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Becoming a Place of Institution: The Military Footprint of the Presidio of San Francisco

By

Eric Brandan Blind

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requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in Charge:

Professor Kent G. Lightfoot, Chair

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Abstract

Becoming a Place of Institution: The Military Footprint of the Presidio of San Francisco

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This dissertation aims to illuminate the role of institutions in crafting a future that both enables and constrains future generations. Previous research on institutions has focused almost exclusively on physical institutions and more so on total institutions, such as prisons and asylums. A deeper examination of the literature shows another strain of institutional theory that uses the lens to look at more conceptual institutions, such as marriage or belief systems. In bridging the two, a more coherent model of institutional analysis is pursued.

This dissertation involves an in-depth case study of the military institution at the Presidio of San Francisco. It focuses on the creation and re-creation of this place over generations and through imperial and national regimes, including the militaries of Spain, Mexico and the United States. Throughout this place-based analysis multiple lines of evidence are used and integrated through the device of storytelling using the biographical paths of individuals or life histories of artifacts to understand the larger institutional projects each intersected with and was instrumental in perpetuating.

The approach illustrates how storytelling is not only an integrative device, but also an approach that elucidates the values that lie at the heart of any institutional project. It demonstrates how places are the locus for the manifestation of those values, one that is both setting for the social reproduction of the institution and the product of its reproduction.

The findings prompt a re-thinking of place based-approaches and the role of institutional theory in examining historical trajectories. Given the import and magnitude of the US military presence in the world today it also calls for greater study of this institution to not only understand its impacts abroad, but also to better understand the role it plays at home. Finally, but most importantly, this study calls for more research into this institution, because as it is demonstrated in this study, the legitimacy and success of the US military institution today will surely lead it to be referenced in the future.

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Dedication:

When I was an undergraduate at Saint Mary's College of Maryland I worked in the summers at a former plantation called Cremona Farm. It was situated along the meandering shores of the Patuxent River. There were about 1500 acres to the property with about half of that shrouded in woodland forest typical of the Chesapeake, and another half covered in crops, mostly corn and tobacco. Each set of fields was tended by share croppers who lived in one of the 6 or 7 homes connected by dirt roads outside the manicured grounds of the big estate house, where the owner lived. I lived in a cozy shack just in front of the big house that was rumored to be the old slaves' quarters.

On my first day I met my lone coworker, Joe Winters, an 87 year old black man with thick glasses, a slight hunched frame and bald head capped with a baseball hat. He had worked that land since he was 7. Joe told me his first job was to come on the farm before school to start a fire and put on some oatmeal for the elderly farmhands who had been born into slavery, had never left the farm, and were slowly dying there. He saw them go, then saw new owners come and go, he worked the fields, was brought into the big house as a servant, had his way with every pretty woman who came through that house (according to him) and at some point he got married and moved into one of the sharecroppers' houses to raise 10 kids on that farm. They all moved away and never visited. The newest owners asked him to move out and off the farm, but then brought him back as a farmhand to keep up the land around the estate. Apparently he asked them to come back or else he just kept coming back. I'm not sure if he would know what else to do with himself and told me he was afraid the wicked woman he lived with was gonna kill him in his sleep. One morning the sharecropper who picked him up for work came in empty handed. We found he was in the hospital, and showed up the next morning with a long and deep gash on his forehead. He said she gave it to him in his sleep. So maybe there was something to that wicked woman.

I was a farmhand too, but a novice, unlike Joe. He knew the land, the tides, the clouds better than anyone. He knew the owner's wife liked irises and so we tended them real careful and planted more around each fork of the long dirt road to the big house. We would split the bunch and transplant the bulbs to make more bunches over and over again. Each time we did he pointed to the long greenhouse he built for just this purpose, which was then just a ruin of rotted wood and broken glass sheltering a random collection of weeds. He would chastise me every time I would complain about the old tractor with the busted clutch that jerked you like a bronco when you made each turn in the fields. Of course his chastisements were always historical and involved comparing that crappy old tractor to the ornery donkeys he used for the same work before there were tractors. He pointed out trees he planted that looked older than Adam and travelled every inch of that land except the area out on the point around the real slave house where he started

his work on the farm. I was a young and silly 20 year old. So I would sometimes nap in the shade of the tree on the backside of the slave house, knowing he wouldn't look for me there.

I worked hard but most days we had the run of the place and it was easy to blow off work. Especially in the beginning of the week, because the owners only came down from Washington DC on the weekends. So come Monday it always felt like my parents had left town and Joe and I would kick back a little. Joe's age was my excuse not to work so hard on those days. Joe on the other hand treated it like an act of defiance that he relished. It was on these slow days that Joe would regale me with tales of his real acts of rebellion when he was my age, which mostly involved him sleeping with one of the servant girls in the master's bed.

One day I coerced Joe into a new act of rebellion, one which I hardly suspected would be new to him. Just outside the estate house was an old pool and pool house, where Joe and I would tend the irises and I would occasionally eat lunch and often swim. The pool was unchlorinated water pumped in fresh from the cool depths of the slow river. It was glorious on a sweltering day. One day late in the week Joe caught me stepping gingerly out onto what was left of a diving board and told me to come on. Once I tested the board, feeling it was miraculously still sound, I told him to come on in before trying to splash him with my cannonball dive. Joe refused to come in. I said come on. He refused. I splashed and finally he told me he'd never been in the pool.

I only gave Joe two things in my time at Cremona, the first was the pure joy of swimming in the cool clear waters of that pool on a hot summer day. If you saw the big prideful grin on his face that day floating in the pool you'd know why I call it a gift. The second was a raise I negotiated for us without him knowing it. One day at the end of the summer the owner said he liked the work I was doing and wanted to entice me to stay on during the school year by giving me a raise from \$5.00 an hour to \$5.50. So I responded that I would love the raise as long as it meant I didn't make more than Joe. The owner said, of course that would never happen, that Joe already made more than that. I knew better having gotten his paycheck by accident earlier that year and seeing we made the same. Two weeks later Joe told me he got a raise but didn't know why. I chalked it up to inflation and Joe agreed things were getting pricey.

I left that job soon thereafter to finish up my school work in time to graduate in 1996. After graduation I began my career by joining AmeriCorps, first in the Everglades, which is a whole other story, and then at the Presidio.

I have worked continuously at the Presidio since 1997. I first volunteered at the Presidio as an AmeriCorps volunteer with the title of Archeology Specialist, then I was hired by a new federal

agency called the Presidio Trust invented by congress to run the Presidio. My first official title with the government was Archaeological Technician, then I became the Archaeologist, Senior Archaeologist, Principal Archaeologist, and at the time of this writing Director of Heritage Programs and Sites.

More than just a place to work or study, the Presidio is part of my biography. I have lived there, slept there, dreamt there, hiked there, surfed there, raised and buried a dog there, I met my wife there and now take my kids there. I cannot pretend to be a dispassionate observer. This has been a participatory observation of the place I not only work but the place I dwell, a place I've come to know.

This study is dedicated to Joe Winters who first taught me the value of getting to know a place.

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First of all I want to thank my dissertation committee for their support and encouragement. Their body of work inspired my own. It fills me with pride to have earned your signatures.

Kent – I considered you a role model from our first “chat” in 1999. Your faith and encouragement meant the world to me both then and now. Thank you.

Ruth – Your creativity and innovation inspire me to never stop looking to the future and never be afraid to trying my hand at something new. Thank you.

Paul – You are a gentleman and scholar, whose intellect is only challenged by your generosity with praise and helpful advice. Thank you.

I also want to thank everyone at UC Berkeley who made this such a stimulating journey. I want to thank Meg Conkey for her guidance during my advance to candidacy and serving on that committee. Several other professors stick out above the rest (for me), particularly Rosemary Joyce, Kerwin Klein, Pat Kirch, and all the other professors who made my seminars so rewarding. I also want to thanks my fellow travelers through the program. Thanks for the discussions and for the beers.

I have had so many wonderful colleagues at the Presidio that I couldn't name all of you, but the following mentors and supervisors over the years need to be mentioned. Each of them provided guidance that stimulated my growth.

Leo Barker – My first mentor. I was supposed to stay with you at the Presidio for one year. You laid open the world with such wit and wisdom I had to stay. Thank you Luthor.

Sannie Osborn – Your encouragement provided my career with the push it needed time and time again. I've never had a supervisor take such an interest in me. Thank you.

Michael Boland – The care and vision you have provided for the Presidio and the faith you have put in me over the years to implement it is tremendous. Thank you.

Craig Middleton – You trusted me to reimagine the Officers' Club and challenged me along the way. Your pride in the accomplishment was the best form of gratitude.

Joshua Steinberger – Thanks for your friendship as a colleague and your support as a supervisor. And, especially for that week off to write my dissertation.

Special thanks also go out to my friends and colleagues for their intelligence, humor, provocation, collegiality, and adventurousness. Of particular note are some of my closest confidants and co-conspirators: Hans Barnaal, Liz Clevenger, Kari Jones, and Chris Lee (from the institute).

Over the years my work at the Presidio has brought me into contact with some stellar archaeologists whose work there has informed my own. Particular thanks to Rob Edwards of Cabrillo College, Barbara Voss of Stanford University, and Adrian Praetzelis of Sonoma State University. And, although my interactions with the following people was limited, the fact that you took my work seriously was encouraging: David Hurst Thomas from the American Museum of Natural History, and Sir Colin Renfrew from the University of Cambridge.

On a much more personal note I want to thank my mom and dad. You always told me that an education is something no one can take away from you and they encouraged me to shoot for the stars. Making you both proud was the driving motivation of my young life and the love you showed me made me the person I am today. Thank you, from the bottom of my heart. I also want to thank my sister who always believed in me, even if you called me names that I can't reprint here. Thanks sis.

Last but certainly not least I need to acknowledge the unending encouragement, support and sacrifice of my wife and partner Heather Blind. You have helped me in more ways than I can recount in this space. You have been my rock who grounds me and my star who guides me. Our story starts at the Presidio where we met. You were an archaeology graduate student at the University of Glasgow working with UC Berkeley on an excavation at the colonial site of *El Presidio*. The day I met you I thought I was pretty cool, coasting around on my skateboard at work, and knew I wanted to impress you. In retrospect what I really needed was to be put in my place, which is what I got when I surprised you by jumping into your excavation. You gave me a baleful look before uttering something I cannot remember but am sure had some expletives. I can only remember the sweet melodious sound of your beautiful Scottish accent. It was an inauspicious beginning and it wasn't until a few weeks later that I got the courage to ask you out. I was about to pull away in my van from the archaeology laboratory at the end of the day and go take my dog Sherman for a walk when I saw you talking to some friends on the loading dock. I leaned over and asked Sherman, "should I see if she wants to come on a walk at the beach?" Truthfully, it was a trick question meant to bolster my resolve. I knew Sherman would say yes to any question that ended in the word beach. And, luckily for my ego, my future, and my enduring shot at happiness, you also said yes to the beach and a few years later to my proposal. Thank you for saying yes, and for sticking by me for all these years.

Chapter 1: Introduction

As a professional archaeologist I have spent much of my career on the grid, using grid coordinates to accurately record the location of an excavation and the artifacts I find within it. The grid is more than a tool; it forms the basis of my conceptions of space. That is why I was so taken by a story about the curious circumstances in which Rene Descartes developed the coordinate plane system or what is better known as the Cartesian grid. As the potentially apocryphal story goes, it was a common housefly that inspired him. The story is set in Descartes' bed room when he was a sickly boy. Each morning he would lay in bed till around noon, daydreaming and reading books to keep up with his schooling. On occasion a fly would come through the open window and land on the ceiling, where Descartes' daydreaming eyes would follow its seemingly random perambulations. With ample time to observe, the young Descartes sought to document each fly's individual path, perhaps map them over time and look for patterns amongst them. So, he created a mental grid to plot their movements, measuring each point on their way from the perpendicular axis created by the edges of the ceiling. And, according to the story, thus was born the Cartesian grid (Edmunds 2008).

To me, there is something profound in understanding the context and sometimes mundane inspiration for someone's thoughts on a subject. Usually these are buried by the author, especially if they are subjective or biographical, only to be excavated again by a biographer or student trying to follow the hidden path of the author's journey. For experimental physical sciences it is routine to record things like ambient temperatures and the materials used in the experiment in case either had an unforeseen effect on the process. I believe similar efforts should be routine for the more qualitative analyses of history. So, the first thing to introduce in this work is that the reader will see more of my in-process thoughts and journey than a more conventional study. I believe it serves a purpose.

The primary point of this introduction is to present the core question I seek to answer. Stripped away of the particularities of my topic and thinking expansively, the core question I seek to answer in this dissertation is the following: how do people manifest their will over stretches of time that exceed their lives and begin to set a trajectory for future generations? While this question is about the future, it is of necessity one of historical inquiry since future evidence is clearly not available for study.

