Co. does not appear in the 1870 Industrial Schedule. Johnson & Co. does appear in this schedule, as does "Packard & Co." Johnson & Co. had by this time invested \$6,000 of capital into the outfit. Packard & Co. listed \$4,000 of capital investment. Both companies owned one schooner, both companies employed an average of fifteen employees for the census year, and both companies operated for four months out of the year. For the census year, Johnson & Co. produced 18,000 gallons of oil valued at \$6,000 and Packard & Co. produced 15,000 gallons valued at \$5,000.

¹³⁸It should also be noted that, prior to leaving the whaling business, Packard & Co. as well as Johnson & Co. (See previous note) also whaled from temporary stations in Baja California.

however, the unprofitable Higgins & Sons folded, thus ending San Diego's chapter of shore whaling history.¹³⁹

Although I have found no documentation of Portuguese involvement with the whaling industry in San Diego, it would be premature to suggest they played no role in the industry here. While on a recruiting trip to San Francisco in 1867, Captain Alpheus Packard purchased a sloop-rigged whaleboat named *New Hope* and sailed it down to San Diego.¹⁴⁰ Also, Packard went to San Francisco to hire 21 mariners and to purchase four new whaleboats.¹⁴¹ Considering the domination of the whaling industry by the Portuguese in other parts of the state, it is likely that some of these whalers were Portuguese. Nonetheless, control of the whaling industry in San Diego County clearly appears to have been in the hands of individuals born in the United States.

Historical records indicate that seventeen sites of shore whaling existed in California in the second half of the nineteenth century. From Crescent City, fifteen miles south of the Oregon border, to San Diego, fifteen miles north of the Mexican border, the range of these sites nearly spanned the length of California's coast.

From its beginnings in Monterey in 1854, California's shore whaling industry was predominantly a Portuguese enterprise. It was not, however, exclusively a Portuguese

¹³⁹May, 85.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 80

¹⁴¹*Ibid.*, 84.

industry. For example, in San Diego County, Americans controlled the industry. There is also no evidence to suggest that Portuguese were involved with the short-lived whaling ventures north of San Francisco.

Along the central coast, however, where whaling was a viable industry that lasted over forty years, Portuguese dominance of the industry was nearly complete. In fact, with the exception of the Americans John Davenport and Michael Noon and a Chilean named Ben, all whalers listed in the 1860, 1870 and 1880 censuses were Portuguese.

Not only did the Portuguese dominate shore whaling along the central coast, but shore whaling in many ways also dominated the Portuguese community. The important role shore whaling played in the immigration of Portuguese to California's central coast will be a focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

THE IMPACT OF WHALING ON PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION TO CALIFORNIA

This chapter focuses on the relationship between Portuguese immigration to California and the state's shore whaling industry. First, it will overview Portuguese immigration to the state. Then it will examine the significance of California's central coast as a destination for Portuguese immigrants. Finally, it will establish the importance of whaling as a means of employment for immigrants in several coastal communities.

Portuguese immigration to California actually began prior to statehood. In fact, California's first Portuguese immigrant was also her third foreign resident.¹⁴² Antonio Jose Rocha was among ten men who deserted the English Northwest Company's Columbia in Monterey during the summer of 1815. Rocha was the only foreigner who was allowed to remain in California. The Spanish authorities probably allowed Rocha to stay because, as a carpenter and blacksmith, he had skills uncommon in Alta California and because he was of

¹⁴²Walton J. Brown, "Portuguese in California," (M.A. Thesis, University of Southern California, 1944), *passim*. This well researched thesis tries to uncover all Portuguese pioneers to California prior to 1849. Relying primarily on Bancroft, but also using such sources as the Larkin papers, Brown has listed eleven Portuguese pioneers that immigrated to California prior to 1846. Given the relatively small numbers of foreigners in California until this time and given the fact that the Spanish and Mexican governments kept close tabs on foreigners in California, it is likely that this figure represents the correct number of Portuguese in California prior to America's seizure of the territory in 1846.

the Roman Catholic faith.¹⁴³ Rocha soon moved to Los Angeles where he practiced both his trades. He later married into one of California's oldest Spanish families and had several children. He died sometime between 1836 and 1840.¹⁴⁴

Rocha was not the only Portuguese to immigrate to California prior to statehood. By 1846, the year of the Bear Flag Revolt and the year the American flag was permanently raised over Monterey, 11 Portuguese had made California their home. At least 3 of these men took up permanent residence in Monterey.¹⁴⁵ Two of the individuals, Jose Maria Bollon and Manuel Joaquim, are mentioned in Larkin's¹⁴⁶ account books for 1834 and thus had arrived by this date, while the third, Manuel Dutra de Vargas, came to the state in 1841.¹⁴⁷ All told, in 1846 the eleven Portuguese represented about 2 percent of the state's

¹⁴³Ibid., 30.

¹⁴⁴Ibid..

¹⁴⁵Bancroft, cited in Brown, passim.

¹⁴⁶Larkin was an American who lived in Monterey during the Mexican era. Larkin's legacy to California History is the Larkin Papers, a large collection of business transactions and personal letters. Larkin's papers are published and widely circulated.

¹⁴⁷According to Bancroft, Dutra came to California from South America in 1841 when he was only nineteen. He arrived aboard the Colombian schooner Joven Carolina. Bancroft further adds, that he was naturalized in 1842 and by that time had already taken a California-born Mexican wife, Maria. By 1843 Dutra had become a regular trader in Monterey. According to the state census of 1852, Dutra had resided in Peru prior to his arriving in Monterey. In 1852 he is listed as a Merchant. Dutra also appears in the 1860 U.S. Census, where he is listed as a cigar maker. There is a William Dutra listed in the 1870 and 1880 census schedules. This may, however, be a different individual as the names of his children are different. It should also be noted that I found neither Bollon nor Joaquim in the 1852 state census or the 1860 federal census.

estimated 680 foreign-born residents and much smaller fraction of her estimated 8,000 non-indigenous persons.¹⁴⁸

Shortly after the United States seized her during the Mexican-American War, California's status as a sparsely populated frontier would change. The discovery of gold at Sutter's Mill in 1848 precipitated one of the greatest global migrations in human history.

By 1850 California's population had reached 92,597 of which 21,802 were foreign-born.¹⁴⁹ While both foreigners and Americans had swarmed to California in the first two years of the Gold Rush, Portuguese immigration to the state during this time was modest. With 109 natives of Portugal listed in the 1850 census, Portuguese represented only .12 percent of California's total population and .5 percent of her foreign population.

By 1860, however, the Portuguese population in California had grown substantially. According to the published compendium of population statistics from the 1860 U.S. Census, 1,459 residents of California listed their birthplace as "Portugal." At this point, two observations must be made. First, this number did not represent all the Portuguese in California. In addition to the number mentioned above, there were 121 individuals whose

¹⁴⁸At this time, of course, a foreigner was defined as a non-Mexican, whereas less than a year later, a foreigner would be defined as a non-American. It should also be noted that according to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (2 February 1848) Mexicans residing in those territories acquired by the United States in the war with Mexico could become United States citizens.

¹⁴⁹U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of Population, 1850. Because of the transient nature of California's population at this time and the fact that this was the state's first census, these figures are somewhat unreliable.

birthplace was listed as the "Atlantic Islands," the overwhelming majority of which were natives of the Azores.¹⁵⁰ Second, a substantial majority of those whose birthplace was listed

¹⁵⁰In the published compendium of the census, Azoreans were listed as Atlantic Islanders. In the actual Manuscript Census Population Schedule, they were listed as natives of the Western Islands, the Azores, or the Atlantic Islands. They were also sometimes listed as natives of a particular Azorean island. Did the term Atlantic Islands apply to any non-Azoreans? I have been unable to find information that indicates how the census defined the Atlantic Islanders of which 4,431 were living in the United States in 1870. If used as a proper name, then technically the term should have applied only to the Azores. According to most 19th century dictionaries, atlases, and gazettes, the names Western Isles and Atlantic Islands were other names for the Azores. Moreover, in these sources, I have failed to find this name applied to any other islands of the Atlantic Ocean. There is, however, evidence that the census used the term Atlantic Islands in a broader sense. For example, in 1870, 212 of the Atlantic Islanders were black. While Azoreans are not black, another of Portugal's 19th century colonial possessions was, and still is, populated mostly by blacks. This is the Atlantic archipelago of Cape Verde, which became an independent nation in 1975. Like Azoreans, Cape Verdeans were known to ship on whalers. They were also known to immigrate to the United States. Prior to 1870, however, substantial numbers of Cape Verdeans had not begun to arrive in the United States. In fact, if we can assume that the black Atlantic Islanders were Cape Verdean, then by the same reasoning, we can assume that no more than 212, the number of black Atlantic Islanders in the United States, were Cape Verdean. Cape Verdeans did eventually migrate to the United States in larger numbers. (They were the only Africans to do so of their own free will to any significant degree.) This migration, however, took place mostly after 1890, and was primarily to Massachusetts, not California. It is also known that a colony of more than 700 Madeirense of protestant faith located in Illinois in search of greater religious freedom. They were represented in the 1870 census and were classified as Atlantic Islanders. Could the term Atlantic Islands have included other non-Portuguese territories? In theory yes, but with the exception of the Canary Islands and Iceland there are no other significantly populated islands in the Atlantic. I know of no substantial emigration from Iceland in the 19th century. Moreover as part of Denmark at this time it is possible that Icelanders would have been considered Danish. In regards to the Canary Islands, most Spanish emigration to North America normally terminated in one of Spain's colonial possessions. If one restricts the issue to California, I can state with strong certainty that most Atlantic Islanders in 1860, 1870 and 1880 came from the Azores. First, individuals with "generic" birthplaces such as the Atlantic Islands had Portuguese names, suggesting that, in the least, they were from some possession of the Portuguese crown. Second, I can essentially eliminate the possibility that significant numbers of Cape Verdeans lived in California at this time.

as "Portugal" were also Azoreans. The reason that Azoreans were listed as Portuguese, but not the other way around, stems from the non-reciprocal relationship between the Azores and Portugal. In short, all Azoreans are Portuguese while not all Portuguese are Azoreans. Thus, while a census taker might chose to list Azoreans as Portuguese, it is very unlikely that a census taker would have listed a Portuguese from the continent as an Azorean.

One scholar, Alvin Graves, perhaps the best authority on the subject, estimates that over 80 percent of Portuguese in California were from the Azores. My research supports this assertion. As mentioned in Chapter I, nearly all whalers were from the Azores. I have also found other evidence to suggest that Azoreans made up the core of California's Portuguese immigrants. [See note for more detail.]¹⁵¹

According to the census compendium, there were only 3 black Atlantic Islanders in California in 1870. I should also state, that in the many contemporary lists of individuals I searched, I found only two Cape Verdeans living on the coast of California between 1852 and 1880. Third, I found only five Madeirense living on the coast of California during this time, a fact that supports the historical record in regards to Madeirense migration. Madeirense immigration to California took place primarily after the turn of the century. Interestingly, most Madeirense migrated from Hawaii where they had worked as contract laborers in the sugar cane fields since the 1880s.

¹⁵¹Evidence that large numbers of Azoreans were listed as natives of Portugal can be found in the 1870 and 1880 censuses for San Mateo County. Out of 130 Portuguese residents in Half Moon Bay and another 20 Portuguese residents in Pescadero in 1870, all were listed as coming from Portugal. By 1880, the Portuguese communities of Half Moon Bay and Pescadero had grown to 220 and 62 respectively. Additionally, another 16 Portuguese were registered in the town of San Gregorio, a hamlet that today sits just off Highway 1 between Half Moon Bay and Pescadero. (The census of 1870 probably included the residents of this area in Township 6, the same township that included Pescadero. The rational for this assumption is that in 1880, San Gregorio and Pescadero were both included in the same township, Township 5. The census taker, however, made a note in the middle of the page indicating that he had finished enumerating the town of San Gregorio.) In 1880,

All told, the number of Portuguese residing in California in 1860 had grown to 1,550.¹⁵² This represented a 13.5 fold increase over the state's 1850 Portuguese population. By 1860, Portuguese also represented a substantially greater percentage of both the state's total and foreign born populations. California's population had by this time grown to 379,994 persons while its foreign population had grown to 146,528 persons. Portuguese thus represented .41 percent and 1.1 percent of these respective populations (see Table 1).

The following decade saw a further increase in the state's total and foreign-born populations. In 1870, there were 560,247 individuals living in the state. Of this number,

211 or 96.8% of Half Moon Bay's Portuguese community were listed as natives of the Azores. Only 6 listed their residence as Portugal. One came from the Cape Verdean island of Bravo. In Pescadero, 55 or 90.3% of the Portuguese were listed as Azorean, and in San Gregorio the Azorean population was listed at 15 or 93.8% of the Portuguese total. The 1880 census data for Half Moon Bay is valuable for another reason. This is the only township with a significant Azorean population where I found most members of the community listed by their specific island of birth. According to the census, 67 individuals came from Pico. Another 67 came from Faial. Flores contributed 35 individuals, Sao Jorge 25, Corvo 8, Graciosa 6, Terceira 4 and Sao Miguel 1. Only the island of Santa Maria was not represented in Half Moon Bay's Azorean community. Interestingly, the one Azorean in Pescadero not listed under the generic term "Western Islands" did hail from Santa Maria. The contention that most of California's Portuguese hailed from the Azores is further supported by the following statement made by the Portuguese consul in 1812: "they are, for the most part, from the Azores, some are from Madeira and a few are from the continent." Biographical records in contemporary county histories also support the fact that most Portuguese were Azorean. Of the more than 100 biographies from five different sources I examined, I found only one individual from Madeira and one from Portugal. It should also be noted that in the census several counties listed people from both the Azores and "Portugal". In these counties, however, the area covered by a particular census taker rarely listed both. In other words, what determined whether Azoreans were tallied as Portuguese or Azorean probably was decided by the individual census taker.

¹⁵²U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of Population, 1860.

209,831 were foreign born. Over this same period, the state's Portuguese population increased 122.6 percent (from 1,550 to 3,451 persons).¹⁵³ Portuguese now represented .61 percent of the total population and 1.64 percent of the foreign population (see Table 1).¹⁵⁴

While the 122.6 percent increase in Portuguese population from 1860 to 1870 represented a decrease in the percent change of population from 1850 to 1860, the aggregate increase (1,871 persons) from 1860 to 1870 was greater than the aggregate increase (1,441 persons) of the previous decade.¹⁵⁵ Also, the percent increase in the Portuguese population was greater than that for either the state's total or foreign-born populations over the same period of time. These increases were 47.4 percent and 43.2 percent respectively.

Over the next ten years, California's foreign-born Portuguese population again increased. By 1880, the Portuguese population in California stood at 7,990. Over the same period of time, the Portuguese percentage of the state's aggregate and foreign-born population also increased. It now represented .92 percent of the state's population and 2.73 percent of its foreign population.¹⁵⁶ Unlike the decade of 1860 to 1870, the decade 1870 to 1880 saw both an increase in the number of new Portuguese immigrants and an increase

¹⁵³This included 2508 individuals listed as natives of Portugal and 943 individuals listed as natives of the Atlantic Islands.

¹⁵⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of Population, 1870.

¹⁵⁵Of these, 2508 were listed as residents of Portugal and 943 as residents of the Atlantic islands. Again the same rationale applied to the 1860 census pertaining to the origins of the Portuguese applies here.

¹⁵⁶U.S. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of Population, 1880.

in the percent change of Portuguese population over the previous decade. The aggregate increase was 4,539 individuals. The percent increase was 131.5 percent.

Although many Portuguese immigrated to California in the first thirty-two years after statehood (a time frame that roughly corresponded to the peak years of whaling activity) immigrants from Portugal were far outnumbered in these years by immigrants from such countries as China, Ireland and England. In fact, the Portuguese were only the eighth largest immigrant group in 1870 and the seventh most numerous in 1880. On the other hand, when one looks at the mid-19th century populations of regions that contributed to California's foreign stock, no country, European or Asian, can claim to have sent as great a percentage of it's people to California as did the semi-autonomous Azores.

Table 2 shows the numbers of foreign born residents of California in 1870 as a percentage of a particular country's mid-nineteenth century population. If we use Grave's 80 percent estimate for the number of Portuguese actually of Azorean descent, we see that the ratio of Azorean residents in California to the 1864 Population of the Azores was approximately 1.1 percent. (The next highest ratio was Ireland at .63 percent.) Such data suggests the Azores, when considered as a region distinct from Portugal, sent a significantly greater percentage of her population to California than did any country in Europe at that time.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷Although I did not find a mid-nineteenth century population for China, it would undoubtedly have been quite large. We can assume then that the Chinese in California in 1880 would have represented only a tiny fraction of China's population.

The Portuguese migration to California in the 1850's, 1860's and 1870's also led to a sustained flow of Portuguese immigration that lasted well into the twentieth century. From 1880 to 1920, Portuguese immigration continued to increase decennially. By 1920, the foreign-born Portuguese population stood at 33,409, a number that represented .97 percent of the state's 3,426,861 persons (see Table 1).¹⁵⁸

The year 1960 was the last time that official census figures were kept for the Portuguese ethnic group. By 1960, the number of Portuguese in California stood at 97,489.¹⁵⁹ I know of no study that has determined how many more descendants of Portuguese lived in California in 1960, yet, as in 1920, the number must certainly have been quite high.

Although the Portuguese never comprised a large segment of California's population, they did immigrate in substantial numbers to certain regions of the state. One of the areas that attracted large numbers of Portuguese was the coast, in particular the central coast, which I have defined as San Luis Obispo, Monterey Santa Cruz and San Mateo Counties.

¹⁵⁸ Additionally, there were probably at least 50,000 American-born Portuguese in the state at the time. Although in 1920, the census compendium did not list figures representing the number of first generation Americans belonging to each ethnic group, ten years later it did. (In 1930, the number of American born Portuguese was 63,809.) If we add the conservative estimate of 50,000 to the number of foreign born Portuguese in California in 1920, then the ethnic Portuguese living in the state represented around 2.5% of the state's population.

¹⁵⁹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States: 1960. Population, Table 40, California.

Portuguese immigration to California's coast, however, did not occur in substantial numbers until the 1860s. For example, in 1852, I found only 10 Portuguese in the coastal counties of California (excluding San Francisco County); 5 in Monterey County; 2 in Mendocino County and 1 in Santa Cruz, Klamath, and San Luis Obispo counties respectively.¹⁶⁰ There were no Portuguese in Santa Barbara, Los Angeles or San Diego Counties (see Table 3).

The small Portuguese presence along the coast seemed to mirror the settlement pattern of the general population in the central coastal region. In 1850, the coastal counties exclusive of San Francisco County had 20,963 persons, only 8.2 percent of the state's 255,122 people.

Like the general population, the Portuguese population in the early 1850s was centered primarily in San Francisco and the inland mining communities. Even by 1860, most Portuguese could still be found in the mining regions of California.¹⁶¹ In fact, one study based on the manuscript census places the number of Portuguese miners in this year at 844.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰1852 California State Census. I did not compile figures for the number of Portuguese in coastal counties in the 1850 federal census. In all probability, though, the state's coastal Portuguese population in 1850 was less than it was in 1852.

¹⁶¹Graves, 181. Some north coast counties had sizeable mining operations that employed Portuguese. These operations, however, were typically located in the inland portions of the counties. Thus, if anything, this would serve to exaggerate the true Portuguese presence along the northern coast.

¹⁶²See Graves, 49. Also refer to appendices in Graves' work. Despite the large number of

Despite the large number of Portuguese living in non-coastal areas, some central coast counties did see increases in Portuguese population. For instance, Monterey County's Portuguese population grew from 5 to 53 between 1852 and 1860. The later figure represented approximately 1.1 percent of Monterey County's 4739 persons. Two other central coast counties also saw their Portuguese populations grow in the 1850's. By 1860, Santa Cruz County's Portuguese population climbed to 22 persons while San Luis Obispo County's had grown to 16 persons. On the other hand, the other central coast county, San Mateo County, had only 1 Portuguese resident in 1860.¹⁶³

There was also some Portuguese settlement along the coast north of San Francisco in the 1850s. The number of Portuguese in North Coast Counties was as follows: Del Norte 4, Humboldt 2, Klamath 36, Mendocino, eleven, Sonoma 6, and Marin 29. Along California's southern coast, Portuguese settlement was less significant. While Los Angeles County could claim 16 Portuguese, San Diego and Santa Barbara Counties could only claim 1 Portuguese each.¹⁶⁴

Portuguese who engaged in mining in 1860, the county with the greatest number of Portuguese, Alameda County, was not a mining region. Primarily an agricultural region and the site of the city of Oakland, Alameda County had 298 Portuguese residents in 1860. Today, Alameda County, which sits on the east side of the San Francisco Bay, retains a strong Portuguese presence. Although Alameda County had the greatest number of Portuguese, three mining counties, Tuolumne, Placer and Trinity with 203, 146 and 93 persons of Portuguese stock (of Portuguese birth or Portuguese parents) respectively were the second, third and fourth ranked counties in terms of Portuguese population.

¹⁶³1860 U.S. Census Population Schedule.

¹⁶⁴Ibid..

All told, there were 202 Portuguese living in coastal counties in 1860. This represented 13.0 percent of the Portuguese population. The central coastal counties of Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz, and San Mateo contained 96 individuals or 6.2 percent of the state's Portuguese population. By comparison, the coast counties contained 16.0 percent of the state's aggregate population and the central coast counties contained 3.9 percent of the state's total population. The above figures show that in 1860 Portuguese represented a smaller percentage of the coast's population than they did the entire state's population. On the other hand, the Portuguese were represented to a greater degree in the central coast counties than they were in the entire state.

Portuguese settlement of the coastal regions of California continued to climb in the 1860s. By 1870, 24.7 percent of California's Portuguese lived in coast counties exclusive of San Francisco County. Moreover, 14.4 percent lived in San Mateo, Santa Cruz, Monterey, and San Luis Obispo counties, an area that made up only 5.4 percent of California's total population.

The influx of Portuguese to the coast also continued in the 1870s. In 1880, the coastal Portuguese population stood at 2,097 individuals. This represented 26.3 percent of the state's Portuguese population. In part, the slight decrease in the percent population can be explained by the fact that in 1874 Monterey split in two, forming Monterey and San Benito Counties. The latter had no coastline. If we factor San Benito County's 129 Portuguese into the number of coastal Portuguese, then the percentage stands at 27.9 of the state's total Portuguese population, a slight increase over the percent for 1870.

The number of Portuguese in the central coast counties, including San Benito County, increased in 1880 to 1060 residents. This number represented 15.0 percent of the state's Portuguese population. It also represented 3.1 percent of the 34,855 total inhabitants in the central coast region, a figure nearly three times as high the percent Portuguese population statewide.

While the Portuguese population would again increase in all four central coast counties in the 1880s-- in 1890 the number of Portuguese in these counties stood at 1,995-- the percent of the state's Portuguese living in these counties only rose to 16.0 percent.

The percent of the state's total Portuguese population living in the central coast counties reached its peak in the census year 1890. On the other hand, the decennial Portuguese population for the coastal counties reached an all time high of 2,611 in 1910. However, due to greater increases in the Portuguese population in other parts of the state over the same time, this only represented 10.5 percent of the state's total Portuguese population.

We have seen how the Portuguese population of California grew, and we have examined the importance of California as a final destination for Azoreans during the 19th century. We have also examined the growth of the Portuguese population along the California's central coast, but what role did whaling play in the establishment of coastal communities, and how demographically significant were these communities? In part, these questions can be answered by examining the manuscript census records.

Some Portuguese migration to the coast was not linked to shore whaling. Marin

County, though home to the short-lived Bolinas Bomb Lance Company, had no established Portuguese whaling station. Nonetheless, Marin County had the greatest number of Portuguese in any Coastal County in 1870. With 242 Portuguese, Marin County had 7.0 percent of California's Portuguese population in that year.¹⁶⁵ The Portuguese in Marin County also constituted a larger percentage of the county's total population and the county's work force than did the Portuguese in any other coastal county.¹⁶⁶ In Marin County, Portuguese made up 3.51 percent of the population and 6.51 percent of the males age 18-45 (see Table 4). Thus, in Marin County, it may be stated with relative certainty that the seed for a vibrant Portuguese community was sown without the aid of a shore whaling station.

Other coastal counties with large Portuguese populations did have established Portuguese whaling stations. For example, with 213 Portuguese, Monterey County contained the next largest number of Portuguese among California's coastal counties. Monterey's Portuguese represented 6.17 percent of the state's Portuguese population.

In Monterey County, the Portuguese constituted only 2.16 percent of the aggregate population. On the other hand, they made up roughly 5.51 percent of the work force (males age 18-45). In 1870, San Mateo, San Luis Obispo, and Santa Cruz Counties with 213, 63,

¹⁶⁵The two industries that employed the most Portuguese in Marin County were dairy and lumber. It might also be mentioned, that the majority of those Portuguese in Marin County lived in inland communities.

¹⁶⁶The published compendium of the 1870 census listed the number of males ages 18-45 by county. I used this number to represent the county's work force population. Admittedly, the work force would probably have been slightly larger because of the low ceiling age I used.

and 60 Portuguese respectively ranked third, fourth and fifth in the total number of Portuguese among California's coastal counties.

The coincidence of Portuguese settlement in specific coastal communities and the establishment of whaling activities in these areas provide a more direct correlation between whaling and Portuguese immigration.

In 1860, for example, there was only one Portuguese in all of San Mateo County, including Pescadero.¹⁶⁷ By 1870, roughly eight years after the commencement of whaling at Pigeon Point, there were 35 Portuguese in Pescadero alone. These individuals constituted 5.3 percent of the town's population of 659 for that year. Today, the social hub of Pescadero, the regionally renowned Duarte's Tavern, attests to the town's Portuguese roots.

While the Portuguese of Pescadero made up a substantial percentage of the town's overall population, they constituted an even greater percentage of the town's work force.¹⁶⁸ Twenty-four of Pescadero's Portuguese were males between the ages of 18 and 45, roughly 8.6 percent of the town's estimated 279-person work force population (see Table 5).¹⁶⁹

Of the Portuguese males of working in Pescadero, whalers were the most numerous. Nineteen Portuguese whalers were listed as residents of Pescadero in the 1870 census.

¹⁶⁷As mentioned earlier, Pescadero was part of Santa Cruz County at this time.

¹⁶⁸The census compendium did not list statistics of age by town. Thus to calculate a town's work force, I divided the county work force population by the total population for the county and multiplied this figure by the town's population.

Thus, those listed as whalers made up 2.9 percent of the population and approximately 6.9 percent of the work force in Pescadero.¹⁷⁰

Like Pescadero, Half Moon Bay also saw the birth of a Portuguese community in the early 1860s. In 1860, there were no Portuguese in Half Moon Bay. Ten years later, there were 175 Portuguese. This represented 10.5 percent of the town's 1,665 persons. While the 1870 census does not list any of the town's individuals as whalers, the growth of the town's Portuguese community does coincide with the known establishment of whaling activities along San Mateo County's coastline. More specifically, it coincides with the dates for the establishment of whaling in Half Moon Bay as given in other sources.¹⁷¹

Farther to the south, the growth of the city of Monterey's Portuguese population can also be traced to shore whaling activity. As mentioned earlier, there were only five Portuguese living in Monterey County as late as 1852, all of who lived in the city of Monterey.¹⁷² By 1860, six years after the establishment of whaling there, Monterey's Portuguese community numbered 41 persons. With the possible exception of San Francisco's Portuguese community, it was the largest along the coast and one of the largest

¹⁷⁰In actuality, probably several more had whaled, a point that will become more evident later in this chapter.