I recall sitting in a lecture hall at UC Berkeley taking notes as my professor, Patrick Kirch, spoke about the *landesque capital* improvements that a specific chiefdom on a Pacific island made. He was speaking about terracing the mountainous landscape to increase yields in farming, a process known as agricultural intensification. My mind locked onto the term and I realized this was the

kind of manifestation of will that would last for generations. An improvement to the land that would not only work for the next crop but would set the parameters for labor and sustenance for generations to come. It was a moment that began to unlock my thinking on this subject. It moreover led me to see the recursive relationship between enduring places and institutions, in this case: farmland and chiefdom.

Setting a multi-generational trajectory is a project that goes beyond the individual, but requires the alignment of individual actions and thoughts to a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts. It requires an institution, one that acts to define the seemingly immutable ways in which a person can be in the world.

Not all institutional projects are place-based, but many are. These place-based projects manipulate their environment to create an ecosystem for the institution's social reproduction. These institutional projects establish places that are both setting and product. In order to ground this study I will look at a particular place and a type of institution and leverage my years of archaeological work at the Presidio of San Francisco to examine the military institutions that operated there over the course of several centuries under the dominion of Spanish Colonial, Mexican Republic, and US National regimes. What I intend to present in this study is, however, not archaeology strictly speaking. I intend it to be more akin to historical anthropology: a rather ambiguous combination of words that I will work to better define.

Historical Anthropology:

Often historical and archaeological studies are temporally scoped to begin and end in the past, unintentionally conceding that past events have little connection or bearing on the present. Despite this, I believe archaeology in particular is well positioned to make a contribution that demonstrates the ways in which the past influences the present because of its engagement with the enduring material record.

The material record is multi-temporal, meaning it was created in the past, it has been shaped over time, and it persists into the present. Often what results is similar to a palimpsest, with partial erasures but enduring elements. The Presidio has often been described as a palimpsest, one that is cumulative, implying many of the elements are present but have differing levels of clarity or resolution (Bailey 2007). This built and material inheritance influences the ways current generations use and experience the physical world around them. It preserves fragments of thought, although the meaning evolves over time.

Similar to the kinds of *landesque capital* improvements in the economy of a culture, the construction of monumental architecture such the Egyptian pyramids and Mayan temples also have a long term impact on the trajectory of a culture. Because they are durable these tangible monuments carried into the future the once obvious, if now inscrutable, symbolic meaning of the institutions behind them. This forms the romance of archaeology, trying to find the symbolism behind a monument that was clearly designed to communicate meaning.

But what of the extension to anthropology and culture's intangible inheritance? I feel one contribution historically infused anthropology could make is to endeavor to understand the connections between prescribed modes of thinking in the past and the unquestioned categories of thought we inherit in the present.

For anthropology, I want to highlight an important fork in the road of that discipline's lineage, one that increasingly moved anthropology away from history. It is a fork that is encapsulated neatly in the very title of Eric Wolfe's classic work *Europe and the People without History* (Wolf 1982), but is more generally described below.

Although it is an oversimplification, one can argue broadly that nineteenth-century European nations with colonies tended to develop an anthropological study of primitive societies, while the ethnographic interest in countries with few or no colonies was first directed toward 'the primitives within,' the rapidly disintegrating peasant culture... where folklorists and ethnologists salvaged the past and constructed an idealized picture of a traditional national peasant culture (Löfgren 1980). Then came the time that the vanishing peasant culture could no longer be studied in the field but only in the ethnological archives, with their rich collections of material on peasant beliefs and ways of life. Gradually, European ethnologists also turned their interest to the study of modern industrial society, but retained a comparative, historical approach in which the present was profiled against the background of the past (Frykman and Löfgren 1987).

This division illustrates the manner through which anthropology was developed within a colonial system and has since become associated with a study of *other* cultures. Furthermore, because those *other* cultures were seen to be people without history, anthropology focused almost exclusively on synchronic analysis. This synchronic preference informed the approaches of Alfred Kroeber and subsequent generations of anthropologists who used the ethnographic present of other cultures to reconstruct the stages and ages their own civilized culture transition through. They assumed little change had occurred in those other cultures and so those "memory cultures"

reflected earlier stages in humanity's development (see Lightfoot 2004). My approach to historical anthropology is closer to the folk ethnology took inside Europe, staying within their nationalized borders, and comparing their contemporary selves to their ancestors with a kind of historical perspective that anthropology looked much deeper in the past and overseas for.

For me, as someone who has studied anthropology but practiced archaeology I feel an affinity for archaeologists such as Christopher Hawkes who recognized the contribution archaeology and history could make to anthropology. In 1954, Hawkes delivered a paper for Anthropology's Wenner Gren Supper Conference at Harvard. This is the same paper in which he laid out his famous ladder of inference. Curiously, the word "ladder" does not appear in the paper but the following reads to me like a call to action on the important relationship of history to anthropology.

Time is an essential category of archaeological thought. It is the time dimension, which archaeology as an extension of history alone can give, that entitles it to a unique and indispensable place among the anthropological disciplines... It is a vital function of archaeology to stand with history in reminding anthropologists that time really does exist, and cannot ultimately be run away from if truth is to be served (Hawkes 1954).

In the decades since Hawkes' paper, anthropology continued with a focus on the ahistorical analysis of tribal people. Beginning in the 1980s there was a florescence of historical minded anthropology, most of which followed the lead of Marshall Sahlins and his analysis of the "structure of the conjuncture" (1985). Sahlins wanted to do more than collaborate with historians. He wanted "to explode the concept of history by the anthropological experience of culture." Sahlins went further to assume the reciprocal, that "historical experience will as surely explode the anthropological concept of culture"(1992). Since the 1990s, there has been an increased emphasis on historical changes within *other* cultures, which has damaged the notion of the ethnographic present and its use in analogy (Gosden 1994; Stahl 1993). An effort to take history into account by examining notions of time in constructing *other* cultures followed (Fabian 2002; Gell 1992). Yet I still feel there is a distance between anthropology and history. Perhaps as anthropologists continue to see job growth in corporate fields where their skills are put to use analyzing subcultures of the domestic marketplace the distance between the disciplines will shrink, as they are tasked with examining subjects with whom they clearly share some history (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2015).

I do not intend to make this a critique of anthropology or to make a caricature of it. I only seek to outline how a historically conscious approach, like ethnology in Europe, could benefit

anthropology, by filling in some gaps that have developed in the range of cultures it studies and the manner in which it studies them.

On the other side of the coin, select historians have worked to add in aspects of anthropology to their work and a sort of cross pollination has occurred. For instance, archaeologists have routinely referenced the scholarship of French historian Fernand Braudel, particularly his multi-scalar formulations of time (1972). It is the historical branch, which has been pollinated by anthropological thought that I find particularly fruitful. Peter Burke of Cambridge University described this distinctive anthropological approach to history and enumerated five features of historical anthropology that distinguish it from social history (Burke 2005). These contrasts, however, should not be exaggerated. I have adapted these five features and present them in my own words below, although the reference is his.

1. Historical anthropology is deliberately qualitative and concentrates on specific cases instead of general trends based on quantitative evidence.
2. Works of historical anthropology are often deliberately microscopic and focus on small communities in order to achieve greater depth as well as more local color and life.
3. Historical anthropologists concentrate on what, following Clifford Geertz (1973) is often called 'thick descriptions', in other words the interpretation of social interaction in a given society in terms of that society's own norms and categories.
4. Historical anthropologists make the symbolism of everyday life one of their central concerns, and try to show, for example, how 'apparently trivial routines and rituals have an important role in maintaining or enforcing a certain world view' (Löfgren 1981).
5. Historical anthropologists tend to be interested in theory, but their great tradition runs from Emile Durkheim, through Arnold van Gennep (1909) on 'rites of passage' and Marcel Mauss (1954) on the meaning of gifts, to contemporary figures such as Geertz, Victor Turner and Pierre Bourdieu.

(after Burke 2005)

Institutions and Places:

The theoretical traditions on institutions and place that I'll be drawing from are varied but nonetheless interrelated, each thread of theoretical conversation having been influenced and partially sheltered under the umbrella of structuration (Giddens 1979, 1986).

Largely my research follows a course set by Allan Pred, particularly with his light admonishment of structuration when he said its "proponents are not precise as to how any given time-space specific practice can be simultaneously rooted in past time-space situations and serve as the potential roots of future time-space situations" (Pred 1984). Furthermore, I am taking-up three main points Pred offers for institutional projects, including:

1. the impact they have on the daily paths of participants, their imprint upon the landscape, and the power relations out of which they come and to which they contribute
2. the formation of particular biographies as a reflection of elements of the structuration process in place
3. a sense of place, not as something that stands on its own, but as a phenomenon that is part of the becoming of individual consciousness and thereby inseparable from biography formation and the becoming of place.

(Pred 1984)

Here, Pred endeavors to get beyond the long-held claim that history matters by attempting to better understand how history matters within specific contexts. The specific context I have chosen is a systemic institution – the military – but also based on a particular unit, or place – the Presidio. In this way the research could be extrapolated from by looking at horizontally overlapping institutions, like the colonial Missions, which I will do, and other institutional units that are vertically integrated within the hierarchy of Spanish, Mexican, or the US military systems, which I will also do, but particular enough to examine at the practical level and not drift into abstractions or generalities.

I take the definition of institution to be twofold, whereby: "First, it denotes rules, constraints, or norms of human interaction. Second, it describes the resulting stable patterns of interaction among a set of agents and the social mechanisms generating this outcome" (T. R. Voss, et al. 2001). This, however, is a very conceptual understanding of the term and stands in distinction to much of the archaeological literature on institutions that focuses on brick-and-mortar institutions

with the power to confine – prisons, asylums. My work seeks to bridge the theoretical divide between those thinkers, such as Mary Douglas (1986), who emphasize conceptual institutions in their attempt to demonstrate how the most elementary cognitive process depends on social institutions, and Erving Goffman (1961) who set the agenda on physical institutions where groups of individuals, separated from the wider society, lead an enclosed and formally administered existence in what he termed “total institutions”. They agree that institutions act to establish norms and then pattern interactions in such a way that absolve individuals from several kinds of routine decisions. Borrowing from structuration and time-geography, I’d like to see how these institutional projects do this in a manner that both constrains and enables future action.

If we believe that people do not create places in a certain way by virtue of some extended phenotype (after Dawkins 1999), but instead through self-conscious authorship and “by virtue of their own conceptions of the possibility of being” (Ingold 2000), then institutional places are the locus for this manifestation – being the immediate site where those conceptions of the possible are shaped. In this way place as a theoretical construct becomes even more powerful. After Immanuel Kant (1899) and many others successfully reconstructed the mind/body dualism of Descartes, we recognize more clearly the synesthetic experiences of people in place and moreover that places are “the homeland of human thoughts” not external to them (Merleau-Ponty 2002).

I seek to examine institutional projects as they work to shape the possibilities of being in particular places and thereby effect the future paths of individuals and groups that have passed through and experienced those places.

The military imposes order by creating both physical and conceptual frameworks for individuals to understand their place in the world. I start from the premise that the military occupation of the Presidio has:

1. restricted who has authorship to build
2. controlled the possession of personal items
3. ordered the landscape to reflect its values
4. created enduring identities for its members
5. structured social interactions through architecture
6. registered its values on the bodies of its members
7. made use of symbols and precedence to establish its power

In short I take these to be both the instruments being used and the proxy through which I can analyze the institution using them.

Archaeology has a unique perspective on institutional places because of its access to diachronic datasets, its acceptance and inclusion of space as a meaningful unit of analysis, and its theoretical approaches that emphasize the active role material culture plays in structuring life. With a realistic humility about what can be deduced from material remains alone, I will expand the corpus of data from which I will draw to make generous use of all that remains from the past, including: artifacts, documents, imagery, architecture, landscapes, contemporary folklore, and even current behavior. This will stretch my approach from one that could be strictly archaeological to one that is both historical and anthropological.

Integrating Multiple Lines of Evidence:

The various lines of evidence we produce often have their genesis in the situation where they are currently located (in the archives, in the ground, etc.) or divided by units of analysis (dwelling units, portable artifacts, etc.). This, however, is not the segmented manner in which they were experienced in the past. In order to reshuffle these various lines of evidence I plan to use storytelling as an integrative device, and furthermore in a way that demonstrates how storytelling can serve a theoretical purpose. For the often forgotten times and places archaeologists identify and investigate were once where the people we study dwelt, and made their homes, the places in which they daydreamed, and learned the structure of their own society in order to shape and reproduce it again. Therefore, by employing stories, I plan to humanize my research into the institution.

This effort includes both stories about the past as well as stories about my efforts in the present to understand my relationship with this institution. I do this with both an implicit sense of epistemological modesty and explicit acknowledgement of the ambiguity of history.

In the following pages you will find two different types of chapters. The first type is a chapter that begins a section and addresses the lineage of scholarship on a topic: one on place titled: *Telling Stories about Place* and one on institutions titled: *Establishing the Institution*. The second type of chapter is more exploratory of the Presidio and my attempt to reveal through personal experiences and research how that lineage of thought is applied to better understand the Presidio. Each of the exploratory chapters look at a different facet of the Presidio as a place of institution.

The exploratory chapters following *Telling Stories about Place* are:

- *Making Your Place*, which looks at the intimate scale of place within a dwelling from the perspective of those who have lived it, including me.
- *Making it all seem Natural*, which zooms much further out to survey the whole Presidio site and trace its controlling relationship to the natural world.

The exploratory chapters following *Establishing the Institution* are:

- *Setting the Stage*, which takes biographical paths to look institutional indoctrination, beginning with the related colonial mission, and comparing it to the Presidio.
- *Building the Community*, which examines at how social structure is reflected in architecture with a focus on the Presidio's oldest building, the Officers' Club.
- *Following in the Footsteps*, which examines institutional legacies through the core symbol of the Presidio, the Spanish Coat of Arms.

Archaeology has a unique contribution to make in bettering our collective understanding of both materiality and temporality. My research seeks to enable this contribution by recognizing the past's continuing influence through durable material and traditions. It may demonstrate how institutions carry forth the will of cultures and individuals long since dead, their corporal being undone by the very depredations of time that these material manifestations seek to transcend.

It seems to me that an institutional study of military sites would fill gaps in our understanding of the role institutions played in the places of our colonial and national pasts. From Emile Durkheim to Thomas Kuhn and beyond, researchers have been looking for the social origins of individual thought. Furthermore this study will fill a gap in the archaeological literature on the role of physical and conceptual institutions in crafting individual consciousness by going beyond the dualism of oppressor and oppressed to see a fuller range of the microphysics of institutional power in place.

Chapter 2: Telling Stories about Place

There is no doubt whatever about the influence of architecture and structure upon human character and action. We make our buildings and afterwards they make us.

-Winston Churchill-

I suppose I have recognized the difference between space and place as analogous to the differentiation between a house and a home, with the latter in both instances having been imbued with meaning by people through the passage of time. People build a relationship with their homes, and other places, crafting them to adapt to their changing needs and reflect their current desires. But conversely, as in any relationship, the material manifestation of a home then works to shape their occupants behavior and perceptions. This relationship extends beyond a personal one between an individual and their home to encompass the family unit or other extended group, and to frame the experiences of guests and other visitors. Perhaps more importantly this place becomes an idea or constellation of ideas intimately associated with one's self as they move through the world and take a sense of place very far away from their home.

No matter how far I am taken down roads that lead me to other schools of thought about place and its role in culture, I come back to this analogy although I know its reminiscences of home and hearth do not apply to all the various characters of place there are to be found in the world. The key points for me are: places have meaning for individuals or groups; over time these meaningful places, continually crafted by human action, can in turn shape human behavior in a recursive relationship; and finally place can be much more difficult to bound; it spills over the lines of architecture, landscape, neighborhood, region, and beyond, to imaginary places that exist beyond the perpetual horizon.

In 1983 Grady Clay, the long-term editor of the professional magazine *Landscape Architecture*, described place as "a passing academic fad" (Clay 1983). A decade later James Duncan and David Ley remark that "landscape and place have assumed a remarkably central position in current interdisciplinary interpretations of our times" (Duncan and Ley 1993).

This marks not only a difference in position on the subject from the professional versus academic perspectives, but also a continuing shift over time to recognize place as a fundamental concept

for both successful designers and researchers. While this creeping realization of the importance of place to the human experience has taken hold, there is still no unambiguous definition of place to clearly reference, and the discussions over place as an academically rigorous term are somewhat fraught. This is not necessarily a bad thing.

In the years after Duncan and Ley remarked on the “remarkably central position” place had assumed, Amos Rapoport hit a much more sour note on the subject when he said “place is never clearly defined and hence vague; when definitions are found, they are illogical” (Rapoport 1994). Even proponents within geography of the centrality of place, such as Dolores Hayden, acknowledge that “place is one of the trickiest words in the English language, a suitcase so overfilled that one can never shut the lid” (Hayden 1997).

So what are we to do with this overflowing suitcase, this slippery concept? Can we at least establish the gist of the term?

Perhaps I can begin in literature, not in academic journals but in actual literature, because it is not only in academic and design circles that place is seen to be both lacking and somewhat elusive. The venerated writer Wallace Stegner noted that for the broad sweep of American literature “a lot of what has been written is a literature of motion, not of a place” (Stegner and Watkins 2002). Stegner reflects on the work of UC Berkeley Professor of English George Stewart, who began his book *Names on the Land* with the passage: “Once, from eastern ocean to western ocean, the land stretched away without names. Nameless headlands split the surf; nameless lakes reflected nameless mountains; and nameless rivers flowed through nameless valleys into nameless bays” (Stewart 1967).

Now, Stewart is writing from an obviously Eurocentric view of the outstretched American continent and this should not be considered the only or even a necessarily privileged perspective, but it is nonetheless a historical perspective to be reckoned with in understanding place in America. Stegner continues on this path:

I must believe that, at least to human perception, a place is not a place until people have been born in it, have grown up in it, lived in it, known it, died in it – have both experienced and shaped it, as individuals, families, neighborhoods, and communities, over more than one generation. Some are born in their place, some find it, some realize after long searching that the place they left is the one they have been searching for. But whatever their relation to it, it is made a place only by slow accrual, like a coral reef... [America] had no places in it until people

had named them, and worn the names smooth with use.... So the fact that Daniel Boone killed a bear at a certain spot in Kentucky did not make it a place. It began to be one, though, when he remembered the spot as Bear Run, and other people picked up the name and called their settlement by it, and when the settlement became a landmark or destination for travelers, and when the children had worn paths through its woods to the schoolhouse or swimming hole. The very fact that people remembered Boone's bear-killing, and told about it, added something of placeness (Stegner and Watkins 2002).

Stegner's observations resonate with much of the philosophical notions of place and dwelling. But he does not end there. In his essay *A Sense of Place* he resumes his emphasis on a transition in American literature, and moreover American being, from works of motion to works of place:

It is probably time we settled down. It is probably time we looked around instead of looked ahead. We have no business any longer being impatient with history... History was part of the baggage we threw overboard when we launched ourselves into the New World... We threw it away because it recalled old tyrannies, old limitations, galling obligations, bloody memories. Plunging into the future through a landscape that had no history, we did both the country and ourselves some harm along with some good. Neither the country nor the society we built out of it can be healthy until we stop raiding and running, and learn to be quiet part of the time, and acquire the sense not of ownership but of belonging (Stegner and Watkins 2002).

As part of my intent to put disparate thinkers grappling with place into conversation I'd like to take Stegner's reflections on ahistorical motion versus historical belonging and compare that to Allan Pred, who sees place as a "historically contingent process" (Pred 1984), and to Yi Fu Tuan, both of whom in various connotations are often called the founder of the school of a more humanist geography. Stegner and especially Tuan could have been collaborators on a grand project. For Tuan makes a strikingly similar point to Stegner for the definition of place.

Place is pause in movement... Movement takes time and occurs in space; it postulates a space-time field. Place and movement, however, are antithetical. Place is a break or pause in movement – the pause that allows a location to become the centre of meaning with space organized around it (Tuan 1978).

It is perhaps not surprising that both Stegner and Tuan spent time ruminating on the advancements of European immigrants across the plains westward and saw in that process a transformation of space into place for the travelers only after individual journeys ended and specific locations became the scene of the immigrants everyday lives and became imbued with memory and meaning.

Another bit of harmony between these ideological bedfellows is the role of place in shaping individual identity. Tuan in his humanist perspective has worked to explore “the idea of attachment through place... and the role of attachment in shaping, defining, and expanding the self” (Tuan and Mercure 2004). Earlier, Tuan also references Helen Santmyer (1998) when he sounds a very practice theory note in stating: “Perhaps the small daily exchanges with the environment, performed unceremoniously over a lifetime, create the deepest sense of attachment to a locality” (Tuan 1978). And, then again from Stegner and particularly his student Wendell Berry who is attributed for the following quote: “if you don’t know where you are you don’t know *who* you are” (Stegner and Watkins 2002).

So the idea of place is related to pause, to an acceptance of history, to attachment or belonging, and furthermore to the creation of meaning through dwelling or simply being in the world. I find that in all the discussions of place there persists a simple equation where Space + People + Time = Place; and furthermore where the time elapsed in a defined space enables people to develop a practical familiarity with space and hence enter a recursive relationship where space is crafted into a form that represents peoples’ desire and then in turn shapes continuing action to a more harmonious fit within that place, a fit that makes us more human.

J.B. Jackson comes to a similar point decades prior:

Most of us, I suspect, without giving much thought to the matter, would say that a sense of place, a sense of being at home in a town or a city, grows as we become accustomed to it and learn to know its peculiarities. It is my own belief that a sense of place is something that we ourselves create in the course of time. It is the result of habit or custom (Jackson 1996).

Now, theories and approaches to place have been heavily influenced by several theoretical traditions that have become more and more interrelated. Those are primarily the structuration school, which adapted structuralism to acknowledge human agency and more explicitly incorporate within it the recursive development of structures and hence break down the dichotomy between structure and agency, and a phenomenological stance, which with a similar ambition sought to break

down the Cartesian dualism of object and subject extending from the locus of the mind/body division (to which Descartes so famously reduced it) by acknowledging the importance of sensory experiences and positioning the body quite closer to the mind and further integrating our minds with the *world out there*.

Of course any field of inquiry would not be complete without a neo-Marxist perspective, which is where I will start. I am choosing to include it within the discussion because of its inherent value, but I'm also choosing to start with it because it falls somewhat on one edge of the spectrum of thought on place, closer to structuration but further from phenomenology.

French sociologist Henri Lefebvre prevails amongst the thinkers who delve into the theme of place although his formulation is more towards space and its production, where he contends that an "authentic knowledge of space must address the question of its production" (Lefebvre 1991). Lefebvre focused on the space of social reproduction at multiple scales, from the intimate space around the body, space to house the work force, and the public space of social relations within a city similar to "third places" (after Oldenburg 1999). While his formulation is more towards space it is nonetheless imbued with social aspects and should not be confused with more explicit references to space as somehow uninhabited or as a precursor opposed to place. In keeping with other works he sees space as "permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations but it is also producing and produced by social relations" (Lefebvre 1991). This emphasis on social reproduction and space as the locus of those activities is what puts him squarely within the field of thought dealing with place.

Lefebvre finds resonance with another thinker whose straightforward ideas on place have found a niche in more popular parlance, with the term "third place" routinely employed by city planners and others engaged in community building. It was Ray Oldenburg who, in assessing the daily life of the American people remarked that, "unfortunately, opinion leans toward the view that the causes of stress are social but the cures are individual." This he found was out of balance and sought to identify that balance in three realms of experience. The first is domestic, found in the home, the second is purpose or vocation, found at work and the third places, which are lacking in contemporary American culture. These places are "inclusively sociable, offering both the basis of community and the celebration of it." He posits the intentional creation and facilitation of third places can help achieve a balance and act as a social salve to the social stresses that individuals are otherwise left to ameliorate on their own. Oldenburg provides several characteristics of third places, which I will summarize as: generally occurring on neutral ground, having conversation as the primary purpose with no defined host, providing a levelling effect that provides participants with the relief of "engaging their personalities beyond the contexts of purpose, duty, or role,"

and supporting a mood that can best be equated to the socialization achieved through play in childhood rather than the anxiety and alienation typical of adult life (Oldenburg 1999).

A focus on socialization and social reproduction brings us along the spectrum of thought towards a thinker I feel has best defined the field and provided both insight and a path towards operational questions to pursue.

For Allan Pred of UC Berkeley, who I will quote from profusely, place “always represents a human product. Place, in other words, always involves an appropriation and transformations of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society” (Pred 1984). His theory of place is as stated previously a “historically contingent process that emphasizes institutional and individual practices as well as the structural features with which those practices are interwoven” (Pred 1984).

Pred picks up on the structuration school of thought and, although he references both Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens, concentrates on Giddens who believed “the structuration of every social system, however small or large, occurs in time and space” (Giddens 1979). Time as a factor is one that Pred champions as an inalienable part of the geographic pursuit of a sense of place. His attention to a diachronic perspective is both conducive to historical inquiry and a subtle critique of the structuration school, whom Pred believes could be further bolstered by an engagement with the temporal dimension. His delicate admonishment forms the basis of his time-geography mode of inquiry.