¹⁷¹See discussion of whaling in Half Moon Bay in Chapter 1.

¹⁷²1852 California State Census.

in the state.¹⁷³ In this year, the Portuguese residents of Monterey represented 2.5 percent of the town's 1,653 persons. Of the 41 Portuguese in Monterey, there were 39 males of working age representing approximately 6.6 percent of the town's estimated 587 members of the work force.¹⁷⁴ Of Monterey's Portuguese males of work force age, 32 were whalers. Thus, whalers represented 1.9 percent of the town's total population and approximately 5.5 percent of the town's work force (see Table 6).

The number of whalers among Monterey's Portuguese population illustrates that Monterey owed the growth of its Portuguese community largely to shore whaling. Moreover, that whalers constituted a significant part of Monterey's work force shows the importance of whaling to the city as a whole. Further evidence for the importance of the whaling industry to Monterey comes from the census industrial schedules of 1860. Here,

¹⁷³Graves counted 49 individuals of Portuguese stock in San Francisco as compared to 48 in Monterey. His figure for Portuguese in Monterey exceeds mine because he included children born in the United States of at least one Portuguese born parent in his definition of "stock". Throughout the four central coastal counties, the number of Portuguese children born on US soil did not exceed 20% of the total number of Portuguese "stock". Thus, while I did not count the number of Portuguese natives in San Francisco County, I am confident that it is not substantially less than Graves' count of "stock" in the county. With this in mind, the Portuguese population of Monterey and San Francisco Counties was probably relatively close.

¹⁷⁴For this year, the approximation of Monterey County's total work force was calculated using males ages 15-50. This is due to the fact that the census compendium of 1880 tallied the men of this age group. To estimate the city of Monterey's work force, I divided the county's work force by the county's total population and multiplied this number by the city's total population.

the two whaling stations constitute half of Monterey's four industries.¹⁷⁵ The whaling industry also employed more men than either of the other two industries.

By 1870, Monterey's population stood at 1,112 persons.¹⁷⁶ In the same year, its Portuguese population had grown to 47 inhabitants, or 4.2 percent of the town's total population. Thirty-six of Monterey's Portuguese were males between the ages of 18 and 45, representing about 11.14 percent of Monterey's work force. In 1870, there were 25 whalers in Monterey. Thus, whalers made up 2.2 percent of the total population and 7.8 percent of the estimated work force.

In 1870, Monterey Township, an area that comprised the Carmel station, claimed 811 people. Of Monterey Township's population, 46 or 5.7 percent of her residents were Portuguese. Thirty-four of Monterey Township's Portuguese were males (18-45). This number made up 14.4 percent of the township's estimated 236-person work force.

Twenty-four of Monterey Township's Portuguese males or approximately 10 percent of the township's estimated labor pool were whalers. Again, as in the city of Monterey, Monterey Township was heavily populated by Portuguese, and whalers made up the body of the Portuguese population. Such figures clearly illustrate the connection between whaling and the Portuguese community in Monterey Township. They also show

¹⁷⁵The other two businesses were a lumber company and a firewood company that employed 32 and 10 men respectively.

¹⁷⁶The decrease from Monterey's 1860 population of 1,653 probably reflects the fact that the 1870 Census divided the former census district of Monterey into Monterey City and Monterey Township.

the importance of whaling to the township itself.

In San Luis Obispo County, a similar picture can be painted. There were only 16 Portuguese in the entire county in 1860. (The census for San Luis Obispo County was not divided into towns.) Ten years later, the Portuguese population had grown to 63 residents. The growth of San Luis Obispo County's Portuguese population coincided with the establishment of the county's two whaling stations in the 1860s. Santa Rosa Township, which in 1870 comprised the San Simeon station, had a Portuguese population greater than that of the entire county for 1860. Twenty-three of the township's 1111 inhabitants in 1870 were Portuguese. Twenty-one of these Portuguese were males, and 18 of the males were whalers, representing 1.6 percent of the township's entire population. While this number is not staggering by any means, Portuguese whalers did represent approximately 6.0 percent of the township's work force (see Table 7).

Down the coast, in San Luis Obispo Township, the number of Portuguese in 1870 stood at thirty-one of which 28 were male and 13 were whalers. Of a total population of 1579, whalers represented only .8 percent of San Luis Obispo residents. On the other hand, they did represent approximately 3 percent of the township's estimated 463-person work force.

Overall, in 1870, whalers made up 49 percent of the county's Portuguese population and 54.3 percent of the county's Portuguese work force. This high percent, as in the case of Monterey and San Mateo Counties, underscores the role whaling played in the

establishment of the county's Portuguese community.

Santa Barbara County was the only other county which had a group of Portuguese whalers reported in any of the U.S. Census Population Schedules.¹⁷⁷ In 1870, prior to the establishment of the Portuguese whaling station at Point Conception, there were only six Portuguese in Santa Barbara County. By 1880, one year after the inception of this station, the number of Portuguese in Santa Barbara County was 51. Of this number, 28 or 55.0 percent were whalers. As mentioned in Chapter I, though, many of the whalers appear to have been counted twice. Thus the number of Portuguese was probably around 38 and the number of whalers around 15. Unlike the areas to the north, however, there seems to be little relationship between whaling in Santa Barbara County and the establishment of a permanent community there. By 1890, eleven years after the establishment of whaling at Point Conception, the Portuguese population in Santa Barbara County had increased only modestly to 54 persons. This topic will be discussed in greater depth later in the chapter.

Census records also suggest that whaling did not play a significant role in the Portuguese settlement of Los Angeles County. First, there were no whalers ever listed in any of the federal census records for the county. Second, a small Portuguese community that did exist in Los Angeles County in the 19th Century was established before the

¹⁷⁷As discussed in the first chapter, I found little evidence other than Dias' citation linking the earlier Goleta station to the Portuguese. Even if it was Portuguese, it did not directly lead to Portuguese settlement of the area. In 1870, four years after the proposed year of inception for the station, the Portuguese population of San Barbara County stood at only 6 individuals.

inception of Portuguese whaling activity there. (In 1870, five years before the first recorded Portuguese whaling activity in Los Angeles County, there were 22 Portuguese in the county.)¹⁷⁸ Third, the population grew from only 22 in 1870 to 34 in 1880. This was during the peak years of whaling in the county.¹⁷⁹ These facts support the theory that this camp was a seasonal camp that attracted migrant whalers from other areas such as San Mateo County.

In San Diego County, it is clear that whaling led to no Portuguese settlement. In 1870, there were no residents of Portuguese birth in the county. This was nearly ten years after whaling activity began there. By 1880, there were only 5 Portuguese in the whole county. Such numbers strengthen the theory, discussed in the first chapter, that whaling was not in the hands of the Portuguese in San Diego County.

While census records suggest a correlation between shore whaling and the establishment of coastal Portuguese communities, there is a disadvantage to using the census for this type of analysis. Specifically, the census, which captures an arbitrary point in any one person's life, does not necessarily list an immigrant's first occupation on this soil.

¹⁷⁸Los Angeles County had a large population compared to other central coast counties. Relative to the county's population, the 22 Portuguese persons did not represent a large percentage of the population.

¹⁷⁹By 1880, there were only 34 Portuguese living in Los Angeles County. Again, it should be noted that the large population of the county itself statistically diminished the Portuguese presence in Los Angeles County. Thus, the Portuguese represented a much smaller fraction of the county's residents than they did in Monterey, San Mateo, and San Luis Obispo Counties. Indeed, in 1880 the Portuguese represented only .10% of Los Angeles County's 33,381 persons.

This makes it difficult to establish the importance of whaling as a gateway occupation for Portuguese immigrants. Unlike the census, the Great Register establishes a temporal continuum for each individual listed, or put another way, if the census offers a snapshot of one's life, then the Great Register offers a motion picture. In short, by using the Great Register, we can assess one's initial occupation, a fact that greatly aids the study of the relationship between occupations and settlement patterns.

Before discussing the data obtained from this valuable but often misinterpreted primary source, it is necessary to explain how I used this source in my research.

The great registers were lists of male citizens who were eligible to vote. Each county in California kept its own list.

Although the great registers did, in some counties, date back as early as 1866, it was not until 1872 that they included an individual's place of birth, an essential criteria of any ethnic study.

On the 1872 registers, individuals were categorized by the first letter of their last name. (Sometimes individuals with last names beginning with the letters X, Y and Z would be placed in one group.) For each letter of the alphabet, individuals were listed in order of the date they had registered. At the end of the year, the list was titled according to the date it was compiled and the county it represented. An example is "Great Register of Monterey County, 1872".

The registers of 1872 listed all individuals who had registered between 1866 and

1872. In subsequent years, names were added to the 1872 list in the manner described above. In most counties, the growing list would be typed and titled annually. The 1872 list, however, served as a master list.

Once an individual was added to the list the only way for him to be removed from the list was in the event that he moved, died, or had his voting privileges revoked. Moreover, once an individual was on that list all personal information he gave at the time he registered remained unchanged.

In most, if not all counties, the 1872 list was supplemented annually through 1880. After this, the original lists were essentially rendered void, and a new master list was created. At this point, even individuals who had previously registered had to reregister. In reregistering, individuals needed to provide new personal information. In many cases, this included listing a new occupation.

For the purposes of this paper I have defined a master list and all the names subsequently added to and subtracted from that master list as a set. For example, in Monterey County the first set represents printed registers for the years 1872 through 1880. This set includes, however, all individuals who registered between 1866 and 1880. The second set in Monterey County represents the years 1881 through 1888. As stated above, within a set, an individual's personal information would not change. (An exception to this rule would be if an individual left the county long enough to be removed from the list and then returned.)

Although the time frame for the first set was the same for every county I examined,

this was not the case for the second set.¹⁸⁰ For example, Monterey County's second set extended from 1881 through 1888. In San Luis Obispo County the Second Set extended from 1881 through 1884. This was not the only difference between the registers for each county. Some counties listed the place and date of naturalization of immigrants in all printed registers. The place of registration would include the county and, if outside California, the name of the state or territory where registration took place. Precise pieces of information such as the date and place of naturalization were critical in linking individuals from one set to another because, as mentioned earlier, the names of Portuguese were often quite similar or because individuals often changed their names from record to record either through the Americanization of their names, the use of different surnames, surname family name inversions or some combination of the above.

Unfortunately, San Mateo County did not give information regarding the time and place of naturalization until the 1890s. While the registers of San Luis Obispo did give the place of naturalization in the first set, the date of naturalization was not offered until the second set.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰The counties that I examined included every coastal county south of San Francisco. They also included several inland counties such as Alameda, Tulare, and Merced Counties.

¹⁸¹This was less problematic than in the case of San Mateo County because less time had elapsed between the first set and the time at which naturalization information was given. Thus, in many cases I was able to backtrack using the second set to fill in the information missing in the first set. I used the following criteria: If an individual was listed in the second set as having been naturalized after 1880 he obviously could not have been in the first set. After eliminating this group, I tried to match names, ages, and place of naturalization. Finally, I matched the date of naturalization given in the second set with the

The following data taken from the Great Register will further emphasize the important connection between whaling and Portuguese settlement. In using the Great Register, I have made one important assumption. Specifically, I have assumed the Great Register shows, if not one's initial employment in this country, then at least his first employment upon reaching the coast.¹⁸²

The first Portuguese to register to vote in Monterey County was Antonio Leonard Marshall.¹⁸³ A native of the Azorean island of St. Michael (Sao Miguel), Marshall registered on 24 September 1866. Marshall lived in the town of Monterey and listed himself as a farmer. This, however, was an uncommon occupation for early registrants in Monterey County. In 1866 and 1867, 35 of 42 (83.3 percent) of Portuguese registrants in

registration date given in the first set. This was possible because the majority of the time, individuals registered for the first time and were naturalized on the same day.

¹⁸²If we are to assume that one registered to vote when first eligible, then the Great Register first captures an immigrant's characteristics five years after he entered this county. (By law one needed to reside in the United States for five years in order to become naturalized and hence, register to vote.) In the case where an individual had spent more than five years in the state-- or the country-- prior to coming to the coast, the individual could immediately register. In such a case, the Great Register would certainly capture an individual's initial occupation upon reaching the coast. In those cases, where an immigrant initially settled on the coast, he would have to wait five years to register. I believe, however, that it is accurate to suggest that after five years most individuals would still be engaged in their initial occupation. Moreover, even if whalers did not stay in their initial occupation (whaling) for five years, this would not inflate the estimated number of Portuguese who engaged in whaling; it would reduce it.

¹⁸³The Great Register did not list Monterey Township as a distinct residence until the 1890's. Thus, in regards to the discussion of the Great Register, Monterey includes Portuguese residents of both Monterey and Monterey Township.

Monterey County listed their occupation as whaler (see Appendix A).¹⁸⁴

The first whaler and the second Portuguese to register in Monterey County was Francis Williams. He registered on 8 October 1866. As seems to have been a common practice, Williams registered on the day he was naturalized.¹⁸⁵

The ensuing two years saw a decline in the percentage of whalers among Portuguese registrants in Monterey County. In 1868 and 1869 only 4 of 22 or 18 percent of new Portuguese registrants listed themselves as whalers. One reason for this decline was the fact that most of Monterey County's new Portuguese registrants in 1868 and 1869 resided in inland farming communities such as Salinas.¹⁸⁶ In fact, during this time, the city of Monterey could claim only 9 of the new Portuguese registrants, among them the 4 whalers.

In 1870 and 1871, whaling again became the predominant occupation among Portuguese registrants in Monterey County. Of 25 new registrants, 16 (64 percent) were

¹⁸⁴Of the 7 individuals who were not whalers, at least two had whaled prior to registering. Both Frank Jose Silva, a farmer from Monterey, and Alexander Phillips, a farmer from Pajaro, were among those listed as employees of the New Portuguese Whaling Company in the 1860 U.S Census Population Schedule.

¹⁸⁵The most common exception to this trend was when an individual was naturalized outside the county.

¹⁸⁶Some of these individuals did, however, participate in shore whaling at some point. For example, Jose Rodriguez registered on 23 August 1869 as a farmer in Castroville. In the 1884 Great Register, he listed his occupation as whaler and his residence as Monterey. Such examples underscore the fact that even the Great Register failed to capture the full influence of whaling in the Portuguese community.

whalers. All 16 whalers lived in the city of Monterey where they represented all but one or 94 percent of all new registrants to the city.¹⁸⁷

From 1872 through 1875 9 of 24 or only 38 percent of new registrants to the county were whalers. In the city of Monterey, however, 9 of twelve or 75 percent of new registrants were whalers.

In 1876, there were only 2 new registrants in the city of Monterey, and 3 for the entire county. None of the 3 new registrants were whalers. The following year, however, whaling was again the main occupation for new registrants in Monterey County. Of 18 first time registrants, twelve were whalers. These twelve whalers represented the entire body of new registrant in the city of Monterey.

The first set of the Great Register for Monterey County ended after 1880. A summary of the data from this first set shows the importance of the whaling industry to Monterey County's and more specifically the City of Monterey's Portuguese community. Between 1866 and 1881, 80 of 157 or 50.9 percent of Monterey County's registrants were

¹⁸⁷Interestingly, the whalers from these years often registered in groups. For instance, five registered on 1 September 1871 and three registered 11 July 1871. It is difficult to determine why this phenomenon occurred, especially considering that registration occurred throughout the year. One possibility is that agents of the county went door to door encouraging people to register. In this case, since many whalers lived together, it would seem logical that they would register at the same time. Another is that the whalers may all have come to the area at the same time, thus making them eligible for naturalization and registration at the same time. This might be the case if they were recruited off ships in San Francisco. Such an assumption would only be sound if they all had been eligible for citizenship at the same time. This would only be the case if they had not previously lived in other parts of the United States.

whalers.

Of the 80 the whalers who registered in Monterey County in these years, 78 were residents of Monterey.¹⁸⁸ During the years 1866 through 1881, only 95 Portuguese registered in the city of Monterey. Thus, whalers represented 82 percent of the Portuguese who registered in the city of Monterey during the same years.

The Great Register reveals that a large number of Monterey County's early Portuguese immigrants were involved in the whaling industry. Previous scholars have not grasped the extent of this involvement. Moreover, the census does not reflect the number of early Portuguese immigrants who participated in the whaling industry. A sound explanation for the latter is that the census did not necessarily list an immigrant's first occupation on this soil, and whaling was often a "gateway" occupation. The Great Register on the other hand, listed initial occupations.¹⁸⁹ That whaling was an initial occupation for whalers is a point that will be further discussed in the next chapter.

The next set of the Great Register for Monterey County ran from 1882 to 1888. The occupations of the new registrants from these years reflect the documented decline in Monterey County's whaling industry. From 1881 to 1888 there were 68 new Portuguese registrants of which only 2 were whalers.¹⁹⁰ The decline of the whaling industry seems also

¹⁸⁸Of the other two, 1 came from Salinas and 1 came from Soledad.

¹⁸⁹Clearly, the latter premise implies that the whalers who made Monterey County their first residence in the United States remained in whaling at least five years.

¹⁹⁰It is interesting to note that when we examine specific years, there seems little

to have affected the general settlement pattern within the County. While from 1866 through 1880 95 Portuguese registrants had listed Monterey as their home, from 1882 to 1888 only sixteen of 67 or 24 percent of new Portuguese registrants were inhabitants of Monterey.

Although Monterey's whaling industry declined in the 1880s, it did not collapse without the infusion of new blood. As indicated by the Great Register, old hands sustained the whaling industry in a diminished capacity.

From 1882 to 1888, 79 of the original 157 Portuguese who registered between 1866 and 1880 reregistered. Moreover, of the 79 whalers from the first set of the Great Register, 39 reregistered. Of these reregistrants, 16 reregistered as whalers. Additionally, one individual, Jose Rodriguez who listed himself as a farmer from Salinas on 23 August 1869 reregistered as a whaler from Monterey in 1884.

In San Luis Obispo County, whalers did not, by 1880, represent as great a percent of the overall Portuguese population as in Monterey County. Nonetheless, they represented a very large segment of the county's first Portuguese immigrants. From 1866 to 1869 17 of 29 or 59 percent of registrants were whalers (see Appendix B). The percentage of Portuguese registering as whalers decreased over the next four years, though. From 1871 through 1875, only 7 of 24 registrants or 29 percent were whalers. Over the next four years,

correlation between the number of whalers who registered and catch records cited by contemporary sources. One very plausible explanation is that the catch records are erroneous or incomplete. Another possibility is that whalers, while relying on supplemental incomes from second occupations such as fishing and farming during lean years, still considered themselves whalers and registered as such.

there was an even more marked decline in the percentage of Portuguese who registered as whalers. From 1876 through 1880, only 4 of 53 or 8 percent of new registrants were whalers. Overall, from 1866 through 1880, there were 106 Portuguese registrants in San Luis Obispo County. Twenty-nine of these or 27 percent were whalers. Probably, the decrease in the number of Portuguese registering as whalers reflects the fact that between 1870 and 1880, whaling in San Simeon had become a seasonal occupation (See Chapter I). It may also reflect a saturation of whalers in the area.

The decline in Portuguese registrants listing whaling as their occupation continued into the next two sets of the Great Register for San Luis Obispo County. The second set of San Luis Obispo County's Great Register commenced in 1881 and ran through 1884. Out of 28 new Portuguese registrants during this time, there were no new registrants who listed their occupation as whaler. There were, however, 8 whalers out of 50 individuals who re-registered. All but one these 8 individuals had registered as whalers in the first set of the Great Register.

San Luis Obispo County's third set of the Great Register covered the years 1887 and 1888. Of 47 new Portuguese registrants during these years, there were no whalers. There were however, 7 whalers among the 70 reregistrants from the second set.

The data obtained for the Great Register of San Luis Obispo County shows that many of the initial Portuguese registrants were whalers. In making the logical assumption that the first registrants were among the first immigrants, the Great Register reveals that whaling was a main lure for Portuguese immigrants to the county. On the other hand, once

the roots of the community were established, few new Portuguese arrivals whaled.

In San Mateo County, whalers constituted a smaller number of initial Portuguese immigrants than in either San Luis Obispo or Monterey County. The first Portuguese to register in San Mateo County did so in on 5 August 1867. Joseph Seaver was, however, a resident of the inland town of San Mateo. The next four registrants in San Mateo County were also residents of this same town (see Appendix C).

The first Portuguese resident of a coastal community to register did so in 1870. Joseph Flores was a farmer from Half Moon Bay. Soon after, the first whaler registered. Frank White registered on 22 August 1871. Between 1870 and 1871, 5 of 13 registrants along the San Mateo coast were whalers. Between 1872 and 1880, only 8 of 90 registrants were whalers. After 1880, only 2 more first time residents of San Mateo County registered as whalers. Verrissimo Correia registered in 1882 and Joseph Perara registered in 1894.

Unlike Monterey and even San Luis Obispo County, where the Great Register reveals substantial participation in whaling the Great Register of San Mateo County reveals only modest participation in the industry. One possible explanation is that most whalers in San Mateo County were not citizens. This appears to be the case at least as late as 1870. According to the U.S. Census for this year, only 2 of the whalers were citizens.¹⁹¹ Following

¹⁹¹1870 U.S Census Population Schedule. Oddly, according to the Great Register, neither of those two whalers registered until later. Both, however, had already been naturalized in Monterey County. Since it was true that naturalization and initial registration usually occurred at the same time, this might show that the "rush" to vote was really a by-product of the rush to become naturalized. In other words, once naturalized some individuals felt no need to register to vote. Another explanation is that living in the rather remote coastal

from this supposition, perhaps by the time they did register (after 1870) whaling had become a second occupation.

As mentioned earlier, the absence of Portuguese whalers in the census in Los Angeles County probably stemmed from the fact that this was a winter whaling station. (The census was usually conducted from late spring through the summer.) The Great Register for Los Angeles supports the fact that whaling there was seasonal. The Great Register reveals only a small Portuguese presence in Los Angeles County during peak whaling years (16 Portuguese appeared on the 1879 register). Moreover, none of these individuals were engaged in whaling. The lack of whalers in this source suggests that, like Frank Anderson, the Portuguese who whaled in Los Angeles resided in other communities to the north.

As in Los Angeles County, I found no whalers listed in the Great Register for San Diego County. Moreover, a perusal of the Great Register from the 1870s and 1880s shows - as did the U.S. Census Population Schedules for 1860, 1870 and 1880-- that there was little Portuguese presence in this county at this time. For example, only one Portuguese was listed on the 1877 register: Joseph Alves, a laborer in the town of Julian.¹⁹²

The Great Register of Santa Barbara County offers evidence suggesting that the station at Point Conception was more than a seasonal camp. For example, four whalers,

community of Pigeon Point made registering more difficult.

¹⁹²In San Diego County, the 1877 register included individuals who had registered from 1866 through 1877.

including Frank Anderson, are found in Santa Barbara County's 1879 Great Register. This fact suggests that the whalers intended to take up permanent residence in Santa Barbara County. That more whalers were not registered may have been due to the fact that most were not citizens.

In Santa Barbara County, a new set of the register began in 1880. Oddly, none of the four whalers appear in this register. They also do not appear in any subsequent register for Santa Barbara County, though one whaler, from the 1879 Great Register, Joseph Perera, does appear later in San Mateo County registers. No additional whalers ever appear in the Great Register for Santa Barbara County.

The absence of whalers from the registers of Santa Barbara County after 1879 and the subsequent whereabouts of men like Frank Anderson are issues that remain unresolved.

Despite these questions, one aspect of whaling in Santa Barbara County seems certain: no large Portuguese settlement of Santa Barbara occurred as the result of whaling activities there. For instance, in 1879 there were eight registered Portuguese in Santa Barbara County. There were only fifteen registered Portuguese in Santa Barbara in 1890. This is hardly a significant increase compared to the large increases in Portuguese population that occurred in Monterey, San Luis Obispo and San Mateo counties during the peak of whaling activity in those locations.

TABLE 1

AGGREGATE, FOREIGN AND PORTUGUESE POPULATIONS OF CALIFORNIA 1850-1920

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Aggregate Population	92597	379994	560247	864694	1208130	1485053	2377549	3426861
Percent Increase from previous decade	-	310.4	47.4	54.3	39.7	22.9	60.1	44.1
Foreign Population	21802	146528	209831	292874	366309	367240	586432	757625
Percent Increase from previous decade	-	572.1	43.2	39.6	25.1	0.3	59.7	29.2
Portuguese Population	109	1550	3451	7990	12456	15704	25293	33409
Percent Increase from previous decade	-	1322.0	122.6	131.5	55.9	26.1	61.1	32.1
Percent of Overall Population	0.12	0.41	0.62	0.92	1.03	1.06	1.06	0.97
Percent of Foreign Population	0.5	1.1	1.6	2.7	3.4	4.3	4.3	4.4

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Published Compendiums of the Census Reports of Population, 1850-1920

TABLE 2

FOREIGN NATIONALS IN THE U.S. AND CALIFORNIA (1870) AS A PERCENT OF HOME COUNTRY'S
MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY POPULATION

Census Year	1851	1851	1849	1841	1845	1850	1855	1851	1864
Country	ENG	FRA	HOLL	IRL	DEN	SWE	NOR	SCO	AZO
Population	17927609	35753527	3056647	8168607	1407747	3482541	1490047	2888742	249135
Number of country's natives in U.S. 1870	550688	116240	46802	1855827	30098	97332	114246	140809	7178.4 *
As percent of country's Pop	3.07%	0.33%	1.53%	22.72%	2.14%	2.79%	7.67%	4.87%	2.88%
Number of country's natives in Cal. 1870	17685	8063	452	51421	1837	1944	1000	4949	2760.8 *
As percent of country's Pop	0.10%	0.02%	0.01%	0.63%	0.13%	0.06%	0.07%	0.17%	1.11%

* Figure represents 80% of the total Portuguese population in the United States.
The total Portuguese population includes individuals from both Portugal and the Atlantic Islands. (See Text).

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Published Compendium of Population Schedule, Ninth Census (1870).