Instrumental in time-geography is his conception of path-project, whereby path is tied to a biography that may transcend and incorporate many places, and where projects are the ambitions of people to produce a designed outcome that can be operationalized at either the institutional or individual scale. For Pred, this path-project formulation put into a dialectical relationship the irreducible individual and social institutions, with these path-project intersections being the focus or point of inquiry for understanding social reproduction and the creation of place. Here again he is expanding from Giddens:

The continuity of any local institution cannot rest merely on the physical persistence of facilities under its control... but depends upon the memory traces, practical knowledge, unformalized rules and norms, and complex skills employed by individuals when they ‘reconstitute the practices layered into those institutions in deep time-space (from Giddens 1981)... It requires a succession of path-project intersections whereby individuals, acting within a context of largely

unacknowledged power relations, unintentionally reproduce conditions or connect the momentary event with the institutional *duree*, while simultaneously forming their own biographies (Pred 1984).

The dialectic between path-project is in many ways analogous to the dialectic between agency and structure. For an assessment of one half of this feedback loop, with project (structure) working to shape path (human action, if not outright agency) Pred brings in Michel Foucault who says that “individual acceptance of natural all that is part of an institutional project usually goes hook in eye with an unwitting (or witting) absorption of the views held by the institutions power holders” (Pred 1984).

While I clearly choose to highlight this quotation, I think it somewhat overemphasizes the influence in one direction, with structure subsuming agency. One thing I appreciate in Pred’s work is a repeated acknowledgement of the role human path/practice has in shaping projects/structures, and furthermore an insistence in projecting structures as not only inhibiting of future human action but also enabling it. From his discussion on the transformation of nature comes an example where he explicitly states that “as nature is transformed into humanly made elements of place and as local space is structured and given new meaning by the ceaseless dialectic between socialization and social reproduction, what can further take place is constrained *as well as enabled*” (Pred 1984). I personally support this formulation because too often in academia, or elsewhere, once a hidden structure is identified what follows is an immediate incrimination and search for nefarious agendas; seeing at once, and everywhere, plots and sub-plotting against human agency. Where one of the grounding elements (quite literally) that results from situating these debates in real places is that it becomes both easier and more necessary to immediately recognize the variety, the spectrum of places that on one hand severely constrain human action and those which on the other hand enable its more full realization, with the majority being somewhere in between those poles.

This focus on individual human action and understanding is an appropriate point at which to transition from the more explicitly structural approaches to those heavily influenced by phenomenology.

Clifford Geertz’s *Interpretation of Cultures* (1993) remains an oft visited well of inspiration from which to draw from in understanding culture, even if most do not dip too deep into that well and only repeatedly draw out the same (beautiful) metaphor – “that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance that he himself has spun” – a belief that Geertz himself ties back to Max Weber. Edward Relph builds on this and again draws out Geertz’s beautiful metaphor suggesting

that: “places occur where these webs touch the earth and connect people to the world” (Relph 2009).

Aside from the beautiful metaphor, it is appropriate for Relph and the following class of thinkers to have Geertz as a touchstone, for it was Geertz who worked towards redirecting anthropologists away from “an experimental science in search of law” to “an interpretive one in search of meaning” (Geertz 1993). This transition to meaning with place as one of its loci of production, brings in phenomenology.

The philosopher Jeff Malpas appears to currently be doing the most work in that field “to establish the idea of place in such a way that it can begin to be seen, neither in terms merely of some narrow sense of spatio-temporal location, nor as some sort of subjective construct but, rather, as that wherein the sort of being that is characteristically human has its ground” (Malpas 1999).

This is truly where the strands of structuration and phenomenology are put to common purpose. I’ve already noted that each school in its own way has sought to bridge the divides that have obsessed previous thinkers who in their searching for laws, or the primacy of one half of a dyad over the other, took stances that hindered their abilities to appreciate the recursive relationship. Malpas sees place as that bridge, because place must be “understood as a structure comprising spatiality *and* temporality, subjectivity *and* objectivity, self *and* other. Indeed, these elements are themselves only established in relation to each other and so only within the topographical structure of place” (Malpas 1999).

Another philosopher explicitly tied to phenomenology is Edward Casey, who pursues an approach that seeks to marry phenomenology with anthropology in a descriptive project related to place when he says that “the insistently descriptive character of the phenomenological enterprise in philosophy rejoins the emphasis in anthropology on precise description in the field” (Casey 1999). While I appreciate and myself support that project, I feel Casey makes an early misstep in his work by focusing on the primacy of place over space, trying to establish some universal, and underappreciating the recursive relationship by taking the material world for granted without a serious appreciation for its production and reproduction. Aside from what in my opinion is a misstep in framing and focus, I follow and support a considerable amount of his emphasis on synesthetics – “an affair of the whole body sensing and moving” where humans are not merely passive receptors of data, but instead “to perceive synesthetically is to be actively passive; it is to be both absorptive yet constitutive, both at once” (Casey 1997).

Now, part of my problem with Casey lies in the fact that his work is situated in a lineage of either/or debates over *primary forces* that I have little appetite for unless they serve some purpose or have bearing on a specific situation. Otherwise the abstracted arguments provide fodder for all who want to dismiss the discussion of place and space with the aspersion: its *academic*. For instance, in preaching against the tyranny of Cartesian dualism which brought nearly all phenomena out of the world, into the mind, and back onto the world as a representation, Casey contends, “this panrepresentationalism takes in not only every particular phenomenon... but also the universe... and even space and time themselves, which on Kants’ assessment we *represent to ourselves*.” Here begins Casey’s troubled relationship with Kant, as Casey then points out it is “Kant himself who proposes an alternative route to place that circumvents mind and representation alike,” with that alternative route being the human body. Kant recognizes the body as the “‘third thing’ between a sensible something and a particular somewhere” echoing Plato who proposed “Two things alone cannot be satisfactorily united without a third; for there must be some bond between them drawing them together” (Kant in Casey 1997).

Employing Kant in this dual way reminds me that there are permutations in everyone’s thoughts over the course of a lifetime. I think this acceptance of the body corresponds with a transition towards a greater skepticism in his biography (Kronenberg in Kant 1899). Because I have a special affinity for Kant, and believe he went further than simply identifying the body as the “third thing,” which would only reaffirm the mind/body dualism, I’d like to call out a passage he wrote in 1766 after his skeptical turn that deals with the mind, body (and soul) dualism:

Where is the place of this human soul in the corporeal world? I would answer, the body, the changes of which are my changes, this body is my body, and its place is, at the same time, my place. If the question be continued, where then is your (soul's) place in that body? Then I might suspect that there is a catch in the question... Nobody... is conscious of occupying a separate place in his body, but only of that place which he occupies as man in regard to the world around him... No experience teaches me to believe some parts of my sensation to be removed from myself, to shut up my ego into a microscopically small place in my brain from whence it may move the levers of my body-machine... (Kant 1899).

To me it seems conclusive that for Kant the mind and body are contiguous, and therefore the same locus of human knowledge. So finally moving past these debates, then how does this body articulate with and make sense or meaning out of space?

Looking through the phenomenological perspective leads me to two thinkers who deal with place and otherwise dominate the literature – Maurice Merleau-Ponty and Martin Heidegger. Merleau-

Ponty conceives of our knowledge of space as emanating from our bodies in a very direct way, in that the very form of our bodies with a rough symmetry of tops/bottoms and front/back are extended to our conceptions about the surrounding spaces, or places in the world. "Far from my body's being for me no more than a fragment of space, there would be no space at all for me if I had no body" (Merleau-Ponty 2002).

The second fundamental perspective is that brought by Martin Heidegger, with whom I have a hard time engaging because of his associations with, and controversial support for, the National Socialist Party in Germany (Kirsch 2010). But, nonetheless a tainted Heidegger has had a profound impact and his impact is most pressing concerning his ideas on dwelling or "being in the world." The key quotation here is "the relationship between man and space is none other than dwelling" (Heidegger 1996). Dwelling might be described as a more enlightened understanding of being-in-place and is distinguished from what Heidegger called "the oblivion of being" in the modern world (Heidegger 1971).

Developing the concept of dwelling, or the phenomenological "being in the world" Tim Ingold adopts the idea of the "agent-in-its-environment... as opposed to the self contained individual confronting a world out there" (Ingold 2000). And although he is moving past a "building perspective" to accentuate the "dwelling perspective" he puts emphasis on the fact that "the essence of making lies in the self conscious authorship of design." He places this in opposition to the more simple execution of a design that may be part of other animals extended phenotype (after Dawkins 1999), such as a beaver building a dam. "Human beings do not construct the world in a certain way by virtue of what they are, but by virtue of their own conceptions of the possibility of being" (Ingold 2000). Or as Geertz put it "the imposition of an arbitrary framework of symbolic meaning upon reality" (Geertz 1993). But this imposition of thought onto the external world provides for an uncomfortable acknowledgement of a Cartesian duality, whereas Merleau-Ponty disregards this dualism in advocating for a perspective that recognizes that place is "the homeland of human thoughts" not external to them (Merleau-Ponty 2002). Ingold spends considerable energy in breaking down and reordering the divisions and disparate privilege afforded the building versus dwelling perspective taking in the Heideggerian notion that "We do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell... *Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build*" (Heidegger 1971). In concluding Ingold states that "building, then, is a process that is continually going on... It does not begin here, with a preformed plan, and end there, with a finished artifact. The 'final form' is but a fleeting moment in the life of any feature" (Ingold 2000).

Turning from the dwelling perspective to the building perspective, although they are clearly interrelated, allows me to bring in theologian/philosopher Paul Tillich who states, "the power of space is great, and it is always active for creation and destruction. It is the basis of desire of any group of human beings to have a place of their own, a place which gives them reality, presence,

power of living, which feeds them body and soul” (Tillich quoted in Jackson 1996). This focus on building places is reflected in the work of designers and architects that have dealt with this notion of place as well. Two towering figures sought to better appreciate how it is that people experience place in the past to better design places for the future. First is Kevin Lynch, who in a path-breaking work sought to understand how people perceive and organize places in consistent and predictable ways in his book *The Image of the City*, where he developed the idea of the “mental map” and concentrated on the ways a city is legible, by this he means “the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern” (Lynch 1960). Later in a more temporally focused work, *What Time is this Place*, he explores time in its relationship to people’s expectations for a changing city and “place as an emblem of past, present, and future time” (Lynch 1972). He introduces his work with the following:

The world around us, so much of it our own creation, shifts continually and often bewilders us. We reach out to that world to preserve or to change it and so to make visible our desire... [and] deals with the evidence of time which is embodied in the physical world, how those external signals fit (or fail to fit) our internal experience, and how that inside-to-outside relationship might become a life-enhancing one (Lynch 1972).

The second figure is Christopher Alexander, whose expansive and pervasive work in *A Timeless Way of Building* (Alexander 1979) and the complimentary work *The Pattern Language* (Alexander, et al. 1977) took up the ideas of Lynch in searching for patterns but took in a much larger scope, including all the world through much of human history. This ambition goes against the grain of those who see cultures as unique and idiosyncratic, such as Ivan Illich who said, “dwelling is an activity that lies beyond the reach of the architect not only because it is a popular art; not only because it goes on and on in waves that escape his control; not only because it is of a tender complexity outside of the horizon of mere biologists and systems analysts; but above all because no two communities dwell alike” (Illich 1992). In addition to a much larger scope Alexander and his colleagues choose a different locus of analysis. Where Lynch focused on the dwellers perspective and the creation of mental maps, Alexander and his colleagues took up the vernacular builders’ perspective, and layered on it human events. Alexander presents the “timeless way” as “a process which brings order out of nothing but ourselves” and furthermore is “given its character by certain patterns of events that keep happening there” (Alexander, et al. 1977). One of his co-authors in that ambitious work reminisced many years later on their ideas of place. “Our original idea of place existed fundamentally as a wish – a wished-for fit between ourselves and some piece of the physical world” (Silverstein 1994).

The notion of a “wished for fit” brings me to the last thinker I’d like to introduce in this conversation, and that is Gaston Bachelard who, in the *Poetics of Space*, (Bachelard 1994) proposes that souls can provide place for images in the mind thus turning the idea of representation on its head by contending that places are not only ideas in the mind projected onto the physical world *a priori* but also images from the world taken within the soul to create purely imaginary places with an intimate geometry, that are nonetheless real, powerful, and enduring. And it is this interior place where a poetic image finds resonance, and therefore this can explain how imagery may often touch the depths of our being before it ripples the surface. In his own words:

All really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home... It is no longer in the positive aspects that a house is really ‘lived,’ nor is it only in the passing hour that we recognize its benefits. An entire past comes to dwell in a new house... Thus the house is not experienced from day to day only, on the thread of a narrative, or in the telling of our own story. Through dreams, the various dwelling-places in our lives co-penetrate and retain the treasures of former days. And after we are in the new house, when memories of other places we have lived in come back to us, we travel to the land of Motionless Childhood, motionless in the ways all immemorial things are... This being the case, if I were asked to name the chief benefit of the house, I should say: the house shelters daydreaming, the house protects the dreamer, the house allows one to dream in peace... The values that belong to daydreaming mark humanity in its depths... Therefore, the places in which we have *experienced daydreaming* reconstitute themselves in a new daydream, and it is because our memories of former dwelling places are relived as daydreams that these dwelling places of the past remain in us for all time (Bachelard 1994).

So here we have a series of theoretical approaches, surely not all of them, that have reached from: labor and production; to social reproduction through structuration over time; the idea of “being in the world” and the drive to build and dwell in that world; the centrality of the body for our experience of place, attempts to better understand the pattern or maps we hold in our heads; and the basis for an intimate topography of places in the soul.

I will return to Allan Pred for our transition from abstracted conceptions to operationalized practice. It was Pred who stated early on that the theory of place “is not a theory that lends itself to formal testing, but a theory that is meant to inform the questions posed by researchers inquiring into real situations in actual places or regions” (Pred 1984).

So then, “What is to happen when one goes beyond this high level of generalization, when one goes beyond conceptualizing all that is seen as place... What is to happen when one attempts to examine specific places and times...What is to be the empirical content of a place-centered or regional geography based upon a theory of place as historically contingent process” (Pred 1984)?

Fortunately for his readers Pred provides answers to at least the final of his questions above, and suggests three empirical foci mentioned previously for his theory of place as a historically contingent process:

First there are dominant institutional projects – the place-specific impact they have on the daily paths of participants, their imprint upon the landscape, and the power relations out of which they come and to which they contribute... Second, there is the formation of particular biographies as a reflection of elements of the structuration process in place... Finally, there is a sense of place, not as something that stands on its own, but as a phenomenon that is part of the becoming of individual consciousness and thereby inseparable from biography formation and the becoming of place” (Pred 1984).

Of course there are many disciplines looking to more explicitly operationalize a place based view of the world and I believe one of the grandest of all is that of environmental history. Now this encompasses the work of many scholars over several generations working on discrete projects but sheltered under a common umbrella. One of the principals in this effort is William Cronon who stated their grand ambition. “If environmental history is successful in its project, the story of how different peoples have lived and used the natural world will become one of the most basic and fundamental narratives in all of history, without which no understanding of the past could be complete” (Cronon quoted in Hayden 1997).

Now I have little reason to believe that Pred has any great influence on Cronon’s work, but nonetheless Cronon does his best work when he is following what Pred would call a “path” that leads to the creation of a biography, as long as we understand, as Pred did, that “the ‘biographies’ of other living creatures, natural phenomena, and humanly made objects can also be conceptualized in the same manner” (Pred 1984). Implicitly accepting this understanding, Cronon assesses that path-project intersections related to multiple resources – grain, lumber, and meat – in his work on Chicago, titled *Nature’s Metropolis* (Cronon 1991). For me the execution is absolutely masterful. Each chapter could stand alone as a work of exemplary scholarship. Of particular note is the transition actual material takes along this path from the country, to the city, to abstracted commodification. These demonstrated not only the flow of capital but also the very strings that stitched this region together and confirmed Cronon’s previous allegation that these

places are inseparable, and that each is instrumental in creating the other. For me his analysis was compelling and complete, taking the reader from the field to a futures market “where men who don’t own something are selling that something to men who really don’t want it” (Cronon 1991), demonstrating both the physical and ideational distance between natural and artificial places in the path of one object. This effort maps quite nicely to the trend in archaeology towards the “life-history” of an artifact.

Ruth Tringham, herself an advocate of storytelling, delves into place with her work, which follows the literature on “household anthropology.” Tringham takes households as “the unit of analysis and of social reproduction,” but goes further to include:

- the meaning of ‘house’ beyond house building;
- the inclusion and absorption of the culturally constructed landscape, such as trees, in the ‘house’;
- the identification of ‘house’ with individuals who dwell in it; and
- the ability of houses to render invisible and inaudible individual members within the house and within different parts of its segments. (Tringham 2000)

By “investigating each house as though it had a unique life history” she recognizes discrete events as part of life history that include its death and incorporation into later households in a manner that “ensured the continuity of place.” Going further than a biography for the house itself, and in a “self-critical celebration of the ambiguity of archaeological data,” she delves into the creation of actors in a narrative biography, or story, that resonates with the material evidence meticulously uncovered to enliven “the memory about the house as place” (Tringham 2000).

While focused half a world away and several millennia closer to the present, but interestingly enough still focused on houses made of clay, is Christopher Wilson’s examination of adobe dwellings in New Mexico. He takes these houses or dwellings as an example of one place or type of place, which in this case is the iconic adobe homes that tend to be classed “all together as a simple folk or vernacular type.” However, looking at the house itself over time illuminates “a more complex and varied history. How these buildings are constructed, how their rooms are laid out and used, how we approach such a house or receive a visitor, are all shaped by cultural values and attitudes” (C. Wilson 1984).

Taking in J.B. Jackson’s remark that for a particular type of adobe home in the American Southwest, “the house and the room are identical; the [*sala*] room is thought of and designed to be a completely self-sufficient unit” (Jackson 1959). This is where a good portion of the adobe buildings Wilson studies begin, and he pulls in a few illuminating historical accounts of this

tradition from the eyes of early Sante Fe Trail travelers coming to the region from the Eastern United States. One of note was Lewis Garrard:

Arriving at the Hispanic village of Taos late one day in 1846, he dined on potatoes with his hosts in their large *sala*. He declined an invitation to attend a *fandango*, and a mattress was unrolled from the wall for him. Shortly after he laid down, though, the dance commenced in the very room in which he was to sleep. Exhausted, he nevertheless fell asleep 'amid a delicious reverie.' He continues his tale the next morning: 'At a late hour for a mountain man, I dressed by a blazing fire, although Senora St. Vrain and sister – a handsome brunette of some sixteen years – were in the room; they probably being accustomed by the *free and easy* manners of the valley to this liberty which they themselves took an hour before.' In less than a day, Garrard had seen a single large *sala* used as a place for cooking, eating, entertaining, sleeping, bathing, and dressing (C. Wilson 1984).

Later the central hall plan for wood frame housing was absorbed into the adobe tradition where the "specialization of rooms and introduction of hallways combined to separate public from private spaces and functions within the house... to create a private realm, isolated from the incessant sociability of the wider public realm" with hallways that "internalize the social distancing provided in the Hispanic tradition by the courtyard" (C. Wilson 1984). The increased importance placed on social distancing and the separation of space based in function is a phenomenon that is observed elsewhere, as in Henry Glassie's classic study *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (Glassie 1975). Furthermore, in New Mexico the addition of exterior porches reoriented the house to address the street, in contrast to the former convention of rear facing homes, or inward facing to a courtyard. Fronting the street was a facility that was more or less reserved for commercial buildings previously, and the change is meaningful. This is the type of social shaping that takes ideas and materializes them in places that then shape human conceptions of being in the world.

In contrast to the accretive design of the single room adobe, often connected to other homes around a common courtyard that would add rooms as needed and see them abandoned when not, the new architectural influences were built all at once, usually with an explicit design. This is a final but profound change in the eyes of some – the change from a fluid and unwritten design held in the mind, versus a more finished and explicit design captured in the documentary record. Again Glassie's work holds some insight into his view of the importance of this shift, where he contends, "the existence of plans on paper is an indicator of cultural weakening. The amount of detail in a plan is an exact measure of the degree of cultural disharmony; the more minimal the plan, the more completely the architectural idea abides in the separate minds of architect and client" (Glassie quoted in Turan 1990). While Wilson doesn't delve quite this far, the changes he

elucidates are changes in social reproduction happening at the regional level as structurally different modes of dwelling come into contact over time reproduce a new hybrid style.

All these works, with their practical attempts to better understand place at differing scales, remind me of something Edward Relph pointed out in his article *A Pragmatic Sense of Place*:

There has always been a practical aspect to sense of place whereby it might be translated into buildings, landscapes, and townscapes. This transformation involves not just construction but all means of design, planning, making, doing, maintaining, caring for, restoring, and otherwise taking responsibility for how somewhere appears and works... A pragmatic sense of place combines an appreciation for a locality's uniqueness with a grasp of its relationship to regional and global contexts. It is simultaneously place-focused and geographically extended (Relph 2009).

Place, for me, only serves as a reminder that the often forgotten sites we identify and investigate were once places where the people we study dwelt, and made their homes, the places they daydreamed, and learned the structure of their own society in order to shape and reproduce it again. Therefore, reflecting on place and all that it may mean serves to humanize the historical disciplines. So even with the more analytic of the philosophical approaches I enumerated – structuration – there is not simply mechanical reproduction but there is room for all that is human, including folly, creativity, conniving, hope, and maybe even irony in the continuing socialization of younger generations by younger generations. And the more empathetic of the two prominent approaches – phenomenology – provides researchers with some theoretical underpinning to put into practice one of the most powerful of human faculties, our imaginations, as we try to better understand how past places were experienced.

Finally what draws me to this whole line of thinking is that a serious engagement with place seems to lead people to tell stories about those places and most importantly about the people who dwelt there and the values they held. As William Cronon said, “in the beginning was the story. Or rather: many stories, of many places, in many voices, pointing towards many ends... To try to escape the value judgments that accompany storytelling is to miss the point of history itself, for the stories we tell, like the questions we ask, are all finally about value” (Cronon 1992).

And, it's quite probable that storytelling was the means through which the people in the past, the ones we study, came to understand the places they lived and experienced and understood the values they imparted. In doing the same, we break down some of the walls between them

and us; the walls that can make them seem like objects to study, so different and other, and somehow inferior with their lack of explicit designs and enumerated space. For when we engage in storytelling we must realize that we are indeed, like them, still searching for meaning and looking to pass on what we've come to know about the places we've lived and the values we experienced therein.

Chapter 3: Making your Place

I was twenty three when I first came to the Presidio. As a young person I felt invincible. The weekends I spent in the city of San Francisco were full of endless motion and delicious distractions. The weeks I spent in the Presidio were different. They were slow, almost timeless, and the place enveloped me. The Presidio is where I worked, where I had my first real job – a good government job. This good job was starting to put money in my pockets, but not enough in the bank. I spent my first year at the Presidio provided with housing there through my AmeriCorps assignment. Afterwards, I found myself gainfully employed but without a place to call my own.

It was 1998 and the height of the first dot-com boom in San Francisco. The competition for housing was intense – the smallest of rooms were commanding outrageous rents, every square foot was valuable to the scores of young people streaming into the city for work. Meanwhile the Presidio was an empty village within that overcrowded city. More than eight hundred buildings totaling over four million square feet of built space, and nearly all of it unoccupied.

The transition from active Army Post to National Park was well underway, meaning that hundreds of buildings in the Presidio were suddenly vacant and purposeless. Open plan warehouses built during the world wars lay empty. Trains that once rumbled by with supplies bound for far flung theaters of war had long since gone quiet, and the tracks slowly disappeared under another layer of asphalt. The rows of stout warehouses, each made of old-growth redwood and Douglas fir, had later become furniture stores and gardening centers for the military families on post. The stores had closed, and the Army removed all their goods. The officers and their wives were no longer stopping in to make their initial purchases after arriving on post. That ritual had ended here, but continued on posts across the world, where military families make and remake the latest rendition of their travelling home.

The same was true for an eight story hospital and adjacent research facility, which was state of the art in the 1970s and yet was abandoned less than thirty years later. The concrete in the recreation yard of the nearby psychology ward was cracked by waist high weeds that gathered around the base of the basketball hoop. Silence replaced the incessant hum of a neighboring laundry building that once washed bed linens and uniforms around the clock, its large metal framed windows slowly rusting from the salt air. Community centers, theaters, administrative buildings, a bowling alley, bank, officers' clubs, churches, a radio tower, stables, and many more were all empty and incrementally succumbing to the elements.

The same locks that were turned by the last Army tenants remained locked these years later, with nothing but the inevitable detritus people leave behind during a hasty move to show what had happened and a thick layer of dust to show how much time had passed. Besides the occasional broken window and graffiti, nothing had been added to the scene. The same thing occurred to officers' family homes from the Civil War, soldiers' barracks from the Spanish American War, bachelor officers' quarters from World War II, nurses quarters from the Vietnam War, and for that matter all manner of housing for almost every rank of service men and women from every war the US has taken part over the past century. All neatly organized in the now overgrown landscape of the shuttered post.