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF PORTUGUESE IN CALIFORNIA COAST COUNTIES 1852-1880

	1852		1860		1860		1870		1870		1880		1880	
	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP	PORT POP	% STATE'S POP
DEL NORTE	0		4	0.26	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	21	0.26	DNE	0.00
HUMBOLDT	0		2	0.13	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	21	0.26	DNE	0.00
KLAMATH	1		29	1.87	9	0.26	2	0.06	132	1.65	DNE	0.00	DNE	0.00
MENDOCINO	0		7	0.45	2	0.06	49	1.42	159	1.99	132	1.65	159	1.99
SONOMA	0		6	0.39	49	1.42	159	1.99	159	1.99	159	1.99	159	1.99
MARIN	0		21	1.35	242	7.01	242	7.01	458	5.73	458	5.73	458	5.73
NORTH COAST TOTAL	1		69	4.45	302	8.75	302	8.75	770	9.64	770	9.64	770	9.64
SAN MATEO COUNTY	DNE		1	0.06	161	4.67	161	4.67	340	4.26	340	4.26	340	4.26
SANTA CRUZ COUNTY	1		21	1.35	60	1.74	60	1.74	184	2.30	184	2.30	184	2.30
MONTEREY COUNTY	5		53	3.42	213	6.17	213	6.17	285	3.57	285	3.57	285	3.57
SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY	1		16	1.03	63	1.83	63	1.83	260	3.25	260	3.25	260	3.25
CENTRAL COAST TOTAL	7		91	5.87	497	14.40	497	14.40	1069	13.38	1069	13.38	1069	13.38
SANTA BARBARA	0		0	0.00	6	0.17	6	0.17	51	0.64	51	0.64	51	0.64
VENTURA	DNE		DNE	0.00	-	0.00	-	0.00	15	0.19	15	0.19	15	0.19
LOS ANGELES	0		12	0.77	22	0.64	22	0.64	34	0.43	34	0.43	34	0.43
SAN DIEGO	0		0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	5	0.06	5	0.06	5	0.06
SOUTH COAST TOTAL	0		12	0.77	28	0.81	28	0.81	105	1.31	105	1.31	105	1.31
COAST TOTAL	8		172	11.10	827	23.96	827	23.96	1944	24.33	1944	24.33	1944	24.33
STATE TOTAL	*		1550	11.10	3451	23.96	3451	23.96	7990	24.33	7990	24.33	7990	24.33

* I COULD NOT FIND THIS DATA IN PUBLISHED FORM.

SOURCES: 1) 1852 California State Census (Manuscript)

2) 1860 1870- U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedules

3) 1880- Graves Immigrants in Agriculture

TABLE 4

1870 PORTUGUESE WORKFORCE AND POPULATION DATA BY COASTAL COUNTY

COUNTY***	SD	LA	SB	SLO	MON	SC	SM	MAR	SON**	MEN	KLA	HUM	DN	COAST TOTAL
POPULATION	4951	15309	7784	4772	9876	8743	6635	6903	19819	7545	1686	6140	2022	102185
WORKFORCE POPULATION (MALES 18-45)	1690	8849	2943	1398	2869	2439	2807	3289	5403	2516	1038	1955	728	37924
TOTAL PORTUGUESE POPULATION	0	22	6	63	213	60	161	242	49	25	9	0	0	850
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "PORTUGAL"	0	22	6	13	51	36	161	173		25	7	0	0	494
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "AZORES", OTHER*	0	0	0	49	162	24	0	69		0	2	0	0	306
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "MADEIRA"	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	1
PORTUGUESE MALES (18-45)	0	19	5	57	158	42	115	214		25	8	0	0	643
% OF COUNTY THAT IS PORTUGUESE	0.00	0.14	0.08	1.32	2.16	0.69	2.43	3.51	0.25	0.33	0.53	0.00	0.00	0.01
% OF COUNTY WORKFORCE, PORTUGUESE	0.00	0.21	0.17	4.08	5.51	1.72	4.10	6.51		0.99	0.77	0.00	0.00	0.02
OCCUPATIONS														
HOSTELER	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
COOPER	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
HUCKSTER	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TANNER	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
MERCHANT	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
BARBER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
NONE	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
PAINTER	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
SHOEMAKER	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
POULTRY	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
CATTLE	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
HOTEL/RESTAURANT	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	5
BOATMAN	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	5
LIME WORKER	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
CARPENTER	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
GARDENER	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
COOK	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
MARINER	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
WAREHOUSE	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
MINER	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	8
FISHER	0	3	0	1	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	9
BRICKLAYER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	9	0	0	0	0	0	10
LUMBERMAN	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	10
DIARYMAN	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	11
SHEPARD	0	0	0	5	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
TEAMSTER	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	11	0	0	0	0	0	16
WOODCHOPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	52	0	0	0	0	0	52
DAIRYLABORER	0	0	0	0	3	1	4	53	0	0	0	0	0	61
LABORER	0	5	5	1	17	8	7	35	0	12	1	0	0	91
FARM LABORER	0	1	0	9	13	5	37	23	0	3	0	0	0	91
WHALER	0	0	0	31	49	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	0	99
FARMER	0	2	0	4	44	4	41	10	0	3	0	0	0	108
TOTAL	0	19	5	57	158	42	115	214	0	25	8	0	0	643

*OTHER INCLUDES THOSE WHO LISTED ATLANTIC ISLANDS, WESTERN ISLANDS OR AN INDIVIDUAL AZOREAN ISLAND AS THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH.

**Please note, data set does not include specific data for Sonoma County.

*** San Francisco County is excluded from this analysis.

TABLE 5

1870 PORTUGUESE POPULATION AND OCCUPATION DATA FOR THE TOWNSHIPS OF SAN MATEO COUNTY

TOWNSHIP	TWNSHP 1**	TWNSHPS 2,3&4***	(HALF MOON) TWNSHP 5	(PESCAD) TWNSHP 6	TOTAL
POPULATION	1269	3042	1665	659	6635
EST. WORKFORCE POPULATION (MALES 18-45)*	537	1287	704	279	2807
TOTAL PORTUGUESE POPULATION	26	7	96	32	161
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "PORTUGAL"	26	7	96	32	161
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "AZORES" OR OTHER	0	0	0	0	0
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "MADEIRA"	0	0	0	0	0
PORTUGUESE MALES (18-45)	20	6	63	24	113
% OF TOWNSHIP THAT IS PORTUGUESE	2.05	0.23	5.77	4.86	2.43
% OF TOWNSHIP WORKFORCE THAT IS PORT.	3.73	0.47	8.94	8.61	4.03
OCCUPATIONS					
LIMEWORKER	0	0	0	0	0
LUMBERMAN	0	0	0	0	0
MARINER	0	0	0	0	0
HOSTELER	0	0	0	0	0
HOTEL/RESTAURANT	0	0	0	0	0
HUCKSTER	0	0	0	0	0
MERCHANT	0	0	0	0	0
POULTRY	0	0	0	0	0
SHEPARD	0	0	0	0	0
TANNER	0	0	0	0	0
MINER	0	0	0	0	0
NONE	0	0	0	0	0
PAINTER	0	0	0	0	0
COOPER	0	0	0	0	0
DIARYMAN	0	0	0	0	0
CATTLEMAN	0	0	0	0	0
BOATMAN	0	0	0	0	0
CARPENTER	0	0	0	0	0
FISHERMAN	0	0	0	0	0
WAREHOUSE	0	0	0	0	0
GARDENER	0	0	0	0	0
WOODCHOPPER	0	0	0	0	0
BARBER	0	0	1	0	1
BRICKLAYER	0	1	0	0	1
TEAM	0	0	1	0	1
COOK	0	1	0	0	1
OTHER	0	0	1	0	1
SHOEMAKER	0	0	1	1	2
DAIRYLABORER	0	0	0	4	4
LABORER	0	0	7	0	7
WHALER	0	0	0	19	19
FARM LABORER	10	4	22	1	37
FARMER	10	0	31	0	41
TOTAL	20	6	64	25	115

* OTHER INCLUDES THOSE WHO LISTED ATLANTIC ISLANDS, WESTERN ISLANDS, OR AN INDIVIDUAL AZOREAN ISLAND AS THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH

** TOWNSHIP 1 WAS LISTED IN THE 1870 PUBLISHED CENSUS AS SAN BRUNO

*** TOWNSHIPS 2,3 & 4 WERE LISTED IN THE 1870 PUBLISHED CENSUS AS SAN MATEO, PULGAS AND REDWOOD CITY RESPECTIVELY

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedule, 1870.

TABLE 6

1870 PORTUGUESE POPULATION AND OCCUPATION DATA FOR THE TOWNSHIPS OF MONTEREY COUNTY

TOWNSHIP	MONT MONT	MONT WNSH	ALISAL	CASTR- VILL	AJAR	SAN BENIT	SAN JAUN	TOTAL
POPULATION	1112	811	2723	1302	761	529	2638	9876
EST. WORKFORCE POPULATION (MALES 18-	323	236	791	378	221	154	766	2869
TOTAL PORTUGUESE POPULATION	47	46	23	41	33	2	21	213
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "PORTUGAL"	0	0	0	0	33	1	17	51
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "AZORES" OR OTHER	47	46	23	41	0	1	4	162
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "MADEIRA"	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PORTUGUESE MALES (18-45)	36	34	19	33	21	2	13	158
% OF TOWNSHIP THAT IS PORTUGUESE	4.23	5.67	0.84	3.15	4.34	0.38	0.80	2.16
% OF TOWNSHIP WORKFORCE THAT IS POR	11.14	14.43	2.40	8.72	9.50	1.30	1.70	5.51
OCCUPATIONS								
LUMBERMAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MARINER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
LIMEWORKER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HOSTELER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HOTEL/RESTAURANT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MERCHANT	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PAINTER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SHOEMAKER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MINER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
NONE	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
WOODCHOPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
DIARYMAN	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BARBER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
COOPER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BRICKLAYER	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
BOATMAN	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
TEAM	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
TANNER	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
POULTRY	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
COOK	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
HUCKSTER	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
FISHERMAN	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
GARDENER	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
CATTLEMAN	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	3
DAIRYLABORER	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3
CARPENTER	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
WAREHOUSE	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6
SHEPARD	0	0	7	0	0	1	1	9
FARM LABORER	1	0	4	7	0	0	1	13
LABORER	1	1	1	3	8	0	3	17
FARMER	0	5	5	15	11	1	7	44
WHALER	25	24	0	0	0	0	0	49
TOTAL	36	34	19	33	21	2	13	158

* OTHER INCLUDES THOSE WHO LISTED ATLANTIC ISLANDS, WESTERN ISLANDS OR AN INDIVIDUAL AZOREAN ISLAND AS THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedule, 1870.

TABLE 7

1870 PORTUGUESE POPULATION AND OCCUPATION DATA FOR THE
TOWNSHIPS OF SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY

TOWNSHIP	ARROYO			(San Simeon)		
	GRANDE	SALINAS	MORRO	SLO	SANTA ROSA	TOTAL
POPULATION	776	679	627	1579	1111	4772
ESTIMATED WORKFORCE POPULATION (MALES 1	227	199	184	463	325	1398
TOTAL PORTUGUESE POPULATION	3	6	0	31	23	63
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "PORTUGAL"	0	6	0	0	7	13
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "AZORES" OR OTHER	3	0	0	31	15	49
BIRTHPLACE LISTED "MADEIRA"	0	0	0	0	1	1
PORTUGUESE MALES (18-45)	3	6	0	28	20	57
% OF TOWNSHIP THAT IS PORTUGUESE	0.39	0.88	0.00	1.96	2.07	1.32
% OF TOWNSHIP WORKFORCE THAT IS PORT.	1.32	3.02	0.00	6.05	6.14	4.08
OCCUPATIONS						
BARBER	0	0	0	0	0	0
BOATMAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
BRICKLAYER	0	0	0	0	0	0
CATTLEMAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
COOK	0	0	0	0	0	0
COOPER	0	0	0	0	0	0
DAIRYLABORER	0	0	0	0	0	0
DIARYMAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
GARDENER	0	0	0	0	0	0
HUCKSTER	0	0	0	0	0	0
LIMEWORKER	0	0	0	0	0	0
LUMBERMAN	0	0	0	0	0	0
MARINER	0	0	0	0	0	0
MERCHANT	0	0	0	0	0	0
NONE	0	0	0	0	0	0
OTHER	0	0	0	0	0	0
POULTRY	0	0	0	0	0	0
SHOEMAKER	0	0	0	0	0	0
TANNER	0	0	0	0	0	0
WAREHOUSE	0	0	0	0	0	0
WOODCHOPPER	0	0	0	0	0	0
CARPENTER	0	0	0	1	0	1
FISHERMAN	0	0	0	1	0	1
HOSTELER	1	0	0	0	0	1
HOTEL/RESTAURANT	0	0	0	1	0	1
LABORER	0	0	0	0	1	1
MINER	0	0	0	1	0	1
PAINTER	0	0	0	1	0	1
TEAM	0	0	0	1	0	1
FARMER	0	0	0	4	0	4
SHEPARD	1	2	0	0	2	5
FARM LABORER	1	4	0	4	0	9
WHALER	0	0	0	14	17	31
TOTAL	3	6	0	28	20	57

* OTHER INCLUDES THOSE WHO LISTED ATLANTIC ISLANDS, WESTERN ISLANDS OR AN INDIVIDUAL AZOREAN ISLAND AS THEIR PLACE OF BIRTH

CHAPTER 3

SETTLEMENT AND PERSISTENCE PATTERNS OF PORTUGUESE WHALERS ALONG CALIFORNIA'S CENTRAL COAST: AN EXAMINATION OF THE GREAT REGISTER

[Frank Lima] landed in California, coming via the Cape Horn in 1852 as mate of a vessel, and first went into the mines on Sutter Creek, where for three years he had success. Mr. Lima then became connected with the freighting business up and down the coast, and in the sixties was captain of a whaler and manager of the Portuguese Whaling Company in California with headquarters at San Simeon.¹⁹³

The previous chapter, using the census and the Great Register, established that whaling played a significant role in luring immigrants to certain coastal areas such as Monterey.

This chapter will discuss settlement patterns of whalers, focusing on whether they stopped elsewhere in the United States or in California, prior to coming to the coast. It will also discuss the whalers' tendency to remain settled once they arrived in the whaling communities and their tendency to remain in the whaling industry.

County biographies such as Morrison's The History of San Luis Obispo County and Environs (1917), which included the story of Frank Lima, provide the most detailed and

¹⁹³Morrison, 522. The same source also reveals that "Frank Lima was born on the island of Fial March 14, 1823, the son of a sawyer. He took up the seafaring life, for twenty years sailing into many ports of the world, and even encircling the globe. He made one trip into the Arctic regions on a whaling voyage, and worked for different companies in the whaling trade... Mr. Lima married in Fial, and left his wife on the island until, after making three trips back, he permanently located in California...He came to San Luis Obispo County in 1879 bought one hundred sixty acres, half of which he later sold, and after he had farmed for several years, he bought thirteen acres near town and retired until his death, February 16, 1908, aged eighty-five years."

accurate information regarding the settlement patterns of individual whalers. Lima's biography shows that at least some individuals tried their luck at mining before turning to shore whaling.¹⁹⁴

Unfortunately, aside from Lima, there are only 3 other whalers discussed in central coast county biographies. One of these, Manual Mariano, as mentioned earlier, was discussed in Barrows's biographical history of Monterey County. Although Barrows' does not state whether Mariano came straight to Monterey when he first came to California he does note that he made his home in Boston in 1841 at the age of thirteen.

Christiano Marchado is mentioned in Guinn's 1905 work. He arrived in California from Massachusetts in 1867, and Guinn implies that he came straight to Monterey. Moreover, it is unlikely that Marchado would have gone to the Mother Lode since this was well past the peak years of gold mining.¹⁹⁵

The fourth whaler discussed in a county biography was John Perari, mentioned in Chapter I as the only Madeirense whaler identified in the census. Perari's biography also

¹⁹⁴Coincidentally, Lima's biography also suggests the most profound connection between California's Portuguese whaling camps: "the Portuguese Whaling Company...with headquarters at San Simeon...had landings at Monterey Bay, San Simeon, Port Harford (now San Luis) and San Diego." Indeed it would be plausible and even tempting to suggest that all the stations were under the same ownership. Morrison implies that this was the owner of the San Simeon camp, Joseph Clark. On the other hand, I found no other evidence to suggest this connection. Ibid..

¹⁹⁵ In 1877, he was made caretaker of mission San Carlos in Carmel. At the time, the mission was in poor condition, and it was largely due to his efforts that the mission was restored. Barrows, 648.

appeared in Morrison's work. In 1859, at twenty years of age, Perari started for the New World, "coming directly to California and locating in Santa Cruz." Perari, however, did not begin whaling immediately. Instead, he first worked on a sailing vessel.¹⁹⁶

Census records also provide some clues about the whaler's settlement patterns. For example, the census shows that in 1870, 3 whalers in Monterey County and 1 in San Luis Obispo County had children born in Massachusetts. This demonstrates that prior to coming to California, these whalers had spent time in the Bay State.

Whether it was permanent or temporary, the "layover" in New England was quite sensible.¹⁹⁷ American whaling captains actively recruited men in the Azores to serve aboard the pelagic whaling vessels in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As a result, the New England coast, dotted with ports that these vessels called home, saw many Portuguese communities established by former whalers who had either jumped ship or completed their service.

¹⁹⁶Morrison, 777.

¹⁹⁷In addition to the 4 whalers who brought their families with them from Massachusetts, there were 2 whalers listed in the 1870 census who likely brought their families with them directly from the Azores. This notion is supported by the fact that they had young children who were born in the Azores. While small, the group of six whalers who brought families with them to the whaling communities is significant in that it shows not all whalers came to California as single men and as deserters of whaling vessels. In fact, there is evidence that suggests that some whalers did not come by ship at all. A conversation this author had with the Great Grandson of one whaler, Manuel Enos of Half Moon Bay, revealed that Enos and others came to California by an overland route. (Prior to 1868 any overland trip would have involved utilizing the pioneer trails, as the golden spike linking the Union and Central Pacific railroads was not driven until 1868.)

Like the census, the Great Register also reveals that some whalers stopped on the East Coast prior to coming to California. In Monterey County for example, 9 of 82 individuals who registered as whalers between 1866 and 1888 were naturalized outside of California. Specifically, 3 whalers were naturalized in Massachusetts (no city given), 2 were naturalized in New Bedford and 1 was naturalized in Boston. Also, one whaler was naturalized in each of the following locations: Nantucket, Long Island, and New York. These were also whaling areas. In San Luis Obispo, only one whaler was naturalized outside California: John Miller in Philadelphia. San Mateo County also had one individual who was registered as a whaler and was naturalized outside the state: Antonio Daniel's, who received his citizenship in Maine.

Although both the census and the Great Register show that some whalers resided in East Coast whaling areas prior to coming to California, both sources probably underrepresent the actual number of whalers that initially resided on the East Coast. In the case of the census, the birthplace of one's children is not a very accurate indicator of one's residence prior to arriving in California, for not all whalers had children prior to their arrival. The Great Register, on the other hand, would not have "captured" those individuals who did not reside on the East Coast at least five years.

Several scholars have suggested that Portuguese took to shore whaling after meeting disappointment in California's mines. Aside from the case of Lima cited at the beginning of this chapter, I found little evidence to either affirm or refute this notion. Unfortunately,

intrastate migration cannot be determined from the census.¹⁹⁸ Unlike the census, the Great Register has the potential to show intrastate movement. For instance, in Monterey County, of 200 Portuguese registrants between 1866 and 1888, nine individuals were naturalized in gold rush counties. Of these nine individuals, however, none were among the 82 registrants who listed themselves as whalers.¹⁹⁹ In San Luis Obispo, one whaler did register first in a gold mining region.²⁰⁰ Jose Antonio Silverira registered in Nevada County (no date given) prior to coming to San Luis Obispo County.²⁰¹ In San Mateo County, no whaler was naturalized in a gold mining county.

That the Great Register fails to reveal a connection between whalers and mining should not be taken to mean that mining was not a common occupation for these men prior to their shore whaling endeavors. In fact, it is quite possible that a good portion of the whalers spent time prospecting, but did not stay in the mining regions long enough (5 years) to satisfy naturalization and registration requirements.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸Since the census only listed the state (or country) in which a person was born, and not the city or county, we cannot use the birthplace of a man's children to track his movement within the state.

¹⁹⁹There were two individuals who were naturalized in San Francisco.

²⁰⁰Of San Luis Obispo County's 225 registrants from 1866 to 1888, only 8 were naturalized in gold mining counties.

²⁰¹In the 1890s, several non-whaling Portuguese came to San Luis Obispo and Monterey Counties from Storey County Nevada. Made famous not by gold but silver, Storey County is home to Virginia City and was at the center of the Comstock rush of the 1860s.

²⁰²It would have taken five years if we assume that their first stop in the United States was a mining region. Of course, it would have been less time had they previously resided on the

Another issue concerning settlement patterns is whether whalers moved from station to station. It is assumed that many whalers were seasonal migrants who moved between two or more camps per year. Undoubtedly, this information comes from the contemporary fishing reports that were cited in Chapter I. Unfortunately, I found no additional evidence that could confirm the fishing reports.²⁰³

It has also been suggested that groups of whalers made permanent moves from one camp to another. Fishery Reports note the movement of several whalers from Pescadero to Point Conception in 1879. However, as mentioned in Chapter One, I could not verify that the entire camp had moved. I did find evidence, however, that the Pescadero station had ties to the Monterey station. Also, I found four whalers at Point Conception who had previously registered as whalers in San Luis Obispo County.

There is also some evidence in the Great Register that individual whalers moved from one whaling camp to another for periods greater than one year. The cases of Frank Anderson, Verissimo Correia, Joseph Clark and others were discussed in Chapter One. On the balance, however, the Great Registers show that once "settled" in a whaling community (by the process of naturalization or registration) few whalers registered in another whaling community. Such an act would have signified that an individual had moved. In Monterey

East Coast.

²⁰³Two sources of similar format for which the information of each was gathered at separate seasons in the same year could possibly have facilitated such an analysis. I found no two sources that satisfied these requirements. (The different formats of surveys such as the Great Register and the Census precluded cross analysis of these two sources.)

County, for instance, I found only 2 whalers who were naturalized in other whaling communities and subsequently moved to Monterey. Jose Gomez and Joseph Perera both moved from San Luis Obispo County. Neither, however, listed his occupation as whaler when they moved to Monterey. Instead, both registered as laborers, though Perera later registered as a whaler in Point Conception.

In all, only 18 whalers moved to another whaling community after having initially registered (see Appendices 1, 2 & 3).²⁰⁴ Of these, 11 whaled in their new community. San Luis Obispo County was the county that received the most whalers from other whaling communities. (Eight of her residents previously whaled in Monterey County.²⁰⁵ Four of the eight listed themselves as whalers in San Luis Obispo County.)²⁰⁶

In short, an analysis of the Great Register demonstrates that the permanent movement of whalers from one whaling camp to another was the exception and not the rule.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁴The most transient of the whalers appears to be Joseph Perra who was listed as a whaler in four different whaling communities.

²⁰⁵None came from other counties.

²⁰⁶It should be noted that one of these individuals Antonio Riggs, only moved to San Luis Obispo County for only two years 1875 and 1876. By 1877 he was back in Monterey where he again took up whaling. Since, however, these moves were permanent enough to entail registering in a new location, I do not believe that this represents seasonal migration.

²⁰⁷It is more difficult to track the permanent movement of whalers using the census. This is because the census lacks variables that could reliably link individuals from one census year to another census year. I was, however, able to track some whalers from one census record to another, and a few of these individuals were found in different locations in

While the Great Register provides some information about the movement of whalers from station to station, it provides clearer insight into a closely related but opposite phenomenon: their patterns of persistence. There are two types of persistence that we can examine using the Great Register. First, we can examine the tendency for whalers to remain in a particular community. I will refer to this characteristic as persistence in residence. Second, we can examine their tendency to continue whaling. I will refer to this as persistence in occupation.

In Chapter 2, I defined a "set" for the Great Register. An example of a set would be the Great Register of Monterey County from 1872 to 1880. To reiterate, within a Great Register set, individuals would be removed from the registry only if they moved or died. Thus, by examining two different years within a set of the Great Register, one can examine the number of individuals who persisted by residence in a community for a particular interval of time.

An analysis of the first set of Monterey County's Great Register reveals that in 1872 there were 91 registered Portuguese in Monterey County. Of these, 55 were whalers. By

separate census years. For example, Verissimo Correia appears in Monterey as a whaler in the 1870 census and Half Moon Bay as a whaler in the 1880 census. There were also a few cases of whalers who moved to another whaling community, but did not list themselves as whalers in the latter census. One example was John Periarra. He was listed as a whaler in San Luis Obispo County in 1870 and as a farmer in San Mateo County in 1880. Another example was Jose Joseph Garcia Da Rosa. In the 1870 census, he was listed as a whaler in Monterey County. He was listed as a farmer in San Mateo County in the 1880 census. I also located Da Rosa on the Mormon CD-Rom genealogical files. These files show that he was born on July 19, 1825 in the Azores. He married Maria Luisa Castro. Of Mexican decent, she was born in California prior to statehood. Da Rosa's long life ended in Oakland

1880, 55 of all Portuguese and 35 whalers still remained in the county. Thus, 63.6 percent of those individuals, who whaled at the time they registered in 1872, were still residents of the county in 1880. This compares to only 55.6 percent for non-whalers. (See Table 8)

If we assume equal mortality rates among whalers and non-whalers, then above data shows that from 1872 to 1880 whalers left the county less frequently than non-whalers. This fact suggests that during the 1870s whalers in Monterey County had a better means with which to establish permanent roots than did most non-whaling Portuguese.

The last year for the first set of the Great Register in Monterey County was 1880. The next set ran from 1881 until 1888. As stated earlier, when the first set ended, individuals who were listed in the first set were required to reregister in order to remain eligible to vote. There was, however, no law requiring them to reregister. Thus, in tracking individuals from one set to the next, one must account for the fact that a portion of those who were listed in the first set would not have reregistered. My research has indicated that this number is quite small.²⁰⁸

In light of the fact that most of those who were eligible to reregister did so, it is also valuable to analyze persistence by residence between sets.²⁰⁹ In Monterey County, 27 of 55

on 30 June 1914.

²⁰⁸For example, in Monterey County, the number of individuals present in 1880 and not present in 1884 is not significantly larger than the number that dropped off the first set between 1876 and 1880.

²⁰⁹To track an individual from one set to another, I used his name, age and date of naturalization. Without the latter, the ability to accurately track an individual from one set to the next would have been greatly diminished. This is because, as mentioned previously,

or 49.1 percent of the whalers who were registered in 1872 were still registered in 1888.²¹⁰ By comparison, only 16 of 36 or 44.4 percent of non-whalers remained on the register in 1888. Here again, the data supports the conclusion that whaling provided many individuals with the financial means to settle permanently in the community. Moreover, whaling provided a better opportunity, on average, than other occupations for establishing these roots. (See Table 8).

It is also important to note that those whalers who had registered earliest were most likely to have persisted by residence. As stated above, 49.1 percent of the whalers who registered from 1866 to 1872 appeared on the 1888 Great Register.²¹¹ On the other hand, of 25 whalers who registered between 1873 and 1880 only 11 or 44.0% remained on the register in 1888 (see Table 9). Such data suggests that those who entered into whaling the earliest were the most likely to reap its rewards.

Unlike persistence in residence, one cannot analyze persistence by occupation using a single set of the Great Register. This is because an individual's personal information would not change within a single set. On the other hand, in reregistering an individual updated his personal information. Thus, cross-referencing individuals from the first and

many Portuguese had similar names. They also listed themselves by different names from record to record.

²¹⁰By comparison, 18 of 36 or 50.0 percent of the non-whalers reregistered.

²¹¹Again, the 1872 Great Register listed individuals who had registered between 1866 and 1872.

second sets provides information about persistence in occupation.

An analysis of persistence in occupation in Monterey County reveals that of the 27 whalers on the 1872 register who remained on the register in 1888, only 9 or 33.3 percent reregistered as whalers. In comparison, of the 16 non-whalers on the 1872 register who remained registered in 1888, twelve or 75.0 percent persisted by occupation (see Table 10).²¹²

Of the 18 whalers from the 1872 register who reregistered but did not persist by occupation, ten listed their occupation as "fisherman". This suggests that a significant number of those who could not find employment in the declining whaling industry nonetheless retained some connection to the sea. All told, of the 27 whalers present in 1872 and who remained registered in 1888, 20 of 28 (70.4 percent) continued to engage in a maritime occupation. An analysis of the Great Registers also reveals valuable information about persistence levels among San Luis Obispo County's whalers. With such an analysis, however, two points must be made. First, in San Luis Obispo County, unlike Monterey County, the second set of the Great Register ended in 1884; thus the years 1885-1888 represent a third set of the Great Register. Second, between 1872 and 1880, the initial and final years of the first set, only four Portuguese were removed from the registry. I therefore did not perform a "within set" analysis of persistence by residence as I did in Monterey

²¹²Besides whaling the occupation listed most often on the 1872 register was farming, with 30 registrants. From the 1872 register to the 1888 register, 11 of 13 or 84.6 percent of farmers who persisted by residence also persisted in occupation.

County.²¹³

In San Luis Obispo County, a total of 106 Portuguese were listed on the registers of 1872, 1875 and 1880. Of this number 29 were whalers. By 1888, 15 or 51.7 percent of these whalers reregistered or in other words, persisted by residence.²¹⁴ In comparison, 41 of 77 or 53.2 percent of non-whalers reregistered.²¹⁵ Among the non-whalers, 18 of 21 or 85.7 percent of farmers and 10 of 24 laborers or 41.7 percent persisted by residence in 1888 (see Table 12).

Although the percent of whalers who reregistered is much lower than that of farmers, it must be noted that the whalers had on average come to San Luis Obispo County earlier than the farmers. In fact, of 29 whalers listed on the 1872, 1875 and 1880 (first set) registers, seventeen registered prior to 1870.²¹⁶ On the other hand, 16 of 20 farmers listed in the first set registered after 1875. In light of this fact, it is difficult to state that farmers persisted by residence to a greater degree than whalers did. It may, however, be stated that whalers persisted by residence to a greater degree than laborers. Not only did they begin residence earlier on average than the laborers, but a greater percentage of whalers

²¹³A possible explanation for this low number is that officials in San Luis Obispo County were not judicious at removing from the register those individuals who had died or moved.

²¹⁴Since this was the third set, they had actually reregistered twice.

²¹⁵Three of the county's non-whalers in the first set were barbers. Two of the three failed to reregister. Perhaps the competitive business climate had forced two of them out of the market.

²¹⁶To reiterate, the 1872 register-- the first register of the first set-- contained individuals

reregistered as well (see Table 12).

While overall, a similar percent of non-whalers and whalers from the first set were listed in the 1888 Great Register, whalers were more likely to change occupations than the non-whalers. Only 7 of 15 or 46.7 percent of whalers from the 1880 Great Register persisted by occupation in 1888.²¹⁷ By comparison, 73.2 percent of non-whalers persisted by occupation. Among the non-whalers, 16 of 18 (88.9 percent) of farmers and 4 of 10 (40 percent) of laborers present in 1880, persisted by occupation in 1888 (See Table 13). Probably, the decline in the whaling industry contributed to the fact that whalers did not persist in occupation to as high degree as non-whalers in San Luis Obispo County.

It is also interesting to compare both the persistence in residence and the persistence in occupation of whalers in San Luis Obispo County and Monterey County.²¹⁸ In San Luis Obispo County, 11 of 21 or 52.4 percent of whalers present in 1872 were present in 1888. By comparison, 28 of 55 or 51.0 percent of the whalers in Monterey County present in 1872 were present in 1888. In San Luis Obispo County, 5 of 11 whalers or 45 percent present in 1872 persisted by occupation in 1888. Four of the remaining 6 became farmers. In

who registered from 1866 through 1872.

²¹⁷As mentioned previously, the percent persistence by occupation is a measure of those who retained the same occupation divided by the number who persisted by residence.

²¹⁸Such a comparison is limited by the fact that the Great Register was not standardized from county to county. Thus, such analysis compares whalers who were present in Monterey County in 1872 and reregistered between 1881 and 1888 to whalers in San Luis Obispo County who were present in 1872 and reregistered between 1885 and 1888.

Monterey County, 10 of 28 or 36 percent of the whalers present in 1872 persisted by occupation in 1888. Twenty-one percent became farmers.

Such a comparison of data in Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties shows that persistence by residence values were very similar in both counties. Persistence by occupation values were not as similar, though the data is less sound because of the small numbers used.

An analysis of persistence in San Mateo County would be significantly less fruitful than in either Monterey or San Luis Obispo Counties. This is because of the smaller number of whalers appearing in that county's Great Register and because San Mateo County never listed the date and place of naturalization prior to 1890. The latter makes linking whalers from one set of the register to another difficult and less than reliable.

With these two conditions in mind, I did not carry out an (in depth) analysis of persistence in San Mateo County. The following is a summary of data taken from the Great Register of San Mateo County from 1872 through 1890.²¹⁹

In 1879, which represented the penultimate year of the first set, there were 89 Portuguese registered in the coastal towns of San Mateo County. Of these, 10 were

²¹⁹Because of the difficulty of tracking individuals from one register to the next in San Mateo County, I have only listed individuals living in the coastal townships of San Mateo County. It should be noted, however, that there were much fewer Portuguese in all years of the Great Register living in the inland communities. It should also be noted that the Coast Range separates San Mateo County's coastal towns from its inland towns. Thus, individuals living in the inland towns would probably not have whaled-- at least as long as they were living in these towns.

whalers.²²⁰ By 1888, 41 or 46 percent of all Portuguese present in 1879 had reregistered. When broken down between whalers and non-whalers, 6 of 10 or 60 percent of whalers reregistered versus, 35 of 79 or 44 percent of non-whalers.

Questions concerning the settlement patterns of California's shore whalers have long interested, but largely eluded, scholars. This chapter has addressed several of these questions.

For instance, some whalers resided in East Coast whaling communities prior to coming to California. The lives of two such individuals, Christian Machado and Manual Mariano are discussed in detail in county biographies. The most comprehensive information concerning this issue, however, comes from the census and the Great Registers, though even these sources understate the true number of whalers who resided in Eastern whaling communities prior to their arrival in California.

Less information exists to support the claim that once in California, and prior to coming to the coast, many whalers had mined. The census provides no means with which to gauge intrastate migration, and although the Great Register can be used to determine intrastate migration, it revealed only one whaler who had previously resided in a mining region. The later fact should not, however, be interpreted to mean that few Portuguese tried their luck mining before turning to shore whaling. Indeed, individuals may have mined yet

²²⁰I could not locate the 1880 Great Register for San Mateo County.

left the mines before becoming eligible to register.²²¹ In such cases, the Great Register would have failed to "capture" the mining venture.

Although I was unable to statistically analyze the movement of the whalers prior to arriving on the coast, I was able to analyze their persistence in residence and occupation once they settled in a particular whaling community. This was accomplished using the Great Registers. A summary of data collected from the Great Registers shows that in both Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties, many individuals who whaled established roots--at least, to approximately the same degree as non-whaling Portuguese. In other words, whaling probably provided a sufficient income to settle in the community.

The analysis also shows that in both Monterey County and San Luis Obispo County a number of whalers who registered prior to 1881 persisted by occupation in the late 1880s. This is particularly striking because very few new registrants listed their occupation as "whaler" at this time. Also, the whalers who registered prior to 1873 persisted by occupation to a greater extent than whalers who registered after 1872 did. These facts suggest that for many, whaling was more than a "gateway" occupation. Indeed, whaling may well have been a desirable, competitive occupation in which positions were retained by senior members of the community, particularly during lean years. The analysis of persistence also reveals differences between the whalers of Monterey County and San Luis Obispo County. For instance, in Monterey County, when whalers did move to other

²²¹An immigrant had to reside in the United States five years before he could naturalize. Moreover, an individual had to be naturalized to register.

occupations, they most often became fishermen. This suggests that either because of fondness, familiarity or financial gain, these whalers often retained their connection to the sea. In San Luis Obispo County, on the other hand all former whalers who changed occupations engaged in terrestrial occupations.

The Great Register has been the primary source used in this chapter's analysis of the settlement patterns of California's Portuguese whalers. The next chapter will use the census to analyze the demographics of several settled whaling communities.

TABLE 8
 PERSISTENCE IN RESIDENCE FOR PORTUGUESE
 REGISTRANTS IN MONTEREY COUNTY 1872 TO 1880

	TOTAL # APPEARING ON 1872 REGISTER	WITHIN SET		SET 1 TO SET 2	
		# PERSISTING TO 1880 REGISTER	% PERSISTING TO 1880 REGISTER	# PERSISTING TO 1888 REGISTER	% PERSISTING TO 1888 REGISTER
ALL OCC	91	55	60.4%	43	47.3%
WHALER	55	35	63.6%	27	49.1%
NON-WHALER	36	20	55.6%	16	44.4%
FARMER	30	15	50.0%	11	36.7%
LABORER	2	1	50.0%	1	50.0%
OTHER	4	4	100.0%	4	100.0%

SOURCE: Great Register of Monterey County 1872, 1880, 1888.

TABLE 9

PERSISTENCE IN RESIDENCE FOR PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS
OF MONTEREY COUNTY (1876-1880) TO 1888

	TOTAL # APPEARING ON 1876 AND 1880 REGISTERS	SET 1 TO SET 2 PERSISTENCE	
		# PERSISTING TO 1888 REGISTER	% PERSISTING TO 1888 REGISTER
ALL OCC	66	36	54.5%
WHALER	25	11	44.0%
NON-WHALER	41	25	61.0%
FARMER	20	15	75.0%
LABORER	10	6	60.0%
OTHER	11	4	36.4%

SOURCE: Great Register 1876, 1880, 1888, Monterey County

TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONAL PERSISTENCE FOR PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS IN MONTEREY COUNTY 1872 TO 1888

	TOTAL # WHO		# WHO		%		%		NEW		%		NEW		%		NEW		%	
	1872	1888	1872	1888	PERSIST	DIF	PERSIST	DIF	WHAL	FARMER	FISHER	LABOR	OTHER	OCC	OCC	OCC	OCC	OCC	OCC	OCC
ALL OCC	91	43	21	22	48.8%	51.2%	1	8	10	2	10	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2.3%
WHALER	55	27	9	18	33.3%	66.7%	---	6	10	1	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3.7%
NON-WHALER	36	16	12	4	75.0%	25.0%	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
FARMER	30	11	9	2	81.8%	18.2%	1	---	0	---	0	---	1	---	---	---	---	---	---	9.1%
LABORER	2	1	1	0	100.0%	0.0%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
OTHER	4	4	2	2	50.0%	50.0%	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%

* PERCENT PERSISTENCE BY OCCUPATION IS DETERMINED BY DIVIDING PERSISTENCE IN OCCUPATION BY PERSISTENCE IN RESIDENCE AND MULTIPLYING THE QUOTIENT BY 100.

SOURCE: Great Register, Monterey County 1872, 1888

TABLE 11

OCCUPATIONAL PERSISTENCE FOR PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS OF MONTEREY COUNTY (1876-1880) TO 1888

	# WHO		%	# WITH		%	NEW		%	NEW		%	NEW		%
	RESIDENC	IN 1888		DIFF	DIFF		WHAL	OCC		FARMER	OCC		FISHER	OCC	
ALL OCC	66	36	80.6%	11	30.6%	0	0.0%	6	16.7%	2	5.6%	1	2.8%	2	5.6%
WHALER	25	11	54.5%	5	45.5%	-----	-----	3	27.3%	1	9.1%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%
NON-WHAL	41	25	80.0%	6	24.0%	0	0.0%	3	12.0%	1	4.0%	0	0.0%	2	8.0%
FARMER	20	15	100.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	-----	-----	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
LABORER	10	6	50.0%	3	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	16.7%	0	0.0%	-----	-----	2	33.3%
OTHER	11	4	50.0%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	1	25.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	-----	-----

*PERCENT PERSISTENCE BY OCCUPATION IS DETERMINED BY DIVIDING PERSISTENCE IN OCCUPATION BY PERSISTENCE IN RESIDENCE A
MULTIPLYING THE QUOCIENT BY 100.

SOURCE: Great Register, Monterey County 1876, 1880, 1888.

TABLE 12

PERSISTENCE IN RESIDENCE FOR PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS
IN SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY (1872-1880) TO (1888)

	TOTAL 1872-1880 REGISTERS	SET 1 TO SET 3	
		# PERSISTING TO 1888 REGISTER	# PERSISTING TO 1888 REGISTER
ALL OCC	106	56	52.8%
WHALER	29	15	51.7%
NON-WHALER	77	41	53.2%
FARMER	21	18	85.7%
LABORER	24	10	41.7%
OTHER	32	13	40.6%

SOURCE: Great Register, San Luis Obispo County 1872, 1875, 1880, 1888

TABLE 13

OCCUPATIONAL PERSISTENCE FOR PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS IN SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY (1872-1880) TO 1888

	TOTAL # WHO		# WHO		%	%	NEW		NEW		NEW		NEW			
	REGIST- RANTS 1872-1880	PERSIST IN 1888	RESID IN 1888	OCC OCC*			DIFF OCC	WHALER OCC	FARMER OCC	FISHER OCC	LABOR OCC	OTHER OCC	WHALER OCC	FARMER OCC	FISHER OCC	LABOR OCC
ALL OCC	106	56	37	66.1%	19	33.9%	1	1.8%	11	19.6%	0	0.0%	1	1.8%	6	10.7%
WHALER	29	15	7	46.7%	8	53.3%	-----	-----	6	40.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	13.3%
NON-WHAL	77	41	30	73.2%	11	26.8%	1	2.4%	5	12.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.4%	4	9.8%
FARMER	21	18	16	88.9%	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	-----	-----	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	11.1%
LABORER	24	10	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	1	10.0%	3	30.0%	0	0.0%	-----	-----	2	20.0%
OTHER	32	13	10	76.9%	3	23.1%	0	0.0%	2	15.4%	0	0.0%	1	7.7%	-----	-----

* THE DENOMINATOR USED TO DETERMINE PERCENT PERSISTENCE IN OCCUPATION IS PERSISTENCE BY RESIDENCE.

SOURCE: Great Register 1872, 1875, 1880, 1888, San Luis Obispo County.

TABLE 14
 REGISTRANTS BY OCCUPATION, FIRST SET (1872-1880), SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY

	FIRST SET		
	1872	1875	1880
TOTAL	34	8	64
WHALER	21	3	5
NON-WHALER	13	5	59
FARMER	2	1	17
LABORER	1	1	22
OTHER	10	3	20

SOURCE: Great Register, San Luis Obispo County 1872, 1875, 1880.

CHAPTER 4

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF CALIFORNIA'S PORTUGUESE WHALING COMMUNITIES: AN EXAMINATION OF THE 1860, 1870 AND 1880 U.S. CENSUS POPULATION SCHEDULES

Here, on the high headland, are clustered some dozen cottages, inhabited by the coast whalers and their families. The men are all "Gees" Portuguese from the Azores or Western Islands. They are a stout hardy looking race, grossly ignorant, dirty, and superstitious. They work hard, and are doing well in business.²²²

Colonel Evans wrote the above account of the Pigeon Point station during his travels through California in 1869. It is interesting to compare this description to the account Scammon gave of the Carmel station five years later:

Scattered around the foot-hills, which come to the water's edge, are the neatly whitewashed cabins of the whalers, nearly all of whom are Portuguese from the Azores or Western Islands of the Atlantic. They have their families with them, and keep a pig, sheep, goat or cow, prowling around the premises; these, with a small gardening patch, yielding principally corn and pumpkins, make up the general picture of the hamlet, which is a paradise to the thrifty clan in comparison with the homes of their childhood.²²³

Although these two accounts differ in tone, they both point to a feature common to all Portuguese whaling stations: they were manned almost exclusively by Azoreans. Most of the whaling communities' demographic characteristics, however, were not so invariable. For instance, the presence of women and children, mentioned in both accounts, were not

²²²Evans, 44-46.

²²³Scammon, 250.

features common to all whaling communities. Instead, the presence of women and children in the whaling communities was a phenomenon that varied spatially and, in the case of Monterey, increased with time.

This chapter will describe the social characteristics of the Portuguese shore whaling communities. Using these attributes as indicators, this chapter will also show how the whaling communities matured with time and differed by location in their degrees of social development.

Previous descriptions of the whaling communities come from a handful of contemporary reports, the most comprehensive of which were those given by Evans and Scammon. This chapter will rely primarily on the U.S. Census Population Schedules to paint the picture of the whaling communities. It is organized primarily along chronological lines for the census years 1860, 1870 and 1880. For each census year, however, I will discuss topics (census variables) and make comparisons between the stations that existed in that year.

Two stations were listed in 1860, both in Monterey. With the exception of the American, Captain Davenport, who lived with his family, all 14 of the whalers from the New Portuguese Whaling Company lived under one roof, as did the 17 members of the Old Portuguese Whaling Company (see Table 15).²²⁴ Davenport actually owned the building in

²²⁴In Monterey's Portuguese community of 1860, the tendency to live in group quarters was not restricted to whalers. In fact all but 4 of Monterey's 20 non-whaler Portuguese lived in group quarters in this year.

which the Old Portuguese Whaling Company lived. It is still standing and presently functions as a whaling museum.²²⁵

Typically, Monterey's whalers in 1860 were rather young by today's standards, with a mean age of 28 years (see Table 16). Fittingly, the members of the Old Portuguese Whaling Company were older on average than those of the New Portuguese Whaling Company. The mean age of the former was 30.1 years, while the mean age of the later was 25.7 years.

As a whole, the whalers of Monterey were younger on average than other members of Monterey County's Portuguese community, whose mean age was 34.9 years in 1860. That whaling was pursued by younger men supports the argument made earlier that whaling was an initial occupation for many Portuguese immigrants to Monterey County.

While none of Monterey's whalers could be considered rich in 1860, they had begun to acquire assets. By this time, nine members of the Old Portuguese Whaling Company had acquired personal estates valued at \$400, while 4 had acquired estates valued at \$200 (see Table 17).²²⁶ In fact, only 4 members of the Old Portuguese Whaling Company did not have personal estates in 1860. Probably, they represented the newest members of the

²²⁵I was unable to determine the building in which the members of the New Portuguese Whaling Company lived.

²²⁶By comparison, a random sample of twenty non-Portuguese in Monterey County revealed a mean personal estate value of \$2355. The median value, however, was only \$200. Nine of the individuals had no estate at all. It should also be noted that one non-whaling Portuguese, John Wynn, a farmer in Alisal, had a person estate valued at \$15,000.

company.

Among the members of the New Portuguese Whaling Company, only John Davenport had acquired a personal estate, valued at \$4,000.²²⁷ If we accept the census at face value, then the more recent inception of the New Portuguese Whaling Company might explain why none of its members had acquired personal assets.

In addition to having the greatest personal assets among Monterey's whalers in 1860, John Davenport was also the only whaler from either company who had acquired land. His land holdings, which included what is today the Old Whaling Museum, were valued at \$100 (see Table 18).

Although, the young age of the whalers and their lack of land ownership attest to the incipience of Monterey's whaling community, this phenomenon is most clearly illustrated by the absence of women from the community. Although the 1860 census does not include marital status as a variable, no Portuguese whaler resided in the same household as a woman, suggesting either the whalers were unwed, or they were living apart from their wives (see Table 19).²²⁸ Other records, in fact, support the argument that few of the whalers

²²⁷Even given the later inception of the New Portuguese Whaling Company, the lack of any personal estates among its members is surprising considering that annual company earnings were close to those for the Old Portuguese Whaling Company. As stated earlier, the industrial schedules show annual earnings of \$9,000 for the New Portuguese Whaling Company compared to \$10,000 for the Old Portuguese Whaling Company.

²²⁸Even if a man lived in a group quarters, his wife would have been listed underneath him. Sometimes but not always her occupation would be listed as wife.

were married at this time.²²⁹

In Monterey, the site where California's shore whaling began, the persons listing themselves as whalers constituted a more developed social unit in 1870 than they did in 1860. One noticeable change was the increase in the average age of Monterey County's whalers. The mean age for whalers in Monterey had increased to 32.9 years while at the Carmel station, which as mentioned earlier, represented a branch of the Monterey whaling community, the mean age of the whalers was 35.2 years (see Table 16).

An increase in the average age of Monterey County's whalers reflects the fact that some of the whalers in Monterey County in 1870 were also whaling there in 1860. An example of such an individual is Manuel Mariano. Mariano appears as a whaler in both the 1860 and 1870 censuses. On the other hand, the fact that the average age rose substantially less than ten years probably reflects the infusion of new, young blood into the community. An example of this new blood would be Joseph Alves who at age 22 in 1870 would

²²⁹A few whalers can be tracked from the 1860 census to other records that indicate that year they were married. These other records show that none were married before 1860. For example, according to the 1900 census, Alexander Phillips was married in 1863. Frank Ambrosio, according to the Mormon Genealogical files on CD-Rom, was married in 1865. Manuel Mariano's biography in the 1875 County History states that he was married in 1863. Another fact that lends support to the proposition that none of the whalers in 1860 were married is that of those traced to the 1870 census, none had children over nine years of age. Additionally, I have found very few married Portuguese males from either the 1880 or 1900 censuses (these records listed marital status) that were married and living apart from their wives, supporting my proposal that men living without women were unwed. Finally, there is a category in the 1860 census that asks if a person had been married within the last year. No whaler had. There is, however, some question as to the accuracy of this variable; for, in the case of Monterey, I found no married couples of any ethnic background that fit this description.

undoubtedly have been too young to have been a shore whaler in 1860.

Since the overall number of whalers did not increase from 1860 to 1870, the new whalers would have likely been hired to replace men who left the industry, men such as Frank Ambrosio who was listed as a whaler with the Old Portuguese Whaling Company in 1860 and as farmer in Monterey Township in 1870.²³⁰

As in Monterey County, the mean age of the whalers at the other three stations listed in 1870 census was over 30 years of age. In fact, on average, the oldest whalers in the state were at San Simeon where the mean age of the whalers was 38.2. The second oldest whalers on average were also found in San Luis Obispo County. At the Port Harford Station, the mean age of the whalers was 36.1 years. At the Pescadero station the mean age was 32.1 years (see Table 16).

At the Monterey station in 1870, 10 of the 27 whalers had personal estates that

²³⁰ Of course the best way to determine how many of Monterey's whalers in 1870 also whaled in 1860 would have been to have tracked every whaler from the 1860 census to the 1870 census. Unfortunately, this task proved impossible. In fact, besides Mariano, Ambrosio, and John Davenport, I was only able to definitively track two other whalers from 1860 to 1870. These were Jose Santos and Alexander Phillips; both listed as farmers in Castroville in 1870. One reason that tracking whalers is so difficult is that—following Portuguese custom--- they tended to have several names. Moreover, the names they were listed by often changed from document to document. (For instance, Frank Ambrosio was listed in the 1870 census under the name Frank Jose Silva.) A problem specific to the 1860 census is that many members of the New Portuguese Whaling Company were listed by first name only. The problems listed above make it very difficult to track individuals by name alone. In some cases, other characteristics such as age could be used to track an individual from one census to another. Even the combination of age and name tended to be unreliable though; for many of the early whalers were of similar age as well as name. In later years, I found the name of one's spouse could provide enough additional information to make an accurate match. Unfortunately, none of the whalers in 1860 were married.

ranged in value from \$100 to \$3000. The whaler with the largest personal estate was Manuel Mariano. At the Carmel station in 1870, only 4 of 24 whalers had accumulated personal estates. Two of these were valued at \$100 another at \$300. Manuel Silva had assets of \$800 (see Table 17).

At first, it may seem the fact that fewer whalers in 1870 had personal estates than in 1860 contradicts the image of a maturing whaling community. In fact, there is a plausible explanation for this phenomenon. Those who represented the old hands who were whaling in 1860 were probably the whalers that had large personal large estates in 1870. In some cases, such as that of Manuel Mariano, these estates had grown substantially. The whalers who had small estates or no estates, on the other hand, were likely those who represented the industry's new blood.

Although Monterey County had the whaler with the largest personal estate in 1870, it was at Pigeon Point where the whalers had the largest personal estates on average. Here, 15 of the members had personal estates valued at \$1500 and four members had estates valued at \$1150. In contrast, at the Port Harford station, no whaler had accumulated a personal estate. Up the coast from Port Harford at the San Simeon station, only Joseph Clark, the captain of the station, had acquired a personal estate. Clark's estate was valued at \$1600 (see Table 17).

A question that arises from the examination of personal estates is why did whalers in Pescadero have larger personal estates on average than in the more mature whaling community of Monterey? The most likely answers are that in Pescadero few of the original

whalers had moved into other careers and few new whalers had joined the company in recent years. Thus, on average, the whalers there had longer to build their assets.²³¹

One troubling question in the discussion of personal estates is why, with the exception of Joseph Clark, did the whalers in San Luis Obispo County have none. In the case of the Port Harford station, this may be due to the recent beginnings of the company: at the time of the census, the station was only two years old. However, for this supposition to prove sound, a necessary inference would be that the whalers here had not attained prior estates elsewhere. In other words, it is unlikely that they would have previously tapped into the somewhat lucrative shore whaling industry. Although no source states what Marshall or any of the other whalers had done prior to coming to Port Harford, it is possible that they started the station with no prior shore whaling experience.

Although the station at Port Harford was relatively new, the station at San Simeon had been opened for at least six years. Why hadn't the whalers here obtained personal

²³¹An examination of the variable for personal estate also reveals a similarity between the Pigeon Point station in 1870 and the Old Portuguese Whaling Company in 1860. At both stations, all whalers had one of two incomes. This phenomenon might suggest that the whalers at these stations represented one or two blocks of hiring. For example, because the whalers at Pescadero had one of two personal estate values, this could indicate they were hired at one of two times and worked at the same rate of pay; or perhaps, they were all hired at the same time and worked for one of two rates of pay. Certainly, however, it seems evident from the variable for personal estate, that individuals at these stations were not hired at several different times. A third conclusion is that indeed the whalers worked on a two-tier lay system, but that the two figures represent annual wages. If we took this line of reasoning one step further, would it be too speculative to suggest that because they all had one of two personal asset values that any secondary employment was done as a group and that profits from such income were divided equally?

estates here? We know that Clark hired a new crew every season. Perhaps then, instead of hiring the same employees year after year, each season Clark hired persons who had recently arrived on the coast.

As mentioned earlier, with the exception of John Davenport, none of Monterey's whalers had real estate in 1860. By contrast, 8 of Monterey's whalers had acquired land by 1870.²³² Again, these were likely the old hands of the whaling community (see Table 18).

In addition to the whalers at Monterey, one of Carmel's whalers had acquired real estate. Manuel Silva, the same individual with the largest personal estate among Carmel's whalers, had land valued at \$800. None of the whalers at the other three Portuguese whaling stations in 1870 had acquired land.²³³ At least in the case of the station at Pigeon Point, this is because the land on which the station was situated was leased (see Table 18).