During my yearlong AmeriCorps assignment as an Archaeology Specialist, I had been staying in nurses' quarters from the Vietnam era – a three story cinderblock structure with no kitchens, shower heads positioned at chest height, and no windows on any of its primary facades. Its architecture could accurately be described as functional-brutalist. The building's main benefit to me and my fellow AmeriCorps volunteers was it was located near Presidio's eastern gates. It was a short walk to the city, nearest to San Francisco's Marina District – an area that was going through an overhaul of its own. The Marina District was hit hard by the Loma Prieta earthquake in 1989, the same year Congress announced the Presidio would close. When I first arrived a few corner stores and dive bars remained. These had once catered to the thousands of soldiers with steady paychecks who lived next door and thousands more of the working and middle class civilians with jobs on post who passed daily in and out of the Presidio's gates.

After AmeriCorps I was hired-on as an Archaeological Technician by the Presidio Trust, the new federal agency who managed the land and all these vacant buildings. I had a cubicle on the third floor of a massive brick barrack for soldiers, built just before the US Army's first overseas deployment to the Philippines in the Spanish American War, a quick war that segued almost seamlessly into the Philippine American War when the US continued to occupy the island nation after the Spanish were defeated. There was also an Archaeology Laboratory Leo Barker, my mentor and predecessor at the National Park Service, had established. It was a fancy name for the tiny well-lit building in the Letterman Hospital District where a supply of mail order tools were housed and a bunch of cardboard boxes were stacked to hold a growing collection of artifacts. The building was mostly windows, had no bathroom, but plenty of running water and drains in the concrete slab of a floor. It also had a few tiny doorways punched through the clapboard walls just above the floor on the west side. The tiny doors, large enough for a housecat, had been covered over with plywood. From the old plans of the Presidio we saw this building appeared sometime in the 1910's as the hospital district expanded. It was simply labelled "Animal House," and was rumored to have been used for medical experiments (Thompson 1997), which gave me some idea of why there were so many drains in the floor and tiny doors in the walls. It worked well as a dirty archaeology lab, because no matter how much of a mess you made you could always just hose down the floor and let all that effluence run down the drains. A new use was found for this purpose-built structure, one that capitalized on its unique characteristics.

This was the remarkable thing to me about the Presidio's built landscape: When viewed from afar it appeared unified by its regimented white walled and red roofed buildings, but when you looked a little closer you saw how very haphazard it was in its variety of styles and purpose built forms. It was both master planned and an absolute cacophony of idiosyncrasies. And like the Animal House turned Archaeology Lab, each of the 800 or so buildings needed to be repurposed for civilian uses that took advantage of their unique qualities. Unlike the Archaeology Lab, most of the buildings would need to be leased in order to eventually return a profit and in aggregate achieve financial self-sufficiency at the Presidio. That was the basic task to be done by the newly formed federal agency, the Presidio Trust, for whom I still work.

One of my first jobs was to enter each building as it became slated for reuse – crawling under the floors and above the ceilings, in each attic and crawl space I searched out evidence of the past occupants and did it quickly before the growing ranks of tradesmen and construction firms mobilized for construction on these historic structures, for what in the preservation field is called rehabilitation. The irony was this: I worked in a place with hundreds of vacant buildings, a virtual smorgasbord of housing designed for all ranks, yet I was technically homeless.

So, I took advantage of the circumstance and sampled the vacant housing the Presidio had to offer on more than a few cold and foggy nights in San Francisco. It didn't take me long to deduce the hierarchy of housing available and squat most often on Officers' Row, which consisted of a series of twelve almost identical cottages built during the Civil War (see Figure 1). Together they form the oldest streetscape in San Francisco. These stalwarts of the San Francisco landscape housed officers, along with their families, who served in nearly every war between the American Civil War and the first Gulf War in Iraq.



Figure 1: One of the empty homes along Officers' Row prior to rehabilitation to be repurposed as offices (image courtesy of the Presidio Trust).

The memory that stands out is wandering within the darkened house into each of the quiet spare rooms, empty of nearly everything that wasn't nailed down. I was looking for some rooms where there remained a smattering of federally issued furniture – those always had a stamp which said something along the lines of "Property of US Government." In a few rooms there were older hardwood furnishings. In others there was the more modern kind of particle board furniture with peeling veneers that exposed disintegrating bits of wood. I would usually find a solid wood bed to unroll my sleeping bag onto.

Before sleeping I would wander the empty structure in the near dark imagining the home's former occupants and searching for the same behavioral traces I surveyed for in my working hours. At night I did it at a much slower more reflective pace. Three character-defining features came to be hallmarks of these homes. The first is so ubiquitous that it could be found in nearly all the homes on post. This was the small constellation of tiny holes in the walls above the top corners of each window. One set to mark each family who entered and made their home here, each with their own window coverings: a stylish drape or functional shade, each reflecting the fashion of the time, the tastes and the status of the occupants. All the materiality of these features were gone, nothing remained but the pocked marks in the walls to speak to the number and frequency.

It was the frequency that was most notable. The buildings themselves are old – they were about 135 years old when I was staying there. But the number of lives they've held is astounding when you consider military families could relocate to a new post every year or two. Four years in one location would be an unusually long stay for an officer and his family.

In truth, the nineteenth century Army did not officially recognize the existence of the families of its officers. When assigning quarters, the Army did not take into account the number of dependents that might be in a family, only the officer's seniority – colonels had first choice, second lieutenants came last, and in all cases by date of rank (Thompson 1997). So, even if a family stayed at the Presidio for four years, they might be relocated at any time from their residence by an incoming officer of a higher rank. As new officers arrived on post, they had the prerogative of "bumping" any junior officer and choosing their quarters as his own. The bumped officers could do the same to their juniors. Although there were some restrictions to this practice, it was a time of dread as each officer scrutinized the dates for their rank. The situation on Officers' Row in October of 1883 is a good illustration. Captain Sanger bumped Major Randol from quarters #14 on Officers Row. Captain McCrea opted to stay in quarters #13. Captain Harris also opted to stay in quarters #4. This allowed Major Sanford, due to his earlier date of promotion, to bump Major Weeks from quarters #11 (Thompson 1997). The cascading effect of this practice would have continued as Major Randol and Major Weeks were still without quarters as of the date of this letter. Here is a clear example of how the cascading effects of ranked power worked in an extended hierarchy, which is far more complex a set of relationships than the typical binaries of oppressed and oppressor.

Nearly a century later this cascading practice of bumping was still ongoing. Colonel Whitney Hall, who was the 212th Post Commander from 1979-1982 said that adjudicating the housing assignments once new officers came onto post was the worst part of his job, especially when "some fuzzy faced surgeon" fresh out of medical school who was commissioned at the rank of captain or even colonel bumped "one of the old bull dogs," veterans of World War II and/or Korea who had seen serious combat and had the respect of the soldiers but had never been promoted above Major (personal communication Hall 2011). Colonel Hall and others also enlightened me to the fact that the post commander was not always, or hardly ever, the highest ranking officer on post. Colonel Hall likened the Post Commander to the town mayor and during his command Hall had much more senior officers on post. Letterman General Hospital, located within the Presidio, was technically a sub-post under his command yet was commanded by a Major General. The Sixth US Army had its headquarters at the Presidio so was technically a tenant organization under his command yet it was commanded by a Lieutenant General. So for the post commander navigating to an acceptable outcome amongst his superiors, peers, and subordinates (not to mention his wife's friends and children's playmates) required the soft power of politics not the hard power of rank.

Taking all the tumult in residence when a new officer came on post and adding it to the itinerant nature of military service to begin with, I would estimate about fifty families had lived in each home on Officers' Row in a little more than a century. In that little constellation of holes above the windows I saw the mechanistic ritual of home making that each army wife did again and again throughout her husband's career. I imagined each ritual falling within a spectrum somewhere between the organized assembly of a travelling circus and the careful staging of a storefront display. The meticulous measure of investment put into the set-up and staging given the inevitable but unknown breakdown and exit. Like the window coverings that were now gone, so too was the furniture and fixtures, nearly all the elements that made this house their home. All the things that made this room a study and another the guest bedroom. The designed form could be deduced from the size of each room, its fixtures, and the apportionment of closets, but the actual uses and the character each occupant rendered within had vanished.

In those quiet hours between dusk and sleep the second thing I noticed on several of the homes were a series of lines and scratches in the doorway to the kitchens. Some were crudely scratched in the door jamb but still visible through later coats of paint. Others were in pen and pencil. Those lines each had a name and denotation of the times: Peggy, July 1972; Zachary age 6; Mollie age 8; Peter, Christmas '57. Again it showed quite clearly because of the lack of names repeated that this was not the ritual of one family over a long period of time, where you could see Peter grow over the course of his childhood, but this is where you could see the large collection of army kids from different families who called this place home for a short period of their childhood. You could see how a small community of families, who never met but over time shared a common home, came to have a communal experience in the kitchen doorway. An experience that transcended time. Maybe if I had been more mature as an archaeologist and more secure in my situation I would have documented these. But I was rather ashamed of the reasons that brought me into those houses at night and have nothing but the memory to attest.

Also, because of the quiet that enveloped me as I found these familial markers, it reminded me how alien the silence would have been when these families lived there, when those children ran through the halls with all the frivolity and noise of their youth (see Figure 2). In my circumstance, I couldn't make any noise, without fear of getting caught. So I intensely missed it and found delight in imagining the sounds that would have filled those rooms over time: the radios, televisions, beeps from the oven, family prayers, telephone calls, bedtime stories, siblings quarreling, and parents strategizing after a busy day.



Figure 2: Children posing in front of one of the houses on Officers' Row. Their mother and other family members in background (courtesy of PARC).

Contrast this to the life of an enlisted man a hundred years ago. It's not as if the enlisted men were all single. Like the officers many were married, many had children, but enlisted men were not provided housing for their spouses and children like the officers were. In fact, being married or getting married while enlisted was at times cause for dismissal.

The Army recruited only single men in the latter half of the 19th Century and discouraged enlisted men of the lower ranks from marriage on the grounds that they could not provide for families on their low pay. If a private did marry while on active duty, the chances were that he would not be allowed to reenlist (Thompson 1997). An inspector general in 1891 noted the number of married enlisted men living in quarters on the Presidio. He reported that so many married soldiers were an encumbrance to a command as well as an added and illegitimate expense to the government. He recommended that the best way to be rid of the problem was to tear down the buildings they occupied. The Post Commander, Colonel Graham objected strenuously saying that he did not consider them to be an expense to the government and their presence was no evil. They should

be left in peace until the areas involved were otherwise needed at some future time (Graham, December 16, 1891 in PARC). The presence of married soldiers was seemingly up to the prerogatives of the Post Commander. As a subsequent Post Commander, Colonel Shafter refused to approve the application from a married man for reenlistment. Shafter disapproved repeatedly in this manner, opining that if men could enlist as single and then marry, all efforts to keep married men out of the service would be futile (Shafter, January 28 and November 23, 1897 in PARC).

Now, I've said that the original houses on Officers' Row were identical, which isn't exactly true. The one furthest north in the row was clearly different in form if not in style. It is the first one I stayed in. Having recently been used as the cook house for the archaeological field school I participated in during my AmeriCorps stint, it still felt warm and more inviting for me to stay in than the others. Unfortunately, for my purposes, it also was right next to the communications office for the Park Police and always had federal police officers nearby, which counteracted its invitation. So I soon moved into the ones further south along the row, finding several with enough remnant furnishings to accommodate my meager desires for comfort – namely a bedframe with an old mattress. It was remarkable to me how I could justify entering and occupying a house I had once been invited for another reason altogether, but could feel like such an intruder in an adjacent house that I had no previous reason to enter. In the first I could imagine myself being the last person there from its previous use where a couple dozen of us would gather for meals, share stories of the workday, and make plans for the weekend. With that experience in mind I had concocted an illegitimate story for why I was there – I had once been there before. The other buildings I had no attachment to, no invitation, and no memories of my own to fill them with. So, in a way, I spent time documenting these structures in my imagination during what should have been my sleeping hours in much the same way I was paid to document them in writing during my working hours.

The original set of houses had a shared design that came from a standard set of military plans in 1862 to quarter married officers. Identical in their initial construction and design. They were now, however, different. Something I wouldn't pick up on or understand until much later. And, it's this difference that marks their most salient characteristic within the overall institution.

The initial plans called for Officers' Row to face west onto the parade ground. This was the same orientation as the colonial adobe quarters they replaced. Five of them stood on top of the foundations of the adobe quarters, which themselves faced the *plaza de armas*, the colonial square. The homes and perhaps the minds of their inhabitants were meant to face inwards. Later, as the city of San Francisco grew and expanded from the east it began encroaching closer and closer to the Presidio. The main road that connected the Presidio to the city intersected this row of cottages at the mid-point of the street. It was the conduit for communication, which was mostly social between the city and the post. The commanding officer of the Presidio was often

listed in the societal registers of the city and there was a kind of town and gown relationship that developed between the post and the city that neighbored it. But in the 1860s and 1870s the first thing a social visitor would see of the Presidio were the backyards of Officers' Row with all their working parts: privies, chicken coops, servants' quarters, laundry lines, sheds.