The 1860s saw many of the whalers marry. In Monterey, in 1870, 12 of 27 or 44.4 percent of whalers were married. In Carmel, in the same year, 9 of 24 or 37.5 percent of whalers were married (see Table 19). The presence of married whalers in 1870 in both Carmel and Monterey supports the idea that the whalers of Monterey County were more socially developed than they had been in 1860.

²³²All 8 of this group were among the 10 whalers with personal estates. It should also be noted that the wealthiest of Monterey's whalers, Manuel Mariano, was one of the two who had personal estates but did not own land. The whaler with the most valuable land holdings was Captain Perera whose real estate was valued at \$1500

²³³A perusal of the 1900 census for Monterey County (this source listed a variable for land ownership) revealed that even by this year many Portuguese who had been in county over 20 years still rented land.

Pigeon Point in 1870 had a percentage of married whalers similar to that in Carmel. Here, 7 of 19 or 36.8 percent of whalers were married. In San Luis Obispo County in 1870, fewer of the whalers at both the county's stations had wives. At the San Simeon station, only 3 of 18 whalers had wives. Again, this data suggests that these men might have been recent arrivals to the coast. At the Port Harford station, only 2 of the 14 whalers had wives (see Table 19).²³⁴

Throughout the state, 34 of 104 or 33 percent of whalers were married in 1870. The wives of the whalers in this year came from only a few locations. Of the 13 whalers' wives in Monterey, 8 came from the Azores, 4 came from California and 1 came from Massachusetts. At Carmel, 7 came from the Azores and 2 from California. In Pescadero, all 7 of the whalers' wives were listed as natives of Portugal.²³⁵ At the San Simeon station, 1 listed her birthplace as Portugal, 1 came from the Western Islands and 1 hailed from Peru. Both of the women at the Port Harford station hailed from the Azores.

The data on the whalers' wives shows that, in most cases, the whalers in 1870 had married Azorean women. Moreover, when they did not marry Azoreans they married women from regions in which the Catholic faith predominated.²³⁶

²³⁴Please note that I have assumed that if a whaler was not living with his wife, then he was unwed.

²³⁵Portugal was given as the place of birth for all these women. However, like their husbands they were almost certainly from the Azores.

²³⁶All of the whalers who married California women in 1870, married women born prior to the seizure of California. Thus, these women were almost certainly of Mexican decent, a

Unlike in 1860 when all whalers lived in group quarters, in 1870 many of Monterey County's whalers lived in single family homes. In Carmel, 9 of the 24 whalers lived in single family dwellings.²³⁷ In the city of Monterey in 1870, 11 of the 27 whalers lived in single family residences (see Table 15).²³⁸ That many whalers lived in single family dwellings serves as yet another sign of a developing social group.

In the other whaling communities listed in the 1870 census most whalers lived together. Thirteen of Pescadero's 19 whalers in 1870 lived in group housing.²³⁹ At Port Harford, 12 of the fourteen whalers lived together under one roof. Finally, in San Simeon 15 of 18 whalers lived in group housing (see Table 15).²⁴⁰

The 1870 census introduced a new variable, citizenship, to the list of census

fact supported by their Christian names. Also, as Mexicans, these women were most likely of Catholic faith.

²³⁷These 15 were divided into four separate dwellings. One dwelling housed 7 whalers, another dwelling housed two whalers, and two other dwellings housed 3 whalers apiece.

²³⁸The whalers living together were divided into two dwellings. One, the Old Whaling House, housed 11 of the whalers.

²³⁹Ten of these 13 individuals lived in one dwelling, 3 in another.

²⁴⁰These were divided among two dwellings of 13 and 2 whalers apiece. It should also be noted that while group housing usually consisted of one or more men, a group home could also contain families living together or families boarding with single men. For example, John Perry and his wife and child lived with 11 other males at the Port Harford camp in 1870. In the same camp, however, Joaquim Jordan and his family lived separately. Overall, it was the trend for married whalers to live in separate quarters in 1870. In fact, of the 34 married whalers in this year, only 4 lived in households with another male.

demographics.²⁴¹ In Monterey, 14 of 24 whalers were citizens (see Table 20). While this value can not be compared to 1860, it can be correlated with marriage rates in 1870. In Monterey, only 3 of the 14 non-citizen whalers were married versus 11 of the 14 whalers who were citizens. This might be expected, as the propensity for an individual to acquire both citizenship and a wife would likely increase with time.

In Carmel, 9 of 23 whalers had acquired citizenship by 1870. Again we see some correlation between marriage and citizenship. Here, only 2 of 14 whalers without citizenship were married. On the other hand, 6 of the 9 whalers with citizenship were married.

In Pescadero, only 2 of the 18 whalers had acquired citizenship. This small number seems rather odd considering the fact that the whaling station was nine years old. Here, there are too few whalers with citizenship to draw any correlation with marital status. It is worth noting though that both married whalers were also citizens.

The constitutional relations of the whalers at San Simeon offer a puzzling case. Here, 15 of the 18 whalers were citizens. Why were so many whalers here citizens on the one hand, while on the other hand, so few of the whalers were married? As mentioned earlier, this station may have attracted migrant laborers. Perhaps, then, these migrant laborers came without their spouses. If this were the case, then my earlier assumption (that a man living without a women in the same household was unmarried) is not sound in all

²⁴¹In 1870, this variable applied only to men.

cases. As mentioned earlier though, I found no other evidence to indicate that my assumption was false.²⁴² Another possibility is that the whalers here, while being late comers to the coast, had been in the United States long enough to establish citizenship; yet as demonstrated by their late arrival to the coast, they had not developed the settled life conducive with matrimony.

No whalers from San Luis Obispo County were listed in the 1880 census; nor were there any whalers listed in Pescadero or Carmel in this census. The census of 1880 does, however, show that the face of the Monterey whaling community continued to change in the 1870s. By 1880, the mean age of the whalers in the city of Monterey had increased to 39.2. Also, in 1880 a greater percentage of whalers were married in Monterey County than in 1870. According to a new census variable that specifically listed marital status, 10 of 11 Monterey's whalers or 91 percent were married in 1880.²⁴³

Increases in both the average age of the whalers and the percent of married whalers suggest that Monterey's whalers as a group were more socially developed in 1880 than in

²⁴²If nothing else, the apparent inconsistencies of whaler demographics at San Simeon illustrate a problem of using the census in this study. Had one's marital status been asked, and had married whalers indeed been found to have been living without their wives, then definitive statements about migrant whaling could have been made.

²⁴³None of these married whalers lived apart from their wives. Perhaps this shows that whalers, in the pursuit of seasonal work, did not leave their wives behind. If this was the case, then this might suggest that the whalers of San Luis Obispo County in 1870 did not have wives living in other locations. To reiterate, when discussing the 1860 and 1870 censuses (which do not list marital status) I assumed that a man was unmarried if a woman by the same last name did not live in the same dwelling.

1870. This fact is supported the percent decrease of whalers living in group housing from 1870 (59.3%) to 1880 (18.2%) (see Table 15).

Unfortunately, the 1880 census did not include certain demographic variables present in the 1860 and 1870 census that could have served as further indicators of this development. Two variables present in the censuses of 1860 and 1870 but absent from the 1880 census were personal and real estate values. Also, the valuable citizenship variable, present in 1870, was absent in 1880. In addition to the whaling community in Monterey, there was one other whaling community listed in the 1880 census.²⁴⁴ This was at Point Conception. The whalers here differed markedly from those in Monterey in 1880.

At Point Conception, the mean age of the whalers was 32, far lower than in Monterey in 1880 (see Table 16). A plausible explanation for the low average age at Point Conception was that this camp was manned by a new generation of whalers, a generation with few links to the early days of California shore whaling. This theory is bolstered by the fact that of 15 whalers, only one, Frank Anderson, was married (see Table 19).²⁴⁵

Another distinction between the Point Conception Camp and Monterey communities of 1880 was the fact that in Point Conception nearly all the whalers lived in group quarters. In fact, only Frank Anderson lived apart from other whalers. This may

²⁴⁴I do not consider the three whalers in San Mateo County listed in the 1880 census to constitute a community.

²⁴⁵It is worth noting that the 2 whalers from Half Moon Bay and 1 whaler from Pescadero who appeared in the 1880 census were also married.

again point to the social immaturity of the Point Conception whaling community. It might also reveal that this station served migrant workers.

The analysis of the census variables through three decades reveals a process of social maturation in Monterey County. In 1860, single men, who owned no land and lived in a few group dwellings, manned the Monterey whaling stations. By 1870, many of Monterey County's whalers had acquired families and land, and several now lived in single family dwellings. Also, the average age of the whalers had increased by almost five years from the previous decade.

By 1880, Monterey's whaling community had further matured, with nearly all whalers now being married and living in single dwellings. In addition, the average age of the whalers climbed between 1870 and 1880 as it had in the previous decade.

That the demographics of Monterey's whaling community changed over time not only shows community development, it also suggests that many of the same whalers continued to whale. After all, if whaling had only represented an initial form of employment, then one might expect the demographics for the whaling communities to have remained more static over time. Instead, mean age increased from one census to the next as did marriage rates and personal assets and land ownership.

Comparisons can also be made between stations in different locations, particularly in the year 1870. As expected, the whalers of the Monterey station had higher rates of marriage, citizenship, and land ownership than whalers at most other stations at this time did. This reflects Monterey's role as the most mature whaling community. Most

demographics also indicate that in 1870, the Carmel station, a hybrid of the Monterey whaling community, was the second most mature station.

In 1880, the whaling communities of Monterey and Point Conception stand in stark contrast. The census indicates that the latter was much less developed than the former. The percentage of whalers who were married at Point Conception was substantially lower than at Monterey as was the mean age of the whalers. Also, the whalers at Point Conception lived in group housing. These facts seem to suggest that the relatively new Point Conception station was comprised, in part, by a latter wave of immigrants with little prior shore whaling experience.²⁴⁶

While census data provides valuable comparisons between the stations the data does not always seem consistent. In fact, the station at San Simeon raises questions concerning

²⁴⁶One census variable that I did not discuss in this chapter is literacy. It does, nonetheless deserve mention. In regards to literacy, the 1860 census gives what almost certainly amounts to misinformation. All whalers of both the Old Portuguese Whaling Company and the New Portuguese Whaling Company are listed as literate. Later census records reveal, however, that the body of whalers were illiterate. For example, in 1870 only 22 of 101 whalers in the state were literate. Most scholars agree that the body of California's Portuguese immigrants were illiterate. In fact, most secondary sources indicate that even a 22 percent literacy rate may have been high. Perhaps then, miscommunication between the census taker and the whalers was at the root of the mistake in the 1860 census. It should also be noted that members of Monterey's other ethnic groups, in particular English speaking ethnic groups, were often listed as illiterate in the 1860 census. This fact suggests that the definition of literacy was not loosely applied. Another category in the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses asked whether an individual was a criminal, convict, or invalid. I found only two whalers in all years who fit any of these classifications. Manuel Lewis and Manuel Trinidad were both listed in the 1880 census for Monterey as crippled

the assumptions and correlations that were made in regards to the other stations in 1870. For example, it is difficult to explain why so few of the whalers here were married, while so many of them had acquired citizenship. In other locations whalers with citizenship tended to be married. Despite such problems the interpretation of census variables has added important information to the story of California's shore whalers, a story unlike any other in the state's rich history.

TABLE 15
 CENSUS HOUSEHOLD DATA FOR PORTUGUESE WHALERS
 AND SELECTED NON-WHALERS 1860-1880

	LIVING IN GROUP HOUSING	% IN GROUP HOUSING	LIVING IN SINGLE FAMILY DWELLING	% IN SFD	TOTAL
1860 WHALERS	31	100.0%	0	0.0%	31
MONTEREY (OLD PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	17	100.0%	0	0.0%	17
MONTEREY (NEW PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	14	100.0%	0	0.0%	14
1860 NON-WHALERS					
MONTEREY	16	80.0%	4	20.0%	20
1870 WHALERS	71	69.6%	31	30.4%	102
PESCADERO	13	68.4%	6	31.6%	19
MONTEREY	16	59.3%	11	40.7%	27
MONTEREY TOWNSHIP	15	62.5%	9	37.5%	24
SAN SIMEON	15	83.3%	3	16.7%	18
PORT HARFORD	12	85.7%	2	14.3%	14
1880 WHALERS	16	61.5%	10	38.5%	26
MONTEREY	2	18.2%	9	81.8%	11
POINT CONCEPTION	14	93.3%	1	6.7%	15

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedules 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE 16
 MEAN AND MEDIAN AGE DATA FOR PORTUGUESE WHALERS
 AND SELECTED NON-WHALERS 1860-1880

	MEAN	MEDIAN
1860 WHALERS	28.0	29.5
MONTEREY (OLD PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	30.1	30.0
MONTEREY (NEW PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	25.7	24.5
1860 NON-WHALERS		
MONTEREY	34.9	33.0
1870 WHALERS		
PESCADERO	32.1	34.5
MONTEREY	32.9	30.0
MONTEREY TOWNSHIP	35.2	33.0
SAN SIMEON	38.2	40.0
PORT HARFORD	36.1	36.0
1880 WHALERS		
MONTEREY	39.2	38.0
POINT CONCEPTION	32.0	28.0

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedules 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE 17

PERSONAL ESTATE DATA FOR PORTUGUESE WHALERS
AND SELECTED NON-WHALERS 1860, 1870

	NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH DOLLAR VALUE										Total			
	0	100	150	200	300	400	500	800	1150	1200		1500	1600	>1500
1860 WHALERS														
MONTEREY (OLD PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	4			4		9								17
MONTEREY (NEW PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	14													14
1860 NON-WHALERS														
MONTEREY	15					2	1						2	20
1870 WHALERS														
PESCADERO														
MONTEREY	17	1	1		4	2		4		15			1	19
MONTEREY TOWNSHIP	20	2			1			1					1	27
SAN SIMEON	17													24
PORT HARFORD	14												1	18
	14													14

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedules 1860, 1870.

TABLE 18
 REAL ESTATE DATA FOR PORTUGUESE WHALERS
 AND SELECTED NON-WHALERS 1860, 1870.

	NUMBER OF PERSONS AT EACH DOLLAR VALUE										Total	
	0	250	300	400	700	800	1000	1100	1450	1500		
1860 WHALERS												
MONTEREY (OLD PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	17											17
MONTEREY (NEW PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	14											14
1860 NON-WHALERS												
MONTEREY	17	1				1			1			20
1870 WHALERS												
PESCADERO	19											19
MONTEREY	19		1			1	1	1				27
MONTEREY TOWNSHIP	23			2				1				24
SAN SIMEON	18						1					18
PORT HARFORD	14											14

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedules 1860, 1870.

TABLE 19
 MARRIAGE DATA FOR PORTUGUESE WHALERS
 AND SELECTED NON-WHALERS, 1860-1880

		%	NON-	%	
	MARRIED	MARRIE	MARRIED	NON-MARR	TOTAL
1860 WHALERS	0	0.0%	31	0.0%	31
MONTEREY (OLD PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	0	0.0%	17	100.0%	17
MONTEREY (NEW PORTUGUESE WHALING CO.)	0	0.0%	14	100.0%	14
1860 NON-WHALERS					
MONTEREY	5	25.0%	15	75.0%	20
1870 WHALERS	35	34.3%	67	65.7%	102
PESCADERO	7	36.8%	12	63.2%	19
MONTEREY	12	44.4%	15	55.6%	27
MONTEREY TOWNSHIP	9	37.5%	15	62.5%	24
SAN SIMEON	4	22.2%	14	77.8%	18
PORT HARFORD	3	21.4%	11	78.6%	14
1880 WHALERS	11	42.3%	15	57.7%	26
MONTEREY	10	90.9%	1	9.1%	11
POINT CONCEPTION	1	6.7%	14	93.3%	15

Marital status was not listed in the 1860 and 1870 censuses. It is assumed that a man was married if a woman was listed below him in the same household. Often times, her occupation would be listed as "wife".

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedules 1860, 1870, 1880.

TABLE 20
CITIZENSHIP DATA FOR WHALERS, 1870.

TOWN	CITIZEN	% CITIZEN	NON-CIT	% NON-CIT	WHALERS TOTAL
PESCADERO	2	10.5%	17	89.5%	19
MONTEREY	14	51.9%	13	48.1%	27
MONTEREY TOWNSHIP	9	37.5%	15	62.5%	24
SAN SIMEON	15	83.3%	3	16.7%	18
PORT HARFORD	1	7.1%	13	92.9%	14

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Manuscript Population Schedule, 1870.

CONCLUSION

John Davenport, a Rhode Island native with ties to the high seas whaling industry, introduced shore whaling to California. This occurred in 1854 when Davenport established the Portuguese Whaling Company in Monterey. A drop in the price of whale oil and a decrease in the whale catch would eventually cause the industry to decline; fifty years later, shore whaling had nearly disappeared.

Shore whaling was carried out at fifteen locations along the coast of California.²⁴⁷ In addition, smaller, temporary sites of whaling activity probably also existed yet passed unrecorded. At most of these sites, whaling was carried out by Portuguese immigrants from the Azores. The Portuguese did not exercise exclusive control over the industry. In fact, some stations had no connection to the Portuguese.

The first chapter of this thesis distinguishes the Portuguese shore whaling stations from those not controlled by the Portuguese. Those that were almost entirely in the hands of the Portuguese were located along the central and south coast of the state and were the most important and longest lasting stations. The ephemeral stations north of San Francisco do not appear to have had any Portuguese ties. Also, in the extreme south of the state, Americans ran the San Diego station.

In addition to distinguishing the stations as Portuguese or non-Portuguese, the first

²⁴⁷I am including the city of Monterey's companies as one site. Also, I am considering the Los Angeles County stations as one site.

chapter of this thesis discusses important names and dates associated with each station. In many cases, the discussion presented in this chapter refutes spurious information that has been passed down from nineteenth century fishing reports and Edwin Starks' early twentieth century history of shore whaling to the present day. For instance, Frank Anderson came to San Mateo County at least five years earlier than previously believed.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Portuguese immigration to California began in 1815, when Antonio Rocha deserted the ship Columbia in the town of Monterey. His arrival commenced a trickle of immigration that turned to a steady stream after California achieved statehood in 1849. In 1850, the state's Portuguese population stood at 109 persons. By 1900 there were 7,990 Portuguese in California and by 1920 the state was home to 33,409 Portuguese residents.

The Portuguese were never among California's most numerically significant immigrant groups (statewide). However, between 1850 and 1900, in areas such as California's central coast, the Portuguese-- specifically the Azoreans-- represented a significant percent of the population. During this period, they usually represented an even greater percentage of the workforce in these locations.

One of the reasons for the large Portuguese presence along California's central coast was the shore whaling industry. In fact, whaling played a more significant role in luring immigrants to the coast than most scholars have previously indicated. For example, according to my analysis of the Great Register, prior to 1873, the majority of Monterey's large Portuguese population had participated in shore whaling at some point.

Not only did whaling draw Portuguese immigrants to the coast, but in those areas with established and enduring whaling stations, the industry opened the way for the large scale, permanent settlement of Portuguese, many of whom never whaled. Evidence of Portuguese settlement can be seen in such towns as Pescadero, Half Moon Bay and Monterey where Portuguese culture survives to this day.

The third chapter of this thesis analyzed the settlement patterns of the whalers. Among the issues addressed in this chapter was the following question: did the whalers stop in other parts of California or other states before joining the shore whaling industry?

Clearly, some whalers stopped on the East Coast, particularly coastal New England, prior to coming to California. Such a stop was natural, as New England was another site of large scale, Portuguese settlement. Some whalers also sought riches in the gold fields of California before coming to the coast. Unfortunately, because of the limitations inherent in the available primary sources, we cannot determine what percent of whalers made stops in either, if not both locations.

Once whalers moved to a particular coastal region, a large percent established permanent roots. In fact, whalers tended to persist in residence to approximately the same degree as non-whaling Portuguese in both San Luis Obispo and Monterey counties. My research also indicates that it was the older whalers who tended to persist in residence to the greatest extent. Despite the fact that many whalers set down roots in the first location they whaled, there is evidence that some moved to other locations. Some of these whalers moved in groups. For instance, a group of whalers moved from Pescadero to Point

Conception. Other whalers seem to have moved by themselves. There is also evidence that some whalers were seasonal migrants who whaled in more than one location during the year.

Although many men who whaled tended to persist in residence, many did not remain whalers. Some moved to terrestrial occupations such as farming, while others, especially in Monterey County became fishermen. Nonetheless, for those individuals who left whaling but remained in the community, whaling probably provided the necessary means with which to establish their roots.

There were also some individuals for whom whaling was a life- long occupation. These tended to be the persons who had the earliest association with the whaling industry. This suggests that whaling was a desirable occupation, an industry where senior members retained their positions during lean years.

The fourth chapter of this thesis discussed the social fabric of those whaling communities listed in the census. In Monterey County, the whaling community matured as time progressed. Specifically, marriage rates among whalers in 1870 were higher than they were in 1860. They climbed again in 1880. The average age of the whalers also increased in both 1870 and 1880. Though the 1880 census did not show real estate values, the fact that more whalers had land in 1870 than in 1860 also demonstrates the maturation of the whaling community in the 1860s.

The analysis of census demographics in this chapter also revealed that the whaling community in Monterey was more socially developed than any other whaling community in

1870. At this time, the whalers in Monterey had a higher rate of marriage and land ownership than did the whalers at any other station. Also, compared to the stations in Pescadero and San Luis Obispo, the Monterey station had a higher percent of whalers who had become citizens by 1870. The role of Monterey as the most socially developed station does not, however, come as a surprise, for Monterey's whaling community was the oldest.

In researching and writing this thesis, I encountered several problems. Some of these problems were inherent in any study of the census and Great Registers for the years I used. For example, the Census Bureau used disparate demographics in different census years. Also, one must deal with the absence of the 1890 manuscript census records that were lost to fire. In using the Great Register, one can only obtain information on persons who had been in the country for five or more years.

Some of the problems were exacerbated by the population I chose to study. For instance, the propensity for a Portuguese to change his name or to list, from his copious collection of appellations, different combinations of names in different years made studying the whalers particularly difficult.

As a result of the limitations of the primary sources, there were some questions I was unable to answer to my satisfaction: Did the early whalers come straight to the coast or did they go first to the gold fields? Was seasonal movement a common practice among whalers, or were they engaged in other occupations in their home community during the down season? I also was unable to determine what happened to Frank Anderson and the incipient whaling community in Santa Barbara County after 1880-- though this mystery

cannot be attributed to the paucity of sources. Anderson may simply have died or he may have moved. Needless to say, I did not find him listed in any central coast county in either the 1900 census or any voting registers after 1879.

Despite the problems I encountered, this thesis has answered several important questions regarding Azorean whalers and Portuguese settlement along California's central coast. I also believe that this thesis has provided a valuable and, to my knowledge, unused method of research. Specifically, I believe that my method of analyzing the Great Registers could be used in a much broader ethnic study. Such a study might compare persistence in residence or persistence in occupation for all immigrant groups. Such a study could also analyze inter- and intra-state migration patterns for any immigrant groups during the last quarter of the 19th century.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS OF MONTEREY COUNTY, 1866-1888.

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER			NAME	AGE	POB	OCCUPATIO			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURALIZ	PLACE OF NATURALIZED
	SET1	SET2	SET3				SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	72-80 SET	81-88 SET	89-94 SET		
09/24/66	YES	YES	YES	MARSHALL, ANTONIO I	34	STMICHE	FARMER	FARMER		MON	MON		09/24/60	BOSTON
09/26/66	YES	YES	NO	DUTRA, WILLIAM	44	FAYAL	FARMER			MON			04/08/62	MONTEREY CO
10/08/66	YES	YES	YES	ALEXANDER, MIGUEL	34	W ISLANI	WHALER	FISHERMAI		MON	MON		10/08/66	MONTEREY CO
10/08/66	YES	YES	YES	KING, JOSEPH	31	W ISLANI	WHALER	WHALER		MON	MON		10/08/66	MONTEREY CO
10/08/66	YES	YES	YES	VITRA, ANTONIO	34	W ISLANI	WHALER	DAIRY		MON	MON		10/08/66	MONTEREY CO
10/08/66	YES	YES	YES	WILLIAMS, FRANCIS	34	W ISLANI	WHALER		DAIRY	MON			10/08/66	MONTEREY CO
10/13/66	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, ANTONIO	32	W ISLANI	FARMER			CAS			10/13/56	NEVADA CO
10/13/66	YES	SLO	NO	RIGGS, ANTONIO	42	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			09/01/63	MONTEREY CO
10/13/66	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, MANUEL	28	W ISLANI	TAVERNKE	TAVERN	MERCHANT	MON	MON		09/01/63	MONTEREY CO
10/13/66	YES	YES	YES	MACHADO, CHRISTIAN	26	STMICHE	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON		05/30/65	BOSTON
11/03/66	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, MANUEL VILLA	29	FLORES	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON		08/03/63	MONTEREY CO
01/29/67	YES	YES	YES	ROSE, MANUEL	42	W ISLANI	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON		08/12/61	MONTEREY CO
06/01/67	YES	YES	YES	TRINIDAD, MANUEL	34	AZORES	WHALER	WHALER	FISHERMAI	MON	MON		09/01/63	MONTEREY CO
07/20/67	YES	YES	YES	PRAY, JOSEPH	36	PORTUG/	WHALER			MON	MON		05/27/51	MASSACHUSETT:
07/24/67	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, WILLIAM	31	W ISLANI	WHALER	WHALER	LABORER	MON	MON			NEWBEDFORD
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	JOSEPH, ANTONIO	45	FAYAL	WHALER			MON			03/15/50	NEWBEDFORD
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	NUNES, MANUEL	36	FLORES	FARMER			CAS			08/03/63	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	BITENCURT, JOSEPH	32	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			09/01/63	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	YES	CORICHE, FRANCISCO	41	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON	MON		09/21/63	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	BISPO, DOMINGO	35	W ISLANI	WHALER	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	MON	MON		07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	NO	NO	NO	FRANCIS, ANTONIO	42	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	FRETIS, JOSEPH	32	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	GARCIA, JOHN	41	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	YES	JOSEPH, MANUEL	28	W ISLANI	WHALER	WHALER	FISHERMAI	MON	MON		07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	YES	MARTIN, MANUEL LAW	26	PORTUG/	WHALER	FARMER		SOL	CAS		07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	YES	MILLER, JOHN PETER	23	W ISLANI	WHALER	FISHERMAI	GARDENER	MON	MON		07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	OLIVAS, ANTONIO LUIS	29	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	YES	OLIVAS, JOSEPH LEWIS	31	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON	MON		07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	YES	PERERA, ANTONIO RUI	26	W ISLANI	WHALER	WHALER		MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	SANTOS, JOSEPH	35	W ISLANI	WHALER	FISHERMAI		SAL			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, FRANK	31	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	SILVAS, ANTONIO	37	W ISLANI	WHALER			MON			07/29/67	MONTEREY CO
07/29/67	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, JOSEPH	40	PORTUG/	LABOR			MON			08/05/67	MONTEREY CO

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE	POB	OCCUPATIO			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURALIZ	PLACE OF NATURALIZED		
	SET1	SET2	SET3	SET4				SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3				
08/05/67	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	ROSE, JOSE GARCIA DE	43	W ISLANI	WHALER	72-80 SET 1	81-88 SET 2	94 SET 3	09/03/63	MONTEREY CO	
08/15/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	VIERRA, ROLLIN JOSE	32	W ISLANI	FARMER	CAS	BLA	BLA	07/10/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/26/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	PHILLIPS, ALEXANDER	35	W ISLANI	FARMER	PAJ	CAS	CAS	09/03/67	MONTEREY CO	
08/28/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, FRANK JOSEPH	37	W ISLANI	FARMER	MON	TOR	TOR	09/01/63	MONTEREY CO	
09/23/67	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ALEXANDER, JOAQUIM	29	W ISLANI	WHALER	MON	TOR	TOR	07/29/67	MONTEREY CO	
09/23/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	ALEXANDER, JOHN	27	W ISLANI	WHALER	MON	SAL	SAL	09/23/67	MONTEREY CO	
09/23/67	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ALEXANDER, MANUEL	40	W ISLANI	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	09/23/67	MONTEREY CO	
09/23/67	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	CORRIO, VERISSINO	33	W ISLANI	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	09/23/67	MONTEREY CO	
09/29/67	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	MANUEL, FRANCIS	40	FAYAL	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	09/30/50	SAN FRANCISCO	
09/22/68	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO	WTH, JOHN	43	FLORES	FARMER	MON	SAL	SAL	11/27/57	MASSACHUSETT.	
09/26/68	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	MACIAL, ANTONIO	43	W ISLANI	FARMER	MON	NAT	NAT	12/07/67	SANTA CRUZ	
09/29/68	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	SILVA, ANTONIO	40	PORTUG/	FARMER	MON	NAT	NAT	08/16/78	SAN BENITO CO	
10/01/68	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	MARCHADO, MANUEL	35	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	MON	MON	09/01/63	MONTEREY CO	
10/03/68	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	JOSEPH, LOUIS	36	PORTUG/	WHALER	LABORER	FISHERMAY	LABORER	07/12/69	MONTEREY CO	
10/05/68	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	WILLIAMS, JOHN	40	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	SR	SR	10/05/68	MONTEREY CO	
04/13/69	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	BROWN, FRANCIS V	32	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	SR	SR	04/13/69	MONTEREY CO	
06/07/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	KING, JOSEPH II	37	PORTUG/	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	12/17/60	MONTEREY CO	
07/16/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	PRAY, JOHN VIERRA	37	PORTUG/	WHALER	MON	MON	SAL	07/16/69	MONTEREY CO	
07/31/69	YES	YES	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	JOSEPH, MARCELINO	36	W ISLANI	LABOR	MON	SUR	MON	04/11/62	MONTEREY CO	
08/03/69	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	SILVA, JOSEPH	34	YES	WHALER	LABORER	FISHERMAY	LABORER	07/29/67	MONTEREY CO	
08/04/69	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	SILVA, JOHN	35	PORTUG/	FARMER	MON	HOL	HOL	09/03/67	SANTA CLARA	
08/23/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	BROWN, MANNEL	30	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	CAS	CAS	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	DAVIS, JOHN	29	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	SR	SR	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	ENOS, ANGEL	28	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	CAS	CAS	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	GEORGE, MANUEL	24	PORTUG/	BAKER	MON	MON	MON	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES	NUNEZ, JOHN	26	FLORES	FARMER	CAS	SAL	CAS	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	RODRIGUEZ, JOSEPH	28	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	MON	MON	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVAS, MANUEL	24	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	CAS	CAS	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/69	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	SIMAS, CYPRIAM	29	PORTUG/	FARMER	CAS	CAS	CAS	08/23/69	MONTEREY CO	
08/25/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	LUIS, MANUEL	36	PORTUG/	WHALER	FISHERMAY	MERCHANT	LABORER	07/29/67	MONTEREY CO	
05/31/70	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	FRERBAS, JOSEPH	33	PORTUG/	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	PAJ	07/29/67	MONTEREY CO	
05/31/70	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	WILLIAMS, FRANK	36	PORTUG/	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	PAJ	01/05/70	SANTA CRUZ	
03/20/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	GONZALVES, MANUEL	43	W ISLANI	WHALER	WHALER	JANITOR	MON	MON	03/20/71	MONTEREY CO

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTER	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER			NAME	AGE	POB	OCCUPATIO			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURALIZ	PLACE OF NATURALIZED	
	SET1	SET2	SET3				SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3			
03/20/71	YES	YES	YES	SUIZER, JOHN	45	W ISLANI	72-80	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	72-80	81-88	94	03/20/71	MONTEREY CO
07/10/71	YES	NO	NO	SILVA, JOSEPH	30	W ISLANI	72-80	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	72-80	81-88	94	10/16/61	LONG ISLAND
07/10/71	YES	YES	YES	VIERRA, ROLLIN JOSE	27	W ISLANI	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	81-88	94	08/15/67	MONTEREY CO	
07/11/71	YES	NO	NO	REZENDE, FRANK JOSE	38	W ISLANI	94	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	94		07/11/71	MONTEREY CO	
07/11/71	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, ESTOLANO	30	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER	FISHERMAN			07/11/71	MONTEREY CO	
07/11/71	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, FRANK J	30	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER	LABORER			07/11/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/05/71	YES	NO	NO	NORRIS, THOMAS	45	PORTUG/		WHALER	WHALER				08/04/54	MASSACHUSETT.	
08/14/71	YES	YES	YES	VICEUTE, JOSE	26	W ISLANI		FARMER	FARMER				08/14/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/16/71	YES	NO	NO	BOIN, JOHN DAVILA	23	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER				08/16/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/16/71	YES	YES	YES	DEMAREL, FRANK	26	W ISLANI		FARMER	FARMER				08/16/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/16/71	YES	YES	YES	NUÑEZ, ANDREW	23	W ISLANI		FARMER	FARMER				08/16/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/16/71	YES	NO	NO	SILVA, MANUEL YGNAL	23	W ISLANI		FARMER	FARMER				08/16/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/17/71	YES	NO	NO	DAVILA, MATEO	31	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				08/17/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/71	YES	YES	NO	DAVIS, ANTONIO	24	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				08/09/67	SAN FRANCISCO	
08/25/71	YES	NO	NO	SERPA, FRANCISCO YGI	31	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				08/09/59	NANTUCKET	
08/25/71	YES	YES	YES	SEARLE, WILLIAM ANT	54	MADERA/		MERCHANT	MERCHANT				08/14/71	MONTEREY CO	
08/26/71	YES	YES	YES	PEDRO, JOSE	28	PORTUG/		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/71	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/71	YES	YES	YES	FRETTIS, MANNEL	24	W ISLANI		WHALER	FISHERMAN	FISHERMAN			09/01/71	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/71	YES	NO	NO	GONZALEZ, FRANCISCO	31	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/71	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/71	YES	NO	NO	PEREZ, JOSE	28	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/71	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/71	YES	NO	NO	RODRIGNEZ, JOSE	40	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/71	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/71	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, JOHN VIERRA	40	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/71	MONTEREY CO	
07/01/72	YES	NO	NO	CARDOZA, MANUEL JO	34	W ISLANI		FARMER	FARMER				07/01/72	MONTEREY CO	
10/16/72	NO	YES	YES	BOUIN, MANUEL D	25	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER				10/23/71	SAN FRANCISCO	
10/29/72	NO	YES	NO	RODRIGUEZ, FRANCISC	42	W ISLANI		NONE	LABORER	LABORER			08/11/63	MONTEREY CO	
10/31/72	NO	YES	YES	BOIN, ANTONIO A	22	PORTUG/		LABORER	ENGINEER	LABORER			10/23/71	SAN FRANCISCO	
11/04/72	NO	YES	NO	PEDRO, NICHOLAS ANT	49	PORTUG/		LABORER	ENGINEER	LABORER			11/04/72	MONTEREY CO	
11/07/72	NO	YES	NO	BRENDERO, FRANK AN	35	W ISLANI		FARMER	FARMER	FARMER			11/07/72	MONTEREY CO	
07/07/73	NO	YES	NO	MATAS, AUGUSTIN SIL	35	PORTUG/		SHEEP	FARMER	FARMER			07/07/73	MONTEREY CO	
08/23/73	NO	YES	NO	WHITE, FRANK	35	PORTUG/		WHALER	WHALER						
09/01/73	NO	YES	YES	SOUZA, FRANCISCO ED	42	MADERA/		RAIL	RAIL	FARMER			02/06/69	SAN FRANCISCO	
09/01/73	NO	YES	NO	FALHO, MANUEL	30	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/73	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/73	NO	YES	NO	FELICIAN, ANTONIO	27	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/73	MONTEREY CO	
09/01/73	NO	YES	YES	LEONADA, JOHN MACH	27	W ISLANI		WHALER	WHALER				09/01/73	MONTEREY CO	

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE	POB	OCCUPATIO			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURALIZ	PLACE OF NATURALIZED	
	SET1	SET2	SET3	SET3				SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3			
09/01/73	NO	YES	YES	YES	MONES, MANUEL	28	W ISLANI	72-80	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER	MON	MON	MON	09/01/73	MONTEREY CO
09/01/73	NO	YES	NO	NO	PERERA, JOSEPH VIERR	32	W ISLANI	72-80	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	SAL	09/01/73	MONTEREY CO
09/01/73	NO	YES	NO	NO	ROSA, JOSEPH	22	W ISLANI	81-88	CAR	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	SAL	09/01/73	MONTEREY CO
09/01/73	NO	YES	YES	YES	VIERRA, CATO JOSEPH	41	W ISLANI	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	CAS	09/01/73	MONTEREY CO
09/01/73	NO	YES	YES	NO	BISPO, JOSE LORENZO	46	W ISLANI	81-88	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	SAA		NEW YORK
09/01/73	NO	NO	NO	YES	ENOS, FRANK	21	AZORES	72-80	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	SAL	09/01/73	MONTEREY CO
09/01/73	NO	YES	YES	YES	YGNACIO, JUAN	26	W ISLANI	81-88	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	MON		SONOMA CO
07/13/74	NO	YES	NO	NO	FLORES, WILLIAM	33	W ISLANI	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	SAL	BLA	BLA	07/10/75	MONTEREY CO
07/10/75	NO	YES	YES	YES	VIERA, JOSE FRANCISCO	36	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	BLA	BLA	07/21/75	MONTEREY CO
07/21/75	NO	YES	YES	YES	BORGES, ANTONIO SILVA	24	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	SAL	SAL	07/30/75	MONTEREY CO
08/30/75	NO	YES	YES	NO	MARTINEZ, MANUEL	36	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	SR	CAS	CAS	09/02/67	SANTA CRUZ CO
09/01/75	NO	YES	YES	YES	ANTONE, JOSEPH	40	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	CAS	CAS	09/04/71	SANTA CRUZ CO
11/03/76	NO	NO	YES	NO	FARIER, ANTONIO	42	PORTUG/	81-88	TEAMSTER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	MON	09/04/71	SANTA CRUZ CO
11/04/76	NO	NO	YES	NO	PERRA, JOSEPH	29	FAYAL	81-88	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	SOL	09/04/71	SANTA CRUZ CO
12/07/76	NO	NO	YES	YES	ALVIS, JOHN PERRY	46	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	SOL	SOL	SOL	12/07/76	MONTEREY CO
07/11/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVA, MANUEL Y	24	PORTUG/	81-88	LABORER	RESTAURA	FARMER	SAL	SAL	SAL	07/11/77	MONTEREY CO
08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	DUARTE, JOSEPH	27	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	SILVA, JOSE	47	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	SIMAS, MANUEL	23	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	SOISA, MANUEL	26	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	VICTORINO, ANTONIO J	22	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	CAR	08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
08/18/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	JOSEPH, JOHN	31	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	FISHERMAN	FARMER	MON	MON	MON	08/18/77	MONTEREY CO
08/18/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	SERMENT, ANDRES PER	25	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	LABORER	MON	MON	MON	08/18/77	MONTEREY CO
08/18/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVEIRA, JOSEPH FRAI	28	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	FISHERMAN	MON	MON	MON	08/18/77	MONTEREY CO
08/18/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	TOMAS, NICHOLAS JOS	29	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	CAS	08/18/77	MONTEREY CO
08/18/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	TRINIDAD, ANTONIO SIL	23	PORTUG/	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	FARMER	MON	MON	CAS	08/18/77	MONTEREY CO
08/20/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	GILL, MANUEL	36	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	CAS	CAS	CAS	08/20/77	MONTEREY CO
08/28/77	YES	YES	NO	YES	FRANCIS, ANTONIO	32	W ISLANI	81-88	WHALER	FISHERMAN	FARMER	MON	MON	MON	08/28/77	MONTEREY CO
08/28/77	NO	YES	NO	YES	VIERRA, CATO JOSEPH	37	W ISLANI	81-88	FERRYSMAN	FARMER	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	CAS	09/01/73	MONTEREY CO
08/30/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	PEREZ, FRANK	55	PORTUG/	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	SA	CAS	SAL	08/31/67	SISKIYOU CO
09/01/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	GOMEZ, JOSEPH	35	PORTUG/	81-88	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER	CAS	CAS	SAL	09/01/77	MONTEREY CO
09/01/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	VIERRA, MATHEW	32	W ISLANI	81-88	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	CAS	CAS	BLA	09/01/77	MONTEREY CO
09/04/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	RIGAS, ANTONIO	42	W ISLANI	81-88	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MON	MON	MON	09/01/63	MONTEREY CO
08/23/78	NO	NO	YES	NO	RODRIGUEZ, JOSE	45	W ISLANI	81-88	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	MON	MON	MON	09/01/71	MONTEREY CO

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER					NAME	AGE	POB	OCCUPATIO			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURALIZ	PLACE OF NATURALIZED
	SET1	SET2	SET3	SET3	SET3				SET1	SET2	SET3	SET1	SET2	SET3		
136	09/03/78	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	LIMA, JOSEPH	48	PORTUG/	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER	CAS	CAS	09/02/78	SANTA CRUZ CO
137	03/17/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	VIERRA, MANUEL CAY-	39	W ISLANI	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	TUL	TUL	03/17/79	MONTREY CO
138	04/12/79	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	MACHADO, MANUEL	45	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	RANCHER	CAS	CAS	09/29/63	MONTREY CO
139	04/24/79	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, ANTONIO	30	W ISLANI	WHALER	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	MON	MON	10/08/66	MONTREY CO
140	04/28/79	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	SILVA, MANUEL PRADÉ	38	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	CAS	CAS	04/28/79	MONTREY CO
141	04/30/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MIGUEL, JOSE CAETON	52	PORTUG/	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER	PAJ	PAJ	08/27/77	SANTA CRUZ CO
142	06/12/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MARTIN, FRANK	48	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	06/12/79	MONTREY CO
143	06/19/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	GOMEZ, FRANK	22	PORTUG/	LABORER	LABORER	WAREHOU:	CAS	CAS	06/19/79	MONTREY CO
144	07/01/79	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	FIENTAS, FRANCISCO	28	PORTUG/	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	WAREHOU:	MON	CAS	07/01/79	MONTREY CO
145	07/01/79	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	GARCIA, DOMINGO	34	PORTUG/	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	WAREHOU:	MON	CAS	07/01/79	MONTREY CO
146	07/01/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	KEIN, JOHN	32	PORTUG/	WHALER	WHALER	MERCHANT	MON	MON	07/01/79	MONTREY CO
147	07/01/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, DOMINGO TRINI	40	PORTUG/	WHALER	WHALER	MERCHANT	MON	MON	07/01/79	MONTREY CO
148	07/12/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, THOMAS	30	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	07/12/79	MONTREY CO
149	07/23/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NOON, MICHAEL	26	LOUISIAN	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	MON	MON	07/23/79	MONTREY CO
150	07/30/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, ANTONIO DO M,	30	PORTUG/	DAIRY	DAIRY	DAIRY	PAJ	PAJ	07/30/79	MONTREY CO
151	07/31/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	ROSEN, WILLIAM FRAN	45	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	SAL	SAL	08/12/60	NEW YORK
152	08/01/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	BOIN, ALFRED	22	W ISLANI	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER	SR	CAS	09/01/77	MONTREY CO
153	08/16/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	NETO, MANUEL SOIZA	36	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	CAS	CAS	09/28/70	MONTREY CO
154	08/29/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	GOMEZ, JOSEPH	27	W ISLANI	LABORER	LABORER	WAREHOU:	CAS	CAS	09/01/77	MONTREY CO
155	11/14/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, MANUEL JOAQU	35	PORTUG/	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	SA	SA	11/14/79	MONTREY CO
156	09/23/80	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	CALDEIRA, FRANCISCO	33	PORTUG/	RESTAURA	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	SAL	MON	10/17/74	NEVADA CO
157	09/25/80	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, MANUEL	32	PORTUG/	DAIRY	DAIRY	DAIRY	PAJ	PAJ	07/16/80	SANTA CRUZ CO
158	04/24/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MORRIS, JAMES	34	W ISLANI	WHALER	LABORER	LABORER	MON	MON	11/15/74	MASSACHUSETT:
159	04/27/82	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	KING, JOSEPH	55	W ISLANI	MERCHANT	MERCHANT	RANCHER	MON	MON	03/07/54	MASSACHUSETT:
160	05/08/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	SUIZER, FRANK	42	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	RANCHER	SUR	SUR	05/08/82	MONTREY CO
161	05/10/82	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	AVILAR, JOSEPH DE	38	AZORES	LABORER	LABORER	RANCHER	SAL	SUR	08/24/79	SISK YO CO
162	05/15/82	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	SILVEY, FRANCISCO	33	AZORES	LABORER	LABORER	RANCHER	SAL	SUR	07/14/74	SAN FRANCISCO
163	05/15/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	SILVA, MANUEL DE MA	33	PORTUG/	DAIRY	DAIRY	DAIRY	PAJ	PAJ	07/26/80	MONTREY CO
164	08/07/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	BORGES, MANUEL S.	41	PORTUG/	STOCK	FARMER	FARMER	SAL	SAL	07/13/70	SAN FRANCISCO
165	08/14/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	DESERVA, JOHN G.	29	PORTUG/	STOCK	STOCK	STOCK	SOL	SAA	10/05/80	MONTREY CO
166	08/27/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	FRAZIANO, EMEILIO	39	W ISLANI	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	MON	MON	08/18/79	SAN LUIS OBISPO
167	09/07/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	ORTINS, MANUEL	35	W ISLANI	WHALER	MERCHANT	MERCHANT	MON	MON	10/19/74	MASSACHUSETT:
168	09/20/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	OLIVERA, MANUEL D.	25	W ISLANI	FARMER	FARMER	MERCHANT	CAS	CAS	07/10/75	MASSACHUSETT:
169	09/25/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MASHALL, MANUEL	45	PORTUG/	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	FISHERMAI	MON	MON	06/16/70	SHASTA CO

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	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 1				SET 2	SET 3	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3				
170 09/25/82	NO	NO	YES	NO	ROSA, JOSEPH SESO DE	29	PORTUG/	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94	08/20/79	BUTTE CO
171 10/22/82	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVA, JOHN GONSALE:	25	W ISLANI	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94	07/30/79	MONTREY CO
172 07/31/83	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVA, ANTONIO	35	PORTUG/	DAIRY				72-80	81-88	94	10/22/80	SAN FRANCISCO
173 08/25/83	NO	NO	YES	YES	FARIA, JOSEPH	48	W ISLANI	FARMER				72-80	81-88	94	08/25/83	MONTREY CO
174 06/09/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	VICTORINO, JOSEPH	24	W ISLANI	DAIRY		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	06/09/84	MONTREY CO
175 06/23/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	BRAZIL, ANTONIO	34	W ISLANI	DAIRY		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	06/23/84	MONTREY CO
176 07/14/84	NO	NO	YES	NO	CABRAL, JACINTO	40	PORTUG/	BARBER				72-80	81-88	94	08/24/87	SAN FRANCISCO
177 07/18/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	CATO, MANUEL	31	PORTUG/	FARMER				72-80	81-88	94	07/18/84	MONTREY CO
178 07/25/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	NUNES, JOSE C.	26	PORTUG/	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94	07/25/84	MONTREY CO
179 08/01/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVA, ANTONIO P	29	PORTUG/	RESTAURIA FIREMAN				72-80	81-88	94	08/01/84	MONTREY CO
180 08/04/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	BORGES, JOSE	31	PORTUG/	DAIRY		DAIRY		72-80	81-88	94	08/04/84	MONTREY CO
181 09/08/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	BORGES, JOSE	24	PORTUG/	FARMER		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	04/22/81	MONTREY CO
182 09/25/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	GOMEZ, MANUEL JR.	31	AZORES	STOCK		STOCK		72-80	81-88	94	04/22/81	SAN BENITO CO
183 09/30/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	ENOS, MANUEL	55	PORTUG/	FARMER		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	04/22/81	MONTREY CO
184 10/02/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	SILVA, ANTONIO RAUL	28	W ISLANI	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94	07/01/71	ALAMEDA
185 10/04/84	NO	NO	YES	NO	FRANCIS, ANTONIO	42	PORTUG/	FARMER				72-80	81-88	94	07/01/71	ALAMEDA
186 10/04/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	SOARES, ANDRE PEIREI	35	W ISLANI	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94	06/07/84	SANTA CRUZ CO
187 10/04/84	NO	NO	YES	YES	ROGERS, MANUEL	33	PORTUG/	LABORER		SALOON		72-80	81-88	94	06/07/84	SANTA CRUZ CO
188 04/01/85	NO	NO	NO	NO	MATOS, VERTNOZA JOE	21	AZORES	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94		INYO CO
189 05/29/85	NO	NO	NO	NO	NUNES, ANTONIO	44	PORTUG/	FARMER		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	05/29/85	MONTREY CO
190 04/08/86	NO	YES	YES	NO	ENOS, FRANK	32	W ISLANI	FARMER		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	09/01/73	MONTREY CO
191 05/06/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	CRUZ, FRANCISCO	35	W ISLANI	LABORER		FISHERMAN		72-80	81-88	94	10/04/84	MONTREY CO
192 05/07/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	SOARES, MANUEL	32	PORTUG/	HOTEL				72-80	81-88	94	05/07/86	MONTREY CO
193 05/08/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	BENTO, JOSE	34	PORTUG/	FARMER				72-80	81-88	94	05/08/86	MONTREY CO
194 06/21/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	FRATES, JOSEPH	52	PORTUG/	LABORER		LABORER		72-80	81-88	94	10/15/84	NEVADA CO
195 07/31/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	MATTESS, MANUEL	45	PORTUG/	DAIRY				72-80	81-88	94	07/31/86	MONTREY CO
196 08/10/86	NO	NO	NO	YES	FARY, JOSE	46	AZORES	FARMER		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	08/30/71	SANTA CLARA CO
197 09/14/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	GOMEZ, JOSE	45	AZORES	LABORER				72-80	81-88	94	08/12/69	SAN LUIS OBISPO
198 10/02/86	NO	NO	NO	NO	KING, ANTONIO	36	PORTUG/	FARMER				72-80	81-88	94	07/14/84	SAN FRANCISCO
199 04/25/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	BOIN, GEORGE SERGIO	31	AZORES	FARMER				72-80	81-88	94	04/25/87	MONTREY CO
200 05/04/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	VASCONCELLOS, MARI	27	AZORES	STOCK				72-80	81-88	94	05/04/87	MONTREY CO
201 07/18/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	DUTRA, MANUEL	37	PORTUG/	RANCHER				72-80	81-88	94	09/23/80	SAN LUIS OBISPO
202 08/15/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	GEORGE, MANUEL SILV	37	PORTUG/	HOTEL		MERCHANT		72-80	81-88	94	02/15/86	SANTA CLARA CO
203 09/07/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	SILVA, ANTONIO PRAD,	51	PORTUG/	FARMER		FARMER		72-80	81-88	94	09/07/87	MONTREY CO

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTER	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER			NAME	AGE	POB	OCCUPATIO			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURALIZ	PLACE OF NATURALIZED		
	SET1	SET2	SET3				SET1	SET2	SET3	72-80 SET 1	81-88 SET 2	89-94 SET 3				
204	10/06/87	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	ANDRADE, BERNARDO	31	PORTUG/	72-80 SET 1	FARMER	RANCHER	SA	BRA	10/06/87	MONTEREY CO
205	10/18/87	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	RODRIGUES, MANUEL J	35	PORTUG/	81-88 SET 2	FARMER		MON	MON	10/18/87	MONTEREY CO
206	10/19/87	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NUNES, ANTONIO S	34	PORTUG/		STORE		MON	MON	10/19/87	MONTEREY CO
207	11/08/87	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	DAMARAL, JACINTO L	32	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER	MON	CAR	11/08/87	MONTEREY CO
208	04/28/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	SILVA, JOHN ANTONIO	30	PORTUG/		MERCHANT		MON		03/29/79	SOLANO CO
209	05/12/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	FREITAS, MARTIN	50	AZORES		FARMER		PAJ		04/26/88	MONTEREY CO
210	05/19/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	MENDOZA, FRANK	32	AZORES		FARMER	FARMER	SAL	ALI	07/08/79	MONTEREY CO
211	05/28/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	OLIVERA, FRANCISCO	46	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER	IND	CAS	08/29/77	SAN FRANCISCO
212	05/28/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	SILVA, MANUEL	36	PORTUG/		FARMER		IND		06/04/81	CONTRACOSTA C
213	05/28/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	BENVILDES, JOSE	61	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER	IND	VIN	06/25/84	SANTA CRUZ CO
214	06/24/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	VASCONCELLOS, FRAN	24	PORTUG/				SAL		06/23/88	MONTEREY CO
215	08/04/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	ALVIS, MANUEL	36	PORTUG/		LABORER		GON		08/04/88	MONTEREY CO
216	08/10/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	JOSEPH, FRANK	40	PORTUG/		FARMER		PAJ		10/14/74	NEVADA CO
217	08/10/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	VICENTE, MARTIN	40	PORTUG/		LABORER	LABORER	CAS	CAS	08/03/88	MONTEREY CO
218	08/20/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	RODRIGUES, ANTONIO	41	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ	08/03/88	MONTEREY CO
219	08/26/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	PISAM, CAMILLO	58	AZORES		FISHERMAN		MON		03/08/88	SAN FRANCISCO
220	08/27/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	KING, MANUEL JOSEPH	36	AZORES		FARMER		MON		06/11/84	VENTURA CO
221	08/28/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	RODRIGUEZ, LOUIS	55	AZORES		FARMER		PAJ		07/29/84	SANTA CRUZ CO
222	09/21/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	ENOS, ANTONIO	21	PORTUG/		RANCHER	FARMER	ALI	SAA	08/13/74	NEVADA CO
223	10/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	FREGARO, ANTONIO D	43	PORTUG/		FARMER	FARMER	PAJ	PAJ		
224	10/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	MARTIN, JOSEPH	40	PORTUG/		FARMER	LABORER	BRA	SR		SAN BENITO CO

RESIDENCE ABBREVIATIONS:

- ALI=ALISAL
- BLA=BLANCO
- CAR=CARMEL
- CAS=CASTROVILLE
- CHO=CHOLAME
- GON=GONSALES

SOURCE: Great Register of Monterey County 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888.