Beginning in 1876, officers from the Army's Division of the Pacific were relocated to the Presidio from downtown San Francisco, and the relocated officers began bumping their way onto Officers' Row. These, perhaps more urbane and definitely more powerful officers decided this was not the face they wanted to show the growing city either personally or institutionally. So, after 15 years of facing west the cottages were "turned around" to face the city. In reality they remained in place but were redesigned to make the existing back of house into the primary entrance and façade. In the process the privies in the back yards were exchanged for new water closets inside the frame of the homes, each built into an addition on the previous front side, a move that made the former front side decidedly more back side. Afterwards these homes were more presentable to visitors from the city and each had a front yard welcoming guests that was devoid of the working parts of a yard, which were replaced with the beginnings of an aesthetic Victorian landscape that persists to this day. To this was added four new large family homes for Field Officers that flanked the entrance and ornamental gardening, which replaced the gateway, to mark the entrance and create a park-like promenade entry (see Figures 3 and 4). All of this was initiated by the Division Commander Major General Irvin McDowell, who also began directing a planting scheme for taming the shifting sand dunes on post (Thompson 1997).



Figure 3: The Alameda entrance to the Presidio at the intersection with Officers' Row in the 1860s prior to the arrival off the Division Headquarters with Officers' homes at far left and right (courtesy of PARC)



Figure 4: The Alameda entrance to the Presidio at the intersection with Officers' Row in the decades after the arrival of the Division Headquarters as depicted in a popular postcard, with new Field Officers' homes in distance at right and concealed by planting at left (courtesy of the Presidio Trust).

The collective power these officers had at the Presidio and within the institution of the Army as a whole is what is remarkable. With their rank and position relative to the overall army hierarchy, they could choose to remake their whole neighborhood in a manner that better reflected themselves and the institution they served. And it didn't stop there. While this was a high-water mark for their collective choice in redesigning their homes, each officer had the power to make small changes to the houses that reflected their individual tastes. If you look past the uniform landscape that exists in the yards today, if you look past the uniform white walls and red roofs that are so well preserved and iconic you will see variations in layout and style that belie the uniformity. Some have been transformed into duplexes to better accommodate more families of different sizes. That is an institutional choice to accommodate the growing ranks of its officer corps, but it does show the catering to that happens in housing for officers of this rank. What is more telling are the changes in style between each house, changes that were made by individual officers, who wanted a larger bay window of this style and not that style, who wanted the trim to be changed out or the kind of molding he or his wife preferred and could both afford to install it and had the discretion to make it happen. In 1888, the year after the Division of the Pacific and its attendant officers relocated to downtown San Francisco again, the post quartermaster noted repairs and additions that had been carried out on officers' row. More bay windows had been

added – to quarters #12 and #16. A kitchen-laundry ell had been constructed at quarters #13 and #14. Most of the row had their interiors painted. The four new field officers' quarters each acquired a laundry and servant's quarters ell (Thompson 1997).

It is that level of discretion in the making of your place that is the most salient characteristic of these homes and the families who dwelt therein. It is even more remarkable given the kind of turnover each dwelling had because it wasn't the slow accrual of change a family made over time, it was more likely the instant changes that a new family made to a home that didn't belong to them and by standardized designs were meant to provide everything the Army thought an officer and his family would need.

After I woke up in one of these twelve vacant homes for officers I would get dressed, hide away any belongings that didn't fit in my bag and walk across the parade grounds to a set of five identical barracks for soldiers (see Figure 5). Entering the barracks where my office was located I would climb the stairs to the third attic level floor and begin my work day at a little cubicle. A cubicle with the same basic arrangement and appurtenances as everyone else on that floor who worked for the government, regardless of what their job or title was. There were little ways people could make these cubicles their own with the desk lamp they chose, the pictures of family, clippings of articles, tchotchkes from vacations, and the other kinds of office flair that people use to customize their spaces. The essentials, however were uniform and provided to all: the same model of phone, the same personal computer, the same file cabinets and a common file for oversized maps.



Figure 5: The Montgomery Street barracks for enlisted men pictured shortly after their construction with soldiers on the drilling field in the foreground (courtesy of PARC).

In many ways it was reminiscent of the way the barracks had always been. The essentials were provided, back then it was a bed, footlocker, wall locker, perhaps a night stand, and shared racks for rifles. Each bunk was uniformly supplied. In and around these common elements each soldier had little room for personalization: a picture of a loved one, clippings from a home town paper, perhaps a pin-up tucked into some inside corner of the locker. These were the meager ways an enlisted soldier could make their place. It was routinely policed from superiors to make sure all was in order and up to regulation. Such a stark contrast to the discretion officers had in making their place.

In many institutional settings more space is allocated to the higher ranks and there is more discretion and ability to make one's place to their liking by expressing themselves as individuals and further distinguishing themselves from the uniform masses at the lower ranks. The material manifestations of your personality are a privilege to be earned in places like these.

One way this lesson really struck home for me was while I was reading a biography of President Dwight "Ike" Eisenhower and came across a passage describing his time as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe during the war (Korda 2007). It was a curious reference to the fact that he altered the design for his own uniform jacket, which to me ran counter to my whole concept of a uniform. That classic short cropped jacket was his own style choice. As was his choice to wear very few of the gilded buttons and other decorations available to him, which was a means of making him more approachable and to downplay his distinction from the regular men (see Figure 6). Similar was his penchant for casually sticking his hands in his pockets, contravening army injunctions against doing just that. Of course it seems silly to focus on the sartorial choices of a man who at the time was making tactical choices that determined the fate of thousands of soldiers and resulted in the liberation of whole cities and not others. But what's fascinating was that the same level of power needed to command the fates of enlisted men was also required to have choice over the manner in which you wore the uniform. And, beginning in 1944 at Ike's insistence the troops in Europe began wearing the "Ike Jacket" as part of their standard issue uniform, a jacket they would soon wear worldwide, including back at the Presidio, until 1956.



Figure 6: Eisenhower portrait showing his signature jacket. Note the lack of ornamentation and his casual pose.

Making your place in the world begins with the very manner in which you clothe yourself. But for enlisted soldiers in the barracks of the Presidio at times there was no choice at all. In January of 1900 enlisted men at the Presidio learned they could no longer have civilian clothing in their possession (Special Orders 16, January 16, 1900 in PARC). In January 1906, soldiers learned that they could not appear on barrack porches without their uniform coat or with their coats unbuttoned (General Orders 1, January 4, 1906 in PARC). In September of 1918, the General Orders detailed the exact dress for officers and enlisted men on and off post:

On Post

Officers: service hat with hat cord, peaked, four indentations; olive drab coat (olive drab shirt for drill); service breeches; russet leather shoes and leggings, or boots; ribbons and marksmanship badges optional.

Enlisted men: service hat with cord, peaked, four indentations; olive drab coat or shirt; service breeches; russet leather shoes, canvas or leather reinforced leggings; ribbons and badges optional.

Off-post

Same as on-post, except officers were to wear a white collar or stock, white cuffs, and ribbons.

(General Orders 58, September 10, 1918 in PARC)

But the controls can only be applied so far, there are always nooks and crannies where individuals can make their place within even the most heavily policed institution. This became evident to me in 2008 when the first of these brick barracks was being rehabilitated and repurposed into a museum. Strangely to some it was being transformed into a museum dedicated to the life of Walt Disney, the man not the corporation. As an interesting aside, it was being funded by the family of Walt Disney, led by his daughter, and not at all associated with the corporation. The family had their own curious dealings with the corporation he created, which the family was no longer part of, in making a place to celebrate the life of their father. The corporation owns Walt Disney's signature, his likeness, the sound of his voice, virtually everything about him so thoroughly that his family needed explicit permissions to even use photos of themselves with their father. Of course that is not the point of this story but it is a sideways glance into the manner large corporate institutions control the actions of people dead and alive in surprisingly intimate ways.

This particular barrack was located in the vicinity of the colonial cemetery. The scant documentary record contained some correspondence on the cemetery amongst the Army engineers who built the barracks, suggesting the burials should be relocated to the newly established National Cemetery at the Presidio and placed in a common grave for unknown

soldiers. One of the final letters, however, suggested the project to relocate these burials may be too expensive to undertake (Thompson 1997). So given that loose thread I didn't trust that the burials were removed. My colleagues and I did some exploratory excavations in advance of construction to see if there was any evidence of this colonial cemetery. There was none, but to be safe additional archaeologists were hired on contract to monitor the construction to see if there were any remnants unearthed as the old utilities like sewer and water were upgraded and new utilities like telecommunications were installed.

It takes a lot of work to turn a brick barrack built in 1895 into a state of the art museum in 2008, especially in an earthquake zone. During the project there was a need to improve the shear strength of the structure by better connecting the top of the walls and the roof. For this work it was easier to remove a strip of roof around the outer perimeter. This exposed the top of the walls and a linear cavity that was now sealed behind the walls, supported by the soffit under the eaves of the roof. The tradesmen working up there on the scaffolding began bringing artifacts they found in this cavity down to the archaeologist on the ground. Soon the archaeologists left the ground and were up on the scaffolding, excavating artifacts not out of the ground but out of this long linear cavity at the attic level. These artifacts were recovered from what were more like individual cubbies, with each cache separated by the rafters. There were over 400 of these cubbies. I have routinely found artifacts in buildings, it is the reason I surveyed so many in my early years. A few gems were always found, but nothing like this.

The attic level was not designed for occupancy but hardwood floors were added during the Philippine American War in 1901 to accommodate their use as squad rooms (Thompson 1997). Immediately thereafter they were used as barracks in times of overcrowding. In times of overcrowding is another way of saying times of war. Apparently, in the haste to finish the attic level and move soldiers up there, no one had finished the walls to seal off this cavity in the original construction.

The quantity of material we found was extraordinary as was the context they were found – from the dates of the artifacts these individual caches had been accessible from the inside from the time of their construction in the 1890s to sometime in the 1970s when they were apparently covered and sealed shut as the barracks were converted to office uses. In these caches you could see the use patterns in the building from the density and types of artifacts found. At the top landing of the stairs you could see the cubbies that were used by groups of men who routinely assembled there to talk and smoke: cigarette and cigar butts; bubble gum wrappers; liquor and beer bottles, discarded receipts. Other cubbies held clearly more intimate objects. Especially the walls that would have been just behind each man's bunk. In these were found: liquor and beer bottles; children's toys; toiletries; passes to leave base; calling cards and novelties from around San Francisco; informational pamphlets and prescriptions for venereal diseases; playing cards; and letters from loved ones.

The same manner of personal effects that an officer on Officers Row would freely be able to display on the mantle of his fireplace, on the wall in the parlor or for more personal items discretely tucked into a drawer of the desk in his study were here stashed in a secret hole in the wall for there was no other place in the barracks for individuality or privacy.

The most immediately fascinating find was a set of letters that were found neatly folded in their original envelopes (see Figure 7). They were stacked and tied together with a bit of twine. All of them were addressed to the same soldier during World War II. All of them were written in Italian. All of them had an ink stamp, which read: "CENSORSHIP - PASSED."



Figure 7: Stack of letters found in the walls of the barracks addressed to Corporal Salvatore Pennisi, each passed through censors.

The soldier sending and receiving these letters was Corporal Salvatore Pennisi. Now, the kicker is that Salvatore was not enlisted in the US Army. He enlisted in the Italian Army to fight *against* the Allied forces in Europe during World War II. At some point, Pennisi was taken off the

battlefield by the US Army and was shipped overseas to be held as a Prisoner of War (POWs) at Fort Meade, New York. While there, Italy negotiated an armistice with the Allies. Pennisi and his fellow Italian POWs were presented a choice: sign an oath of allegiance to the new Italian government and be assigned to Italian Service Units (ISUs) providing support to the US Army, or refuse to sign the oath, remain loyal to the Italy they had left, and continue life in the POW camps (Jones 2015). Pennisi signed the oath. He and Italy became co-belligerents of the Allied forces. Pennisi and his fellow POW's began working for the US Army's Quartermaster Corps and were assigned to the Presidio near the end of the war against Germany supplying the US troops fighting in the Pacific against Japan.

Now, at the time none of us knew there were Italian soldiers at the Presidio or that they were barracked in the heart of the Main Post. So we obviously knew nothing of their thoughts on being stationed with their former enemy. Many of Pennisi's letters are to other POWs and ISUs. In one he commiserates with a fellow Italian soldier, equating their journey through the American military system to Dante's Inferno and making analogies between his various stops in the US to Dante's circles of hell. In his version the circles were enclosed with barbed wire fences:

From your letters I note that you have actually been transferred where you are restricted and for this I'm sorry ... It doesn't help that you are in a maritime city, where they can restrict you in their claws more. They did the same to us months ago when I was on a military base and we couldn't have more than 3 visitor passes... but then they restricted the rules because of a percentage who went out for three free Sundays and the newspapers wrote a bunch of stories and it seemed like the world was going to turn against us poor seven hundred prisoners. So they decided to transfer us, promising something else but we got only a third barbed wire fence. I find myself in a camp packed with soldiers ... boring Americans just like Italians always ready to punish you by removing that little thing, in this case the pass, and you have to thank Jesus if they don't send you to the eleventh barbed wire enclosure.

(Pennisi [1945] in Jones 2015)

A couple of things that strike me in this unexpected find were the easy comparisons Pennisi was making between the treatment of enlisted soldiers by the Italian and US Armies, who both were "always ready to punish you by removing that little thing." That, and how for Pennisi even though these letters were stashed in the most private nook in the barracks, each had already been opened, read, and were "passed" by censorship officials looking into his private life.

Aside from these letters, what came to be the most profound set of artifacts to me were not anything individual or private, it was a very communal set of artifacts – all the playing cards found in the walls. That soldiers wiled away the time playing cards is not particularly novel. But we found many of the cards were ripped in half, a surprising amount of them. After pouring over them and assembling them into what looked like the original decks I noticed that some of them had similar patterns to the rip. When I began to assemble the torn cards according to this pattern I found that there were always five cards marked by the same rip pattern. It was the pattern created by individual soldiers ripping their presumably losing poker hands, and the losing hands were in fact bad (see Figure 8). It helped me get into the moment of a single soldier angrily ripping the hand that cost him money in a classic betting game. I was quite proud of my forensic work in analyzing the patterns and assembling the hands. So I began sharing the story with others, dutifully adding emphasis to the supposition that the holders of the losing hand were doing it out of anger at losing the pot – a common point of emotional connection for anyone who has lost money at poker, which is everyone who has ever gambled at poker.



Figure 8: One of many torn hands of playing cards found in the walls of the enlisted men's barracks with the signature tear.

I shared the story once at a National Park Service workshop on the interpretation of culture. It drew people from around the country both in and out of the National Parks. At the end of my story a military vet who had become a park ranger remarked that the soldiers with the losing hands probably weren't mad, that they were enacting an old ritual where soldiers who had played poker in the barracks would hold one last game on their last night before being deployed into battle. At the concluding hand of the ceremonial last game the losers would kill the deck by tearing their hands, while the soldier with the winning hand would keep that winning hand, tuck it in his rucksack, and carry it with him as a talisman of good luck for what faced him on the battlefield. The bad luck in the losing hands would be left safely behind.

It was such a better story. One that didn't connect the listener to a common frustration at losing, but connected them to an uncommon experience of dealing with your fears in a shared ritual amongst the comradery of your fellow men before heading into war with them. A ritual that also connected those men to others who had done that same thing in previous wars. It was a practice that created community and that built a bond amongst a disparate group of men who dwelled together in a place that was far from home in many meanings of the term. And, although the barracks were both home and work for these soldiers, they also made them into that "third place" where community is formed (after Oldenburg 1999). The one frustration I have is that decks of playing cards haven't changed much through the 20th century so I could not sort the hands according to the wars the soldiers would face in the days after that last hand was played.

Aside from these gems and others like them what this collection really spoke to was the ways that the enlisted men's barracks was so totally different from the officers' family housing. The differences in power and privilege demonstrated in the manner in which each could express themselves in the places they slept, the places they passed time, and with whom they surrounded themselves. These quantity of material in these cubbies in some ways compensated for the pervasive material deprivation enlisted men felt during the rest of their time.

None of the enlisted men could display their personal objects. Even for objects that weren't illicit they were subject to routine inspection by a commanding officer at any hour for any cause. For these reasons you can see how and why these cubbies on the attic floor were used as discrete caches of personality and individuality. But, like the officers' homes they were still collectively held and created by the accrual of lives that passed through. For the enlisted men's caches the turnover in occupancy was even more astounding than the officers' quarters. Their stay in these barracks was measured in weeks and months, not months and years. And that these caches held their personal objects along with and on top of the personal objects of soldiers from wars past was truly amazing. A circumstance that connected them over generations. You can imagine one soldier placing a letter from his mom in the cache behind his bunk next to a beer bottle from another soldier, which in turn crushed a prescription for some other soldier's venereal disease, and floated above a handwritten letter from another long dead soldier's sweetheart. In this cumulative way they also made their place here and expressed themselves in the literal nooks and crannies of the institution.

This rapid turnover is a fairly unique characteristic of this place. Whereas in most places outside the institution a much longer span of time would be needed to see fifty different families moving through a single home, for instance. Here, that process is accelerated, making various phenomena evident in a far shorter stretch of time.

In all of this you can see the ranked power of the institution and its relationship to individuals making their place within it, beginning with the critical difference between officers and enlisted men. I purposefully began with reference to my personal experience in making my place in the institution while I was without a home, because that experience juxtaposed the kind of material deprivation I was experiencing against my imagination of the ample furnishings and vitality of these particular officers' homes.

My professional experience, however, was one where I had the opportunity to examine all the variety of purposefully built structures. So, the last note I will end on, and come back to later, is that what I was exploring through the built landscape was the physical remains of a social structure, one purposefully conceived for its own social reproduction. Finding the Presidio abandoned as I did was like finding a variety of shells strewn on the beach and trying to imagine what kinds of creatures would create such shells and what each shell told me about the life it held. At a macro level, the Presidio is the shell left behind by an institution, and the institution didn't die, it just moved on to make another place.

Chapter 4: Making it all seem Natural

Today, a visitor's first impression entering the Presidio is that they have entered a natural oasis. The bucolic stone perimeter wall seems strategically placed to protect the manicured forest within and to repel the encroaching urban grid of San Francisco - one of the most densely packed cities in the United States. In contrast to the city grid the Presidio feels lush and spacious (see Figure 9). It is this juxtaposition at the edges of the former army post that accentuates the naturalness of this historic site.



Figure 9: Aerial photograph of the Presidio showing its juxtaposition with the densely packed city of San Francisco in the foreground and the Golden Gate and Pacific Ocean in the background (courtesy of the Presidio Trust).

Understanding the deeper colonial roots of *El Presidio* you realize just how ironic that reading is. The Spanish strategy for colonizing California was predicated on establishing three separate but interrelated institutions with roughly square footprints – presidios, missions, pueblos. While each was functionally distinct, from above their footprints in the landscape are remarkably similar and each square was established with an underlying intention for most, if not all of these colonial institutions, to seed an urban grid. Observed over long periods of time – decades, centuries – the successful ones would appear from above to be a colonization of geometry. A grid of urban blocks growing in an attenuated fashion from its seminal square.

Therein lies the irony: the 1500 acres of the Presidio, containing the first colonial square, now reads in the landscape to be set in opposition to the grid, as if it guards the natural organic forms of the land. As if it is an island of refuge. In fact, it is just that, but not for the reasons that seem so obvious to first time visitors.

What is most surprising to first-time visitors, or even the astute observer, is that the forest and all the Presidio's naturalness was part of a plan. In truth it is part of many plans. It was part of the Army's plan in the 1880s to distinguish the Presidio from the rapidly encroaching city. It was part of a famous architect's plan to beautify American cities by moving away from the typical rectilinear grid. And it is the plan of the National Park Service and subsequently the Presidio Trust to restore much of the Presidio to an approximation of its natural state, by expanding the remnant native habitats in this island of refuge.

When the Spanish first arrived in the place they would call San Francisco they created a simple division between the cultural and the natural. They would do this in the same manner that other empires have done in their efforts to plant colonial seeds in other people's lands. They implemented the square, the simple geometric form that is defensible and extensible, meaning it was meant to grow and attenuate to form a nascent urban grid – the hallmark of any planned city.

In the beginning the cultural was conceptually contained inside the square and within its walls. Beyond those protective walls were the wild and dangerous lands yet to be colonized. Beyond the walls were natural lands with their undulations and curvilinear forms. That these same lands were manipulated if not domesticated by centuries of use and improvement by Native Ohlone and Miwok peoples did nothing to reduce the appearance of naturalness, for the Ohlone people themselves were (and sometimes still are) firmly placed on the nature side of the nature-culture divide. To colonists in their catholic view of the world, they were simply children in the garden.

Firmly establishing a nature/culture divide is a tricky thing, especially if we consider nature as something that is culturally produced or that is at least culturally projected. Even without going down that slippery slope we have the aforementioned manipulation of the natural landscape for millennia in the Bay Area by the Native Ohlone people. But if for the moment we hold to the less nuanced division that the colonists and their fort were on one side of that division and the indigenous people and their lands were on the other side, you can see that one of the quickest and most widespread agents of cultural change to the natural landscape was the livestock the colonist brought with them: hundreds of cows that became thousands of cows in the years ahead.

It was routinely noted by visitors from Europe how the Spanish colonists would not pen or corral their herds, rather they would freely roam the landscape until one was needed and a skilled *vaquero* would ride out to lasso one (Wilbur 1954). So this introduced species quickly multiplied and soon trampled and ate their way across the natural landscape. A set of soil cores taken from the bed of Mountain Lake (Reidy 2001), a place where the colonial scouting party first stayed while surveying for the site of the eventual presidio, show the drastic changes underway. The lake itself is about two thousand years old and has well developed laminated deposition at its depths for much of that time, meaning a discrete layer of sediment and pollen was deposited annually in a manner that can be dated year by year. In this you can see the changing ecology of the area by the species represented in the botanical record. The slow steady accumulation of fine layers of sediment abruptly stops at the beginning of the colonial period when you see the whole ecology was drastically changing. First, the sedimentation rapidly increases as the cows' denude the foliage and loosen the surrounding hillsides creating vastly more deposition than before, and soon the lake begins filling in. In addition the plant species present begin to rapidly change as the cows appetite and footprint begins to alter stable patterns of growth and a new era of succession begins, where plants that can take root and advantage of disturbed areas flourished and previous species that take longer to establish themselves dwindled in number. The lake itself shallowed enough at the edges that species of sub aquatic plants, which need sunlight to survive, bloomed in numbers previously unseen (Reidy 2001).

Ecological changes are also reflected in an ongoing study on the botanical remains found in some of the colonial era adobe bricks, which were manufactured by hand at the Presidio. These mud bricks were sampled from the adobe walls in the Officers' Club. The botanical remains in the mud bricks indicate a substantial transformation of local plant communities due to an invasion of non-native plants. They also suggest that areas of intensive cattle grazing were more negatively impacted by invasive plant species than areas that were not (Cuthrell 2013). Much of this evidence is borne out through the quantity of cow dung present in the bricks and the apparent correlation between grazing and the invasive species, suggesting the cows were, in their own way, *selecting for* exotic species and accelerating changes to the local ecology. In all this you can see the culturally induced changes underway, which clearly were not confined to the square but were carried beyond it into the natural realms in unintentional ways.

For the colonists and for us today, the rectilinear form of almost everything that is built reinforces the concept that it is the rectangular form which is equated with culture. It is the indelible human mark. For Native Ohlone people of the region it was a foreign form. Their houses were round, their village sites are marked by the relatively amorphous shapes left in the land from the accumulation of shellfish that accounted for much of their diet and on which they lived, what archaeologists call shellmounds. The patches of land they burned to improve the forage and foliage for their favored species took the shape the fire gave as it consumed the fuel in its

voracious path. The closest the Ohlone came to the kind of geometric forms that Euclid could reduce to a formula were the chevrons and stacked lines that patterned their basketry and adorned their bodies during dances. Each of those, however, left little to no material mark once their lands were colonized, built over, and their villages decomposed. One clear remnant exists in the beautiful chevron patterning on the ceiling beams of the chapel at the mission in San Francisco. It is tragically poignant that their iconic patterns would be preserved on the rectilinear beams of the last stranding structure of the mission. It is also a sign of the Ohlone culture's resilience amidst change.

The mission square did what it was meant to do. It spread and grew to create one of two grids that make up the streets and blocks of San Francisco today. Current maps of San Francisco show two offset grids that meet each other at Market Street, the central artery of the city extending from the high point of twin peaks to the Ferry Terminal at the bay shore. The other grid was spawned by the Mexican-era Pueblo called Yerba Buena, from which the City of San Francisco would rapidly grow. Each was successful in doing the basic task higher level planners of Spanish colonial and then Mexican republican regimes wished of them – they grew, slowly