HAM=HAMES VALLEY
IND=INDEPENDENCE
MAL=MALARIA
MON=MONTEREY
NAT=NATIVIDAD
PAI=PAJARO
SA=SAN ANTONIO
SAA=SAN ARDO
SAL=SALINAS
SL=SAN LUCAS
SLK=SLACK'S CANYON
SOL=SOLEIDAD
SR=SANTA RITA
TOR=TORO
TUL=TULARCITOS
VIN=VINEYARD

SOURCE: Great Register of Monterey County 1872, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888.

APPENDIX B

CHRONOLOGY OF PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS OF SAN LUIS OBISPO COUNTY, 1866-1888

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR. IN SLO CO	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE AT INITIAL REGIS	POB	OCCUPATION			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURAL-IZATION	PLACE OF NATURAL-IZATION
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 3				1872-80 SET	1884 SET	1888 SET	1872-80 SET	1884 SET	1888 SET		
08/03/66	YES	YES	YES	YES	RODRIGUEZ, FRANK		38 PORTUGAI	PAINTER	PAINTER	PAINTER	SLO	SLO	SLO	04/03/60	SLO CO
06/18/67	YES	YES	YES	NO	SYLVEIRA, PAUL		26 MADEIRA	HOTELKEE			SLO	SLO			SLO CO
06/18/67	YES	YES	YES	NO	MATOS, GEORGE		34 PORTUGAI	FARMER			SLO			06/18/67	SLO CO
07/01/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	CLARKE, JOSEPH		38 PORTUGAI	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	SS	SS	SS	01/26/61	SAN FRANCISCO
07/02/67	YES	YES	YES	NO	DE LA ROSA, ANTONIO		32 AZORES	FISHERMAN			SLO				SLO CO
07/02/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	VIERA, JUAN		27 PORTUGAI	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	SLO	SLO	SLO	07/27/63	SLO CO
07/06/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	PEREIRA, JAUN		32 MADEIRA	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	PB	CAM	CAM	07/01/67	SLO CO
08/21/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	NUNES, MANUEL V		32 PORTUGAI	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	MOR	SLO	SS	09/12/67	SLO CO
08/27/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	DE FRAGO, LUIS Y.		41 PORTUGAI	TEAMSTER	TEAMSTER	TEAMSTER	SLO	SLO	SLO	08/24/67	SLO CO
09/08/68	YES	YES	YES	NO	GARCIA, LUCIEN		34 AZORES	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	SLO	SLO	SLO	08/08/67	SLO CO
06/21/69	YES	NO	NO	NO	CORDOZO, FRANK R.		30 PORTUGAI	STOCKRAI			HOT				SLO CO
08/09/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	MARY, MARIANO		28 AZORES	WHALER			SLO				SLO CO
08/10/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	MILLER, JOHN		45 PORTUGAI	WHALER			PB				PHILADELPHIA
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	SYLVA, ANTONIO		30 PORTUGAI	WHALER			PB				SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	CLAUDIO, JOSE		23 PORTUGAI	WHALER	STOCK	STOCK	CAM	PR	SS	08/11/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	FEYDORA, LUIS		27 PORTUGAI	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	SS	BEA	BEA	08/11/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	GOMES, JOSE		31 PORTUGAI	WHALER	LABORER	LABORER	PB	LP	LP	08/11/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	GUINEA, JOSE BERNARDO		31 PORTUGAI	WHALER	LABORER	LABORER	PB	LP	LP	08/11/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	MACHADO, ANTONIO		40 PORTUGAI	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	PB	PB	PB	08/11/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	MACHADO, HIPOLITO		27 PORTUGAI	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	PB	LT	LT	08/11/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	MIRA, MANUEL		36 PORTUGAI	WHALER			PB			08/12/69	SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	DE CRUZ, JAUN		22 PORTUGAI	WHALER			PB				SLO CO
08/12/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	FERNANDEZ, MANUEL		31 PORTUGAI	WHALER			PB				SLO CO
08/14/69	YES	YES	YES	NO	CARDOZA, JOSE SILVA		25 PORTUGAI	STOCKRAI			HOT				SLO CO
08/25/69	YES	YES	YES	YES	OLIVE, MANUEL		29 PORTUGAI	FARMER	TEAMSTER	TEAMSTER	MOR	SLO	SLO	08/10/69	SLO CO
06/21/71	YES	YES	YES	NO	CORREA, FRANK		30 PORTUGAI	MERCHANT			SLO				SLO CO
07/05/71	YES	YES	NO	NO	ENOS, LUIS		42 AZORES	MINER	FARMER	FARMER	SLO	SLO	SLO	07/11/67	NEVADA CO
08/12/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	SALVADOR, MANUEL		54 PORTUGAI	GARDENER	DAIRY	DAIRY	PB	MOR	MOR	09/01/63	SACRAMENTO CO
09/04/71	YES	NO	NO	NO	LOPEZ, JOSE MANUEL		38 AZORES	DAIRYMAN	WHALER	WHALER	SLO			09/04/71	SLO CO
09/04/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	ANDERSON, FRANK		30 AZORES	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	SLO	BEA	BEA	09/04/71	SLO CO
09/04/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	PONTE, YGNACIO		40 AZORES	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER	SLO	BEA	BEA	09/04/71	SLO CO

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR. IN SLO CO	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER			NAME	AGE AT INITIAL REGIS	POB	OCCUPATION			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURAL-IZATION	PLACE OF NATURAL-#NAME?		
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3				1872-80 SET	1884 SET	1888 SET	1872-80 SET	1884 SET	1888 SET				
09/04/71	YES	NO	NO	PENA, JOSEPH	20	AZORES	WHALER				SLO				09/04/71	SLO CO
09/04/71	YES	YES	NO	FRANCISCO, MATTEO	26	AZORES	WHALER				SLO				09/04/71	SLO CO
09/04/71	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, JACKSON	30	PORTUGAL	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER		SLO	SLO	LO		09/04/71	SLO CO
08/18/72	NO	YES	NO	CABRAL, JACINTO	25	PORTUGAL	BARBER				SLO				08/27/67	SAN FRANCISCO
08/20/73	NO	YES	YES	WILLIAMS, FRANK	39	AZORES	WHALER	RANCHER	RANCHER		SLO	CAM	CAM		08/20/73	SLO CO
08/25/73	NO	YES	YES	FAUSTINO, MANUEL	36	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER		SLO	SLO	SLO		08/25/73	SLO CO
08/27/73	NO	YES	NO	SILVERIRA, JOSE ANTONIO	41	AZORES	WHALER				PB					NEVADA CO.
07/20/74	NO	YES	YES	DE BRUN, JUAN YGNACIO	25	AZORES	SHEARER	SHEARER	LABORER		JOS	SLO	SLO		07/20/74	SLO CO
02/06/75	NO	YES	YES	FREYTTUS, FRANK	36	PORTUGAL	FARMER	DAIRYMAN	DAIRY		OSO	OSO	FI OSO		08/23/69	MONTEREY CO
07/27/75	NO	YES	NO	JOAQUIN, ANTONIO	31	AZORES	FARMER		FARMER		SLO			HUA	07/11/975	SLO CO
07/31/75	NO	YES	NO	RIGGS, ANTONIO	42	W ISLAND	WHALER				SLO				09/01/63	MONTEREY CO
08/02/75	NO	NO	NO	GONZALES, FRANCISCO	31	W ISLAND	LABORER				SLO					SLO CO
08/10/75	NO	NO	YES	RODRIGUEZ, ANT GON	30	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER			OSO	SLO				SAN FRANCISCO
08/18/75	NO	NO	YES	DESOUZA, JOAQUIN C	34	AZORES	STOCKRAI	STOCKRAI			LT	LP			08/18/75	SLO CO
08/21/75	NO	NO	YES	VICTORINO, MANUEL	49	AZORES	CARPENTE	CARPENTE	CARPENTER		SLO	SLO	SLO		08/21/75	SLO CO
08/23/75	NO	NO	YES	FELICIANO, ANTONIO	30	AZORES	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER		OSO	OSO	OSO		08/01/73	MONTEREY CO
08/23/75	NO	NO	YES	NORRIS, THOMAS	43	PORTUGAL	LABORER				SLO				08/04/54	MASSACHUSETT
08/30/75	NO	NO	YES	LOPEZ, MANUEL VICTORINO	26	PORTUGAL	LABORER	STOCKRAI	STOCKRAISEI		SLO	LP	LP		08/23/75	SLO CO
04/03/76	NO	NO	YES	LIMA, JOSEPH P	31	AZORES	LABORER	FARMER	FARMER		OSO	OSO	SI		08/17/71	MONTEREY CO
08/18/76	NO	NO	YES	FRANK, JOAQUIN	43	W ISLAND	LABORER	HOTEL KEI	HOTELKEEPE		SLO	SLO	SLO		10/13/74	BOSTON
08/27/76	NO	NO	YES	CAVETANO, MANUEL	26	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER		MOR	MOR	MOR		08/18/76	SLO CO
10/02/76	NO	NO	NO	BROWN, JOSEPH	22	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER		PB	SS	SS		08/27/76	SLO CO
10/10/76	NO	NO	NO	CORREA, ANTONIO	44	PORTUGAL	NONE				SLO					SACRAMENTO CO
10/15/76	NO	NO	YES	BARBER, FRANK	27	PORTUGAL	TRADER	FARMER	FARMER		BEA	AG	AG		08/22/71	MARIN CO
11/06/76	NO	NO	YES	JOSEPH, MANUEL	29	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER		SLO	SLO	SLO		11/06/76	SLO CO
11/06/76	NO	NO	YES	MENDOCA, JOSE C	22	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER			SLO	SLO	SLO		11/06/76	SLO CO
11/06/76	NO	NO	YES	OLIVA, JOSEPH	30	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER			SLO	SLO	SLO		11/06/76	SLO CO
11/06/76	NO	NO	YES	OLIVE, MANUEL M	28	PORTUGAL	DAIRY	DAIRYMAN	DAIRYMAN		SLO	SLO	SLO		11/06/76	SLO CO
11/06/76	NO	NO	YES	QUARESMA, MANUEL DER.	29	PORTUGAL	STOCKRAI	STOCK	STOCK		SLO	AG	AG	LP	11/06/76	SLO CO
11/07/76	NO	NO	YES	CABRAL, JOSE	40	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER		CAM	PB	SS		09/05/71	SANTA CRUZ CO
11/07/76	NO	NO	YES	SILVERIA, MANUEL	68	PORTUGAL	GARDENER				CAM					PLACER CO

64	08/11/77	NO	INDIVIDUAL				NAME	AGE	AT	INITIAL	REGIS	POB	OCCUPATION			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURAL-IZATION	PLACE OF NATURAL-#NAME?		
			LOCATED IN REGISTER	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3							1872-80	1884	1888	1872-80	1884	1888				
64	08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	REIZENDA, FRANK J					39 PORTUGAL	WHALER	LABORER	FARMER						07/11/77	MONTEREY CO
65	08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	FRATES, JOSEPH					32 W ISLAND	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER						08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
66	08/11/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	JOSEPH, FRANK					36 W ISLAND	LABORER								08/30/75	MONTEREY CO
67	08/16/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	TERRY, JOSEPH AVILA					24 AZORES	FARMER	FARMER								
68	08/21/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	DIAS, JOHN					32 PORTUGAL	WHALER	WHALER	WHALER						08/21/77	SLO CO
69	08/23/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MARIANO, JOSE					29 AZORES	LABORER	WHALER	WHALER						08/23/77	SLO CO
70	08/23/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	GRASI, ANTONIO FRANCISCO					30 PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER						08/23/67	SLO CO
71	08/23/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	PARRY, JOSE					31 PORTUGAL	COOK									
72	08/27/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	BENNET, JOHN					45 PORTUGAL	FISHERMAN	FISHERMAN							08/27/77	SLO CO
73	08/27/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	FRIETURA, FRANCIS					21 PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER						08/27/77	SLO CO
74	08/27/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	LOPEZ, ANTONIO					22 PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER						08/27/77	SLO CO
75	08/27/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	FRANCIS, JOHN					22 PORTUGAL	LABORER									
76	08/27/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	PACHECO, GAUDINO					32 PORTUGAL	FARMER									
77	08/27/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	SUZA, JOHN					27 W ISLAND	COOPER	COOPER	COOPER						08/27/77	SLO CO
78	08/31/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	ENNIS, JOHN					22 PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER						08/31/77	SLO CO
79	09/03/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	SILVA, FRANK					24 PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER						09/03/77	SLO CO
80	09/03/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	FARIA, MANUEL J.					40 PORTUGAL	SEAMAN									
81	09/03/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	PINTO, ANTONIO					45 PORTUGAL	COOPER									
82	09/04/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MARCAHDO, JOHN B					22 PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	LABORER						09/04/77	SLO CO
83	09/04/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	MEDEROS, JOSEPH E.					31 PORTUGAL	BARBER	BARBER	SLO						09/04/77	SLO CO
84	09/04/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	SILVERA, FRANCISCO					29 PORTUGAL	LABORER	FARMER							09/04/77	SLO CO
85	09/04/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	SIMMONS, JOHN S.S.					22 PORTUGAL	LABORER									
86	09/05/77	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MARCHADO, DOMINGO					25 PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER						11/06/76	SLO CO
87	06/08/78	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	RODRIGUEZ, PETER					35 PORTUGAL	LABORER								06/08/78	SLO CO
88	06/08/78	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	LIMA, ANTONIO J.					26 PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER							
89	08/25/78	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	OLIVER, JOSEPH S					40 PORTUGAL	STOCK									
90	08/27/78	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	AGUSTA, PETER J					40 PORTUGAL	SHEEP									
91	05/13/79	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	RODRIGUEZ, MANUEL					30 PORTUGAL	LABORER									
92	06/02/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	MARTINEZ, ANTONIO CATIANO					28 AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER						06/02/79	SLO CO
93	07/30/79	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	LAWRENCE, JOSEPH, A					22 PORTUGAL	BARBER								07/30/79	SLO CO
94	07/30/79	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	LAWRENCE, LAURIANO					21 PORTUGAL	CARPENTER								07/30/79	SLO CO
95	08/18/79	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	DIAS, FRANK					29 AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER						08/18/79	SLO CO

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		SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	1872-80							1884	1888	1872-80	1884	1888			
	75	80	84	88								1	2	3	1	2	3		

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	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 3				SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3			SET 1
08/18/79	NO	NO	NO	NO	FRAZIANO, AMELIA	33	AZORES	FARMER				MOR			08/18/79	SLO CO
08/18/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	SILVA, THOS	25	AZORES	FARMER				MOR			08/18/79	SLO CO
08/18/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	TERRA, AUGUSTE DE	24	AZORES	FARMER				MOR			08/18/79	SLO CO
08/18/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	TERRA, GARDENIA DE	27	AZORES	FARMER				MOR			08/18/79	SLO CO
08/18/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	LUIS, FRANK	36	PORTUGAL	WHALER				MOR			08/18/79	SLO CO
08/19/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	REIS, JOSE MACHADO	35	AZORES	FARMER				SS				
08/21/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	AMARAL, FRANCISCO A	23	AZORES	LABORER				SLO			08/19/71	SLO CO
08/26/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	LAWRENCE, MANUEL A	26	PORTUGAL	LABORER				SLO			08/26/79	SLO CO
08/26/79	NO	NO	NO	YES	SAUR, JOHN	30	W ISLAND	LABORER				SLO			08/26/79	SLO CO
06/14/80	NO	NO	NO	YES	WAGER, FRANK	34	PORTUGAL	COOK				SLO			06/14/80	SLO CO
09/27/80	NO	NO	NO	YES	SOISA, MANUEL	31	PORTUGAL	WHALER				SLO			08/11/77	MONTEREY CO NEVADA CO.
06/28/81	NO	NO	NO	YES	JACINTO, ANTONIO	60	PORTUGAL	LABORER				SLO				
02/07/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	FRAGA, LUIS JOSEPH	24	PORTUGAL	LABORER				LT			11/01/80	SLO CO
02/26/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	SOUZA, FRANCISCO TEIXEIRA	30	AZORES	LABORER				SLO			09/24/80	BOSTON
03/22/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	THOMO, JOSE RODRIGUEZ	33	PORTUGAL	SEAMAN				SLO			11/24/80	SAN FRANCISCO
04/10/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	PIMENTAL, MANUEL Y	62	W ISLAND	FARMER				SLO			04/10/82	SLO CO
07/19/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	MARTINEZ, MANUEL VICT	56	AZORES	LABORER				AG			08/24/75	SLO CO
08/05/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	DUTRO, MANUEL	33	PORTUGAL	RANCHER				PB			09/23/80	SLO CO
09/22/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	MARTIN, JOSEPH	27	PORTUGAL	FARMER				SS			1876 SANTA CRUZ CO	
09/29/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	FRANK, JOSEPH	43	PORTUGAL	LABORER				SLO			09/18/76	SAN FRANCISCO
10/18/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	BRANCO, MANUEL FREITAS	35	W ISLAND	LABORER				SM				BOSTON
11/02/82	NO	NO	NO	YES	THOMAS, MANUEL	42	AZORES	SALDOONKE				SLO			11/02/82	SLO CO
08/23/83	NO	NO	NO	YES	JOAQUIN, MANUEL	35	PORTUGAL	BARBER				AG			11/11/82	STANISLAUS CO
10/16/83	NO	NO	NO	YES	LUIZ, JOEL DE SOUZA	28	PORTUGAL	STOCKRAH: HOTELKEEPE				SLO			12/31/81	FRESNO CO
02/19/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	PINHO, JOSEPH G	25	AZORES	CLERK				SLO			02/19/84	SLO CO
03/27/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	SIMAS, JOHN JOSEPH DE	41	AZORES	SHOEMAKI SHOEMAKER				SLO			03/27/84	SLO CO
04/17/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	VILANCOURT, AUGUSTINE	50	PORTUGAL	LABORER				AG			04/17/84	SLO CO
07/19/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	WEAVER, FRANK	22	PORTUGAL	BARBER				SLO			07/19/84	SLO CO
08/06/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	BEZERINHA, MANUEL SILVA	52	AZORES	FISHERMAN				MOR			07/15/59	SAN FRANCISCO
08/06/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	MACHADO, FRANCISCO P	49	PORTUGAL	FARMER				SLO			08/06/84	SLO CO
08/17/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	BETTENCOURT, CESAR	33	AZORES	BARBER				PR			04/26/72	MASSACHUSETT
09/01/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	SILVERIA, JOSEPH AUGUSTUS	29	PORTUGAL	LABORER				BEA			01/30/80	SOLANO CO

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	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 3				1872-80 SET	1884 SET	1888 SET	1872-80 1884 SET	1888 SET	1888 SET		
128	10/01/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	30	AZORES	LABORER	LABORER	CDP	CDP	09/08/77	NEVADA CO
129	10/08/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	29	AZORES	BARBER	BARBER	SLO	SLO	06/14/82	NEWBEDFORD
130	10/20/84	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	40	AZORES	LABORER	LABORER	SLO	SLO	06/02/70	MASSACHUSETT
131	02/11/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	28	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	LYN	LYN	02/11/87	SLO CO
132	02/11/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	26	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	LYN	LYN	02/11/87	SLO CO
133	07/19/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	47	PORTUGAL	SHEEPRAISEF	SHEEPRAISEF	HUA	HUA	07/19/87	SLO CO
134	07/19/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	31	PORTUGAL	SHEEPRAISEF	SHEEPRAISEF	HUA	HUA	07/19/87	SLO CO
135	07/27/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	27	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	CAM	CAM	07/27/87	SLO CO
136	08/17/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	26	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	SLO	SLO	10/01/76	SLO CO
137	08/17/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	28	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	SI	SI	08/02/86	SLO CO
138	09/20/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	22	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	MOR	MOR	06/26/86	SLO CO
139	09/20/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	54	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	LT	LT		
140	09/23/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	39	AZORES	LABORER	LABORER	HUA	HUA	05/04/85	SLO CO
141	09/27/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	39	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	LO	LO	09/04/86	SLO CO
142	09/28/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	36	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	LO	LO	08/11/77	MONTEREY CO
143	09/28/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	32	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	SI	SI	06/23/86	SLO CO
144	11/26/87	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	34	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	AG	AG	09/14/85	SLO CO
145	01/10/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	63	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	SLO	SLO	11/15/86	SLO CO
146	02/01/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	34	PORTUGAL	STOCKRAISEI	STOCKRAISEI	LP	LP	03/24/86	SLO CO
147	02/16/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	34	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	CDP	CDP	06/16/86	SLO CO
148	02/27/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	50	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	MOR	MOR	06/20/85	SLO CO
149	03/21/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	37	AZORES	HOTEL	HOTEL	SLO	SLO	08/07/86	SLO CO
150	03/31/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	33	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	AG	AG	08/20/86	SLO CO
151	05/03/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	25	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	CHO	CHO	05/03/88	SLO CO
152	05/08/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	54	PORTUGAL	STOCK	STOCK	HUA	HUA	05/07/88	SLO CO
153	05/13/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	33	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	OSO	OSO	08/06/88	SLO CO
154	05/13/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	33	PORTUGAL	LABORER	LABORER	AG	AG	10/16/80	ALAMEDA CO
155	05/18/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	37	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	OSO	OSO		SAN FRANCISCO
156	06/08/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	29	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	LYN	LYN	06/08/88	SLO CO
157	07/07/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	40	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	AG	AG	07/07/88	SLO CO
158	07/11/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	49	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	LP	LP	07/29/69	MONTEREY CO
159	07/14/88	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	28	PORTUGAL	FARMER	FARMER	OSO	OSO	12/24/86	SLO CO

ID	DATE OF INITIAL REGISTR. IN SLO CO	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE AT INITIAL REGIS	POB	OCCUPATION			RESIDENCE			DATE OF NATURAL-IZATION	PLACE OF NATURAL- #NAME?
		SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 3				1872-80 SET 1	1884 SET 2	1888 SET 3	1872-80 SET 1	1884 SET 2	1888 SET 3		
160	07/19/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	ESCOBAR, ANTONIO JOSE	34	AZORES	STOCK				LYN	10/24/85	SLO CO	
161	07/19/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NETO, MANUEL R	55	PORTUGAI	DAIRY				MOR	09/26/76	SLO CO	
162	08/06/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	ENOS, JOSEPH	34	AZORES	DAIRY				CHO	08/06/88	SLO CO	
163	08/06/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	BROWN, MANUEL	28	PORTUGAI	FARMER				AG	02/06/88	SLO CO	
164	08/20/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	SOUZA, MANUEL	31	PORTUGAI	DAIRYMAN				CDP	10/04/70	SAN FRANCISCO	
165	08/31/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	SOUZA, MANUEL CAYTANO	34	AZORES	FARMER				OSO		SLO CO	
166	09/01/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	CABRAL, JOSE SOUZA	29	PORTUGAI	LABORER				SLO	07/01/85	SLO CO	
167	09/07/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	SOUZA, JOHN	38	AZORES	DAIRY				HUA	12/20/86	SLO CO	
168	09/07/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	SMITH, ANTONE G	28	AZORES	LABORER				LT	05/02/87	SLO CO	
169	09/07/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	BRUM, MANUEL	42	PORTUGAI	FARMER				SLO		SLO CO	
170	09/28/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	DAVIDERS, FRANK	38	FAYAL	FARMER				SM			
171	10/01/88 NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	SILVA, JOSEPH B	45	PORTUGAI	DAIRYMAN				HUA	06/12/82	SISKIYOU CO	

RESIDENCE ABBREVIATIONS:

- AG=ARROYO GRANDE
- BEA=BEACH
- CAM=CAMBRIA
- CDP=CORAL DE PIEDRA
- CHO=CHOLAME
- HOT=HOT SPRINGS
- HUA=HUASNA
- JOS=JOSEPHINE
- LAP=LA PANZA
- LO=LOS OSOS
- LT=LOS TABLAS
- LYN=LYNCH
- MOR=MORRO
- OSO=OSO FLACO
- PB=PIEDRA BLANCA
- PR=PASO ROBLES
- SJ=SAN JOE

SLO= SAN LUIS OBISPO
SM=SANTA MARGARITA
SS=SAN SIMEON

SOURCE: Great Register of San Luis Obispo County, 1872, 1875, 1880, 1884, 1888.

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGY OF PORTUGUESE REGISTRANTS OF SAN MATEO COUNTY, 1866-1888

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTER IN SM CO	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE AT INITIAL REGISTER	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION				RESIDENCE				DATE NATURALIZED	PLACE NATURALIZED	
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 4	SET 4				74-80 SET	82-88 SET	94 SET	96 SET	72-80 SET	82-88 SET	94 SET	96 SET			1
08/10/67	YES	YES	YES	YES	DAVIS, ANTONIO ANDERS	21	PORTUC	LABORER	LABOREI	LABORE	FARMER	2ND	HMB	HMB	HMB	HMB	08/09/67	SAN FRANCISCO
10/03/70	YES	YES	NO	NO	FLORES, JOSEPH	37	W ISLAN	FARMER				5TH						
06/03/71	YES	NO	NO	NO	GUARESMA, ANTONIO LE.	29	PORTUC	MINER				5TH						
06/23/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	REITAS, JOSEPH	46	PORTUC	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	5TH	HMB	HMB	HMB		04/01/62	PLACER CO
06/26/71	YES	NO	NO	NO	WILLIAMS, FRANCIS	45	PORTUC	FARMER				5TH						
08/22/71	YES	NO	NO	NO	WHITE*, FRANK	35	PORTUC	WHALER	WHALER	FARMER	FARMER	6TH	HMB	HMB	HMB		09/01/62	MONT CO
08/22/71	YES	YES	NO	NO	FRANCIS, ANTONIO	34	PORTUC	WHALER				6TH						
08/23/71	YES	YES	NO	NO	SILVA, MANUEL	42	PORTUC	WHALER				6TH						
08/23/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	BERNARD, JOHN	33	PORTUC	WHALER	LUMBER	LABORE	LABORER	6TH	PES	PES	PES		09/01/63	MONTREY CO
08/29/71	YES	YES	NO	NO	YGNASIO, JOSE	36	PORTUC	WHALER				5TH						
08/31/71	YES	NO	NO	NO	FRATES, JOHN	35	PORTUC	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB	HMB				
09/04/71	YES	YES	YES	YES	REITAS, JOSEPH B.	26	PORTUC	BARBER	BARBER			HMB	HMB					
09/05/71	YES	YES	NO	NO	JOSEPH, ANTOINE	33	W ISLAN	FARMER				5TH						
09/26/71	YES	YES	NO	NO	LUOREAN, ANTONIO O	35	PORTUC	DAIRYMAN				PP					09/04/71	SLO CO
06/11/73	YES	NO	YES	NO	ANDERSON*, FRANK	33	PORTUC	SEAMAN	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB	HMB	HMB		08/23/73	SAN MATEO CO
08/23/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	PHILLIPS, MANUEL	34	W ISLAN	FARMER				HMB						
08/25/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	BROWN, ANTONIO	32	PORTUC	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB						
08/25/73	YES	YES	NO	YES	BROWN, FRANK	25	W ISLAN	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB	HMB	HMB		08/23/73	SAN MATEO CO
08/25/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	VARGAS, JOSEPH	43	PORTUC	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB	HMB	HMB		08/25/73	SAN MATEO CO
08/25/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	THOMAS, JOSEPH SILVA	33	W ISLAN	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB	HMB	HMB		08/25/73	SAN MATEO CO
08/25/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	VARGAS, JOSEPH	63	W ISLAN	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB	HMB	HMB		08/25/73	SAN MATEO CO
08/25/73	NO	NO	NO	NO	CORRENT, ANTOINE	51	PORTUC	FARMER				HMB						
08/25/73	YES	YES	NO	NO	CATTIN, JOSEPH	22	PORTUC	LABORER	LABOREI			HMB						
08/25/73	YES	YES	NO	NO	BAPTISTA, MANUEL	37	W ISLAN	FARMER				HMB						
08/30/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	NOIA, ANTONIO CAETANC	40	PORTUC	FARMER	LABOREI	LABORE		SP	PES	PES			09/01/63	MONT CO
08/30/73	YES	YES	NO	NO	FLORES, ANTONIO LURA	31	AZORES	FARMER				SP						
09/01/73	YES	NO	NO	NO	FISHER, JOHN	22	PORTUC	FARMER				HMB						
09/01/73	YES	NO	NO	NO	SILVA, MANUEL JOSEPH	30	PORTUC	FARMER				HMB						
09/03/73	YES	CAN	NO	NO	RICHARDS, JOSEPH	38	PORTUC	FARMER				HMB						
11/24/73	YES	YES	YES	YES	FRANCIS, JOSEPH	40	PORTUC	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	LH	LH	SG	SG		11/26/72	SAN MATEO CO
06/08/74	YES	YES	YES	YES	LORENCE, JACINTO	36	PORTUC	FARMER	FARMER	BUTCH		HMB	HMB	HMB			12/22/73	SAN MATEO CO
06/09/74	YES	NO	NO	NO	SEQUERA, JOHN JOSEPH	27	W ISLAN	FARMER				HMB						
06/10/74	YES	YES	YES	NO	KING, JOSEPH	48	PORTUC	LABORER				HMB						

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTER IN SM CO	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE AT INITIAL REGISTER	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION				RESIDENCE				DATE NATURALIZED	PLACE NATURALIZED
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 4				74-80 SET	82-88 SET	94 SET	96 SET	72-80 SET	82-88 SET	94 SET	96 SET		
06/11/74	YES	NO	NO	NO	MUNS, MANUEL	34	PORTUC FARMER	SP									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	BERRY, FRANCIS	47	PORTUC FARMER	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	SERPPA, JOSEPH	40	PORTUC FARMER	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	MAIGLE, ANTONIE	24	PORTUC LAB	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	POMBAY, PEDRO JOSE	29	PORTUC FARMER	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	LEVY, JOSEPH	28	PORTUC LAB	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	ENNIS, MANUEL	27	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	LEWIS, VINCENT	31	PORTUC MINER	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	SMITH, JOSEPH	38	PORTUC MINER	4TH									
06/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	PACHTO, FRANK	27	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
06/11/74	YES	YES	YES	YES	FRITES, JOHN	37	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
06/11/74	YES	NO	NO	NO	WARREN, CHARLES H	37	W ISLA ¹ SEAMAN	5TH									
06/12/74	YES	YES	YES	YES	CASTA, MANUEL	35	PORTUC FARMER	4TH	HMB							06/08/74 SAN FRANCISCO	
06/12/74	YES	NO	NO	NO	FISHER, JOSEPH	25	PORTUC FARMER	4TH									
06/12/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	RODGERS, CATANO	29	PORTUC LABORER	4TH	HMB								
07/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	RODRIGUES, CATANO	27	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
07/11/74	YES	YES	NO	NO	LIMA, ANTONIO JOAQUIM	23	PORTUC FARMER	SP								08/01/75 SAN MATEO CO	
08/24/75	NO	YES	NO	NO	FARRY, JOHN	38	PORTUC WHALER	HMB	HMB							08/24/75 SAN MATEO CO	
08/24/75	NO	YES	YES	NO	BRUM, MANUEL LIAL	23	PORTUC FARMER	SP									
08/24/75	NO	YES	YES	NO	BRUM, ANTONIO FRANCIS	36	PORTUC FARMER	SP									
08/25/75	NO	YES	YES	NO	VAREJUS, JOHN	22	W ISLA ¹ FARMER	4TH									
08/31/75	NO	YES	YES	YES	SILVER, FRANK	41	PORTUC FARMER	4TH								07/27/73 ILLINOIS	
08/31/75	NO	YES	YES	YES	YESI VIERA, MANUEL	25	PORTUC FARMER	4TH	HMB								
08/31/75	NO	YES	YES	NO	SILVER, MANUEL JOSE	40	PORTUC MINER	4TH								08/24/75 SAN MATEO CO	
08/31/75	NO	YES	YES	NO	COELLIO, ANTONIO JACIN	29	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
10/30/76	NO	YES	NO	NO	WOODS, ANTOINE G	25	AZORES FARMER	HMB									
10/31/76	NO	YES	CAN	NO	OLIVIRA, JACINTHO	29	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
11/04/76	NO	YES	YES	NO	FRATES, JOSEPH	32	W ISLA ¹ MARINER	PP									
11/06/76	NO	YES	YES	YES	DANIELS, ANTONIO	43	W ISLA ¹ 2NDMATE	HMB	HMB							10/24/54 MAINE	
11/06/76	NO	YES	YES	NO	GEORGE, FRANK LAWREN	29	W ISLA ¹ FARMER	HMB	HMB							06/07/76 MASSACHUSETT;	
11/06/76	NO	YES	YES	NO	BRUME, JOAH, SD	38	PORTUC FARMER	HMB									
11/06/76	NO	YES	YES	YES	PERRY, WILLIAM	27	PORTUC LABORER	HMB	HMB								
06/30/77	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	42	PORTUC FARMER	HMB	HMB							06/30/77 SAN MATEO CO	

DATE OF INITIAL REGISTER IN SM CO	INDIVIDUAL LOCATED IN REGISTER				NAME	AGE AT INITIAL OF REGISTER	PLACE OF BIRTH	OCCUPATION				RESIDENCE				DATE NATUR-ALIZED	PLACE NATUR-ALIZED
	SET 1	SET 2	SET 3	SET 4				74-80 SET 1	82-88 SET 2	94 SET 3	96 SET 4	72-80 SET 1	82-88 SET 2	94 SET 3	96 SET 4		
183	08/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	HMB	HMB	HMB	08/02/88	SAN MATEO CO
184	08/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	SIQUIRA, MANUEL SIBIER	38	AZORES	FARMER	FARMER	FARMER	MP	HMB
186	08/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	RODRIGUES, JOSE GAULA	36	PORTUG	LABOREI	FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
187	08/02/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	CARDOZO, ANTONIO SILV	51	PORTUG	FARMER	FRAMIEI FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
190	08/02/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	SIMAS, DOMINGOS FRANC	34	PORTUG	FARMER	FARMIEI FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
192	08/02/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	SIMAS, MANUEL FRANCIS	38	PORTUG	LABOREI	FARMIEI FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
193	08/02/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	LEAL, LUIZ CARDOZA	47	PORTUG	FARMER	FARMIEI FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
194	08/02/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	LUIZ, ANTONIO MANUEL	44	PORTUG	FARMER	FARMIEI FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
195	09/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	GAUDENCIO, ANTONIO A\	57	W ISLAN	LABOREI	FARMIEI FARMER	FARMER	HMB	HMB
198	10/01/88	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	SEQUEIRA, JOSE ANTON	27	AZORES	DAIRYMN,	DAIRYMN, FARMER	FARMER	SG	SG
200	10/20/92	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	PERRA, JOSEPH	47	PORTUG	WHALIEI	LTEHOUSE	WHALIEI	SG	SG

* INCLUDED BECAUSE OF WHALING PAST IN OTHER COUNTIES

RESIDENCE ABBREVIATIONS:

- 1ST=SAN MATEO (NOTE: THIS DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE 1ST TOWNSHIP LISTED IN THE 1870 CENSUS)
- 2ND=BELMONT (NOTE: THIS DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE 2ND TOWNSHIP LISTED IN THE 1870 CENSUS)
- 3RD=REDWOOD CITY (NOTE: THIS DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE 3RD TOWNSHIP LISTED IN THE 1870 CENSUS)
- 4TH=HALF MOON BAY (NOTE: THIS DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THE 4TH TOWNSHIP LISTED IN THE 1870 CENSUS)
- 5TH=HALF MOON BAY
- 6TH=PESCADERO
- HMB=HALF MOON BAY
- PES=PESCADERO
- PP=PIGEON POINT
- PUR=PURISIMA
- SG=SAN GREGORIO

Source: Great Register, San Mateo County, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1888, 1894, 1896.

SOURCE: Great Register of San Mateo County, 1875, 1877, 1879, 1880, 1882, 1888, 1894, 1896

APPENDIX D

PORTUGUESE MALES OVER 18 IN MONTEREY COUNTY, 1860

NAME	AGE	RESID	OCC	WHALING		SPOUSE NAME	SPOUSE AGE	SPOUSE POB	SPOUSE LITER	LIVE IN	HOUS HOLD #
				COMPAN OLD OR NEW	POB						
1 DUTRA, MANUEL	39	MON	CIGAR	N/A	POR	MARIA D	33	CA	YES	NO	66
2 JOHN	39	SJAUN	COOK	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	518
3 SYLVA, JOSE	33	ALISAL	FARMER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	NO	YES	738
4 WYNN, JOHN B	43	ALISAL	FARMER	N/A	POR	MARTHA	26	LA	YES	NO	N/A
5 HINES, MANUEL	40	PAJARO	FARMER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	795
6 WILLIAMS, JOHN M	30	PAJARO	FARMER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	794
7 DAVIS, FRANCIS	38	MON	FISHERMAN	N/A	AZO	THEODOS	30	CA	YES	YES	8
8 WILLIAMS, JAUQUIM	31	MON	FISHERMAN	N/A	AZO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	11
9 MAYS, ANTONIO	48	MON	GARDINER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	NO	200
10 ROSA, MANUEL	33	MON	LABORER	N/A	POR	DOLARES	24	CA	YES	YES	324
11 SILVA, MANUEL	51	PAJARO	LABORER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	795
12 CRUZ, CARLOS	30	SJAUN	LABORER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	463
13 LILLIE, MANUEL	26	MON	MARINER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	NO	YES	354
14 ONTONE, MANUEL	30	MON	MARINER	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	NO	YES	354
15 GOMEZ, JUAN	35	SJAUN	SERVANT	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	463
16 JOSEPH SYLVA	28	ALISAL	SHEPARD	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	885
17 MANUEL	23	ALISAL	SHEPARD	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	885
18 DE SOZA, JOSE	30	SJAUN	SHEPARD	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	464
19 DE SYLVYA JOSE	30	SJAUN	SHEPARD	N/A	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	464
20 PORTAL, JACINTO	40	ALISAL	SWINEHERDE	N/A	POR	MARIA	20	CA	NO	NO	N/A
21 MARIANO, MANUEL	33	MON	WCAPTAIN	OPWC	FAYAL	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
22 AMBROSIO, FRANCISCO	30	MON	WHALER	OPWC	AZO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
23 BROWN, FRANK	24	MON	WHALER	OPWC	AZO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
24 CHRISTORIO, YGNACIO? O	25	MON	WHALER	OPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
25 FRANCIS, ANTONNE	35	MON	WHALER	OPWC	FLORES	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
26 FRANCISCO	30	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
27 FRATES, ANTONIO	18	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
28 FRATES, FRANK	22	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
29 FRATES, JOHN	20	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
30 FRATES, JOSE	26	MON	WHALER	OPWC	FLORES	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
31 FRATES, MANUEL	38	MON	WHALER	OPWC	PICO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
32 JESUS	20	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
33 JONINO	36	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
34 JOSE	25	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
35 JOSEPH, M	29	MON	WHALER	OPWC	AZO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
36 JOSEPH, MARION	30	MON	WHALER	OPWC	STGEO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
37 MANUEL	23	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
38 MARIA, JOSEPH	30	MON	WHALER	OPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
39 MARSHALL, MANUEL	28	MON	WHALER	OPWC	AZO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
40 MIGUEL	31	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
41 MIGUEL, JOSE	20	MON	WHALER	OPWC	TERCEIR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
42 MILLER, JOHN	32	MON	WHALER	OPWC	STGEO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
43 PEDRO	19	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
44 PHILLIPS, ALEXANDER	30	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
45 PHILLIPS, CHARLES	34	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149
46 SANTOS, JOSE	30	MON	WHALER	OPWC	AZO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
47 SILVA, FRANK	33	MON	WHALER	OPWC	STGEO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
48 SILVA, JOSEPH	30	MON	WHALER	OPWC	STGEO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
49 SILVA, MANUEL	26	MON	WHALER	OPWC	PICO	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	2
50 STEWART	28	MON	WHALER	NPWC	POR	N/A	N/A	N/A	YES	YES	149

APPENDIX E

CALIFORNIA'S WHALERS IN 1860, 1870 AND 1880

NAME	CENSUS AGE YEAR	RESID*	VALUE VALUE		BIRTH PLACE	MAR- RIED	WIFE FROM	LITE- RATE	CIT- ZEN	LIVING IN GROU	CENUS HH #	
			REAL ESTATE	OF PERS- ONAL ESTATE								
1 AMBROSIO, FRANCISCO	30	1860	MONOP	0	200	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
2 BROWN, FRANK	24	1860	MONOP	0	200	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
3 CHRISTORIO, YGNACIO?	25	1860	MONOP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
4 FRANCIS, ANTONNE	35	1860	MONOP	0	400	FLORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
5 FRATES, JOSE	26	1860	MONOP	0	400	FLORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
6 FRATES, MANUEL	38	1860	MONOP	0	400	PICO	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
7 JOSEPH, M	29	1860	MONOP	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
8 JOSEPH, MARION	30	1860	MONOP	0	400	ST GEORGE	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
9 MARIA, JOSEPH	30	1860	MONOP	0	200	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
10 MARIANO, MANUEL	33	1860	MONOP	0	400	FAYAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
11 MARSHALL, MANUEL	28	1860	MONOP	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
12 MIGUEL, JOSE	20	1860	MONOP	0	400	TERCEIRA	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
13 MILLER, JOHN	32	1860	MONOP	0	400	ST GEORGE	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
14 SANTOS, JOSE	30	1860	MONOP	0	200	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
15 SILVA, FRANK	33	1860	MONOP	0	400	ST GEORGE	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
16 SILVA, JOSEPH	30	1860	MONOP	0	400	ST GEORGE	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
17 SILVA, MANUEL	26	1860	MONOP	0	0	PICO	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	2
18 BEN	24	1860	MONNP	0	0	CHILE	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
19 DAVENPORT, CAPTAIN	43	1860	MONOP	100	4000	RHODE ISL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	NO	3
20 FRANCISCO	30	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
21 FRATES, ANTONIO	18	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
22 FRATES, FRANK	22	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
23 FRATES, JOHN	20	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
24 JESUS	20	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
25 JONINO	36	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
26 JOSE	25	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
27 MANUEL	23	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
28 MIGUEL	31	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
29 PEDRO	19	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
30 PHILLIPS, ALEXANDER	30	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
31 PHILLIPS, CHARLES	34	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
32 STEWART	28	1860	MONNP	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	149
33 ???COMARZHET, ANTONC	32	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	6
34 BISPO, J.L	43	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	6
35 ENNOS, FRANK	30	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NO	YES	8
36 FRANCIS, ANTONO	30	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	25
37 FRETAS, MANUEL	24	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	6
38 JOSEPH, MANUEL	33	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	6
39 KING, JOHN	24	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	7
40 MARCHADO, ANTONE	36	1870	CAR	0	100	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	2
41 MARCHADO, CHRISTIAN	28	1870	CAR	0	100	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	3
42 MARCHEL, ANTONO	35	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	6
43 MILLER, JOSEPH Peter	26	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	YES	YES	6
44 OLIVER, JOSEPH	33	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	19
45 PRAY, LUIS	60	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	7
46 RODRE, JOHN	27	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	8
47 RODRE, MANUEL	35	1870	CAR	0	300	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	9

NAME	CENSUS AGE YEAR	RESID*	VALUE VALUE		BIRTH PLACE	MAR- RIED	WIFE FROM	LITE- RATE	CIT- ZEN	LIVING		CENUS HH #
			REAL ESTATE	PERSO ESTATE						IN GROUF	YES NO	
48 ROSE, MANUEL	45	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	YES	CAL	NO	YES	NO	27
49 SILVA, ANTONE	45	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NO	NO	4
50 SILVA, FRANCIS	30	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	25
51 SILVA, JOHN Y	46	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NO	NO	5
52 SILVA, MANUEL	32	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	8
53 SILVA, MANUEL V.	32	1870	CAR	800	800	AZORES	YES	CAL	NO	YES	NO	1
54 VERRA, JOHN	34	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	7
55 VICOSINE, ANTONO	36	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	10
56 YERIZOM, ABANUEL	49	1870	CAR	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	6
57 ABLES, JOSEPH	22	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	198
58 ALEXANDER, MANUEL	43	1870	MON	700	300	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	125
59 ALEXANDER, MICHAEL	27	1870	MON	500	300	AZORES	YES	MAS	NO	YES	NO	120
60 BELHEMENT, V.C.	36	1870	MON	0	400	AZORES	YES	AZO	YES	YES	NO	117
61 BELLINCURT, JOSE	35	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	YES	YES	199
62 CORDOOS, MANUEL	20	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	199
63 EZALED, ANTONIO J	46	1870	MON	1000	1200	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	102
64 FELICIAN, ANTONIO	25	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	198
65 FIALSE, MANUEL	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	199
66 FIALSO, ANTONIO	40	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	199
67 FILECIANO, E	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	199
68 FRETES, MANUEL	35	1870	MON	1100	300	AZORES	YES	AZO	YES	YES	YES	134
69 GONSARES, MANUEL M	30	1870	MON	0	3000	AZORES	YES	CAL	YES	YES	NO	132
70 JOSEPH, LUCE	40	1870	MON	500	100	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	YES	NO	183
71 LIONARDA, JOHN M.	35	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	YES	YES	199
72 MORRIS, MANUEL	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	198
73 MORRIS, MANUEL	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	199
74 NOON, MICHAEL	22	1870	MON	0	0	LOUISIANA	NO	N/A	YES	YES	YES	199
75 OLIVER, ANTONIO	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	199
76 PEARRE, ANTONIO	36	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	198
77 PERERA, JOSEPH	40	1870	MON	1500	150	AZORES	YES	CAL	YES	YES	NO	85
78 ROSE, GARCIA J.	47	1870	MON	400	300	AZORES	YES	CAL	NO	YES	NO	224
79 SILVA, FRANK	31	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NO	NO	191
80 SILVIA, FRANK	31	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NO	NO	197
81 SILVIRA, ESTALANO	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NO	YES	199
82 SOUZA, FRANCISCO	30	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	199
83 TRINIDAD, MANUEL	29	1870	MON	800	400	AZORES	YES	CAL	NO	NO	NO	116
84 WILLIAMS, JOHN	38	1870	MON	0	0	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	YES	YES	199
85 BENNET, ANTONNE	35	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	101
86 BENNET, JOHN	40	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	101
87 BENNET, JOHN	32	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	YES	NO	96
88 BROWN, FRANK	22	1870	PES	0	1150	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
89 FRANCIS, JOHN	36	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NO	NO	98
90 HOAM, MANUEL?		1870	PES	0	1150	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
91 JOSEPH, MICHAEL	35	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NO	NO	97
92 MECHARDO, MANUEL	22	1870	PES	0	1150	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
93 NOYER, JOSEPH	23	1870	PES	0	1150	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
94 PERRY, FRANK	35	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
95 PETER, JOSEPH	32	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103

NAME	CENSUS		VALUE VALUE			MAR- RIED	WIFE FROM	LITE- RATE	CIT- ZEN	LIVING		CENUS HH #
	AGE	YEAR	RESID*	REAL ESTATE	PERSO ESTATE					BIRTH PLACE	IN GROUF	
96 PRASO, MANUEL	35	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NO	NO	99
97 RODRIGUES, MANEUL	40	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
98 SHIELD, MANUEL	26	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
99 SILVA, ANTONE	40	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NO	NO	100
100 SILVER, JOSEPH	36	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NO	NO	102
101 SYLVESTER, JOSEPH	30	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
102 VENTURIO, ANTONE	24	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	103
103 WHITE, FRANK	34	1870	PES	0	1500	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	YES	YES	101
104 AULIUS, MANUEL	26	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
105 CATO, ANTONE	28	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
106 ENOS, JOSEPH	45	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
107 HAVIEL, FRANCISCO	30	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	10
108 JORDON, JUAQUIM	45	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	YES	WI	YES	YES	NO	12
109 JOSEPH, MANUEL	40	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
110 MARSHALL, JOHN	30	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	10
111 MERCED, FRANCISCO	50	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
112 PERRY, FRANK	39	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	NO	11
113 PERRY, JOHN	33	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	YES	WI	YES	NO	YES	10
114 PERRY, JOSEPH	28	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	10
115 ROSE, FRANK	39	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
116 SMITH, JOSEPH	48	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	10
117 THRATCHER, FRANCISCO	25	1870	PH	0	0	W.ISLANDS	YES	NA	NO	NO	YES	10
118 CUFF, PAUL	50	1870	SD	0	0	MASSACHUS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	655
119 HARRIET, FRANK	40	1870	SD	0	0	MASSACHUS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	654
120 JOHNSON, JAMES	40	1870	SD	0	0	MASSACHUS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	652
121 JOHNSON, MILES	55	1870	SD	0	0	MASSACHUS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	653
122 PACKARD, ALPH	55	1870	SD	0	0	MASSACHUS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	650
123 PACKARD, PRINCE	55	1870	SD	500	0	MASSACHUS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	649
124 WENTWORTH, GEORGE	37	1870	SD	0	100	NEWHAMPSH	NO	N/A	YES	YES	NO	651
125 ANTONE, MANUEL	35	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
126 CLARK, JOSEPH	40	1870	SS	0	1600	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	107
127 FONTAS, ENOS	40	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
128 FRETAS, LUNES	28	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
129 GUINES, JOSE	49	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
130 MANUEL, FRANCISCO	35	1870	SS	0	0	PORTUGAL	YES	WI	NO	YES	NO	109
131 MANUEL, MANUELO	40	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
132 MANUEL, PORTER A	53	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	YES	PERU	NO	YES	NO	111
133 MARSHALL, ANTONE	45	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
134 MARSHALL, ANTONE	43	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
135 NORRIS, THOMAS	44	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	YES	YES	YES	108
136 OLIVER, JOHN	43	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	108
137 PESISA, JOHN(MAD)	36	1870	SS	0	0	MADEIRA	YES	POR	YES	YES	NO	110
138 PETERS, JOSEPH	27	1870	SS	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	YES	NO	YES	108
139 SILVER, ANTONIO	30	1870	SS	0	0	PORTUGAL	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
140 SUARS, LOIS	38	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	YES	YES	108
141 THOMAS, MANUEL	40	1870	SS	0	0	PORTUGAL	YES	N/A	YES	YES	YES	108
142 WHITE, JOHN	23	1870	SS	0	0	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NO	YES	107
143 BORZA, JOSE	25	1880	E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183

NAME	CENSUS AGE YEAR	RESID*	VALUE VALUE		BIRTH PLACE	MAR- RIED	WIFE FROM	LITE- RATE	CIT- ZEN	LIVING IN GROU#	CENUS HH #
			REAL ESTATE	PERSO ESTATE							
144 FEITEIRA, CANDIDO	43	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
145 FEITEIRA, LUIZ	26	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
146 IGNACIO, FRANCISCO	45	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
147 MIRANDA, MANUEL	23	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
148 PACHELA, JOSE	30	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
149 PEREIRA, JOSE	35	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
150 PINTO, ANTONIO	45	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
151 RODRIGUEZ, JOSE	25	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
152 SIMAS, ANTONIO	35	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
153 SIMAS, MANUEL	23	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
154 VIERA, ANTONIO	36	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
155 VIERA, MANUEL	28	1880 E4	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	183
156 CARIEA, VERIASIMO	46	1880 HMB	N/A	N/A	TERCEIRA	YES	GRACY	YES	NA	NO	200
157 PERRY, JOHN	42	1880 HMB	N/A	N/A	FAYAL	YES	FAYA	YES	NA	NO	201
158 WHITE, FRANK	42	1880 HMB	N/A	N/A	FAYAL	YES	FAYA	NO	NA	NO	217
159 ALEXANDER, MIGUEL	36	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	AZORES	YES	MAS	NO	NA	NO	176
160 GONZALVES, MARIANO	48	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	AZORES	YES	CAL	NO	NA	NO	200
161 LEWIS, MANUEL	50	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NA	NO	103
162 LOUSIER, FRANK	30	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	W.ISLANDS	NO	N/A	NO	NA	YES	193
163 MORRIS, MANUEL	34	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NA	NO	159
164 NOON, MIKE	30	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	LOUISIANA	YES	POR	YES	NA	NO	32
165 OLIVER, JOSE	41	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	PORTUGAL	YES	AZO	NO	NA	NO	177
166 SILVA, DOMINGO	40	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	AZORES	YES	POR	NO	NA	NO	169
167 SILVA, FRANK	?	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	PORTUGAL	YES	POR	NO	NA	YES	149
168 SYLVERIA, JOSE	33	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	AZORES	YES	CAL	YES	NA	NO	88
169 TRINIDAD, MANEUL	50	1880 MON	N/A	N/A	AZORES	YES	CAL	YES	NA	NO	87
170 ANDERSON, FRANK	39	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	YES	AZO	NO	NA	YES	220
171 FIETERI, CAUDIDO	20	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
172 FIETERI, LOUIS	40	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
173 HERMAN, ANTONIO	32	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
174 HERMAN, MANUEL	28	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
175 IGNACIO, FRANCISCO	40	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
176 MIRANDA, MANUEL	45	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
177 PACHECO, JOSEPH	25	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
178 PERULIE, MANUEL	35	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
179 PINTO, ANTONIO	43	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
180 RODRIGUEZ, JOSEPH	25	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
181 ROSI, JOSEPH	25	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
182 VIERA, ANTONIO	27	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
183 VIERA, MANUEL	28	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
184 WILLIAMS, JOE	28	1880 PC	N/A	N/A	AZORES	NO	N/A	YES	NA	YES	220
185 NOYA, ANTONNE	42	1880 PES	N/A	N/A	W.ISLANDS	YES	WI	NO	NA	NO	191

CAR= CARMEL
E4=ENUMERATION DISTRICT 4 (POINT CONCEPTION)
HMB=HALF MOON BAY
MONOP= MONTEREY (OLD PORTUGUESE WHALING COMPANY)
MONNP= MONTEREY (NEW PORTUGUESE WHALING COMPANY)
PC=POINT CONCEPTION
PES=PESCADERO
PES=PESCADERO
PH=PORT HARFORD
SD=SAN DIEGO
SS=SAN SIMEON

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population Schedules, 1860, 1870 and 1880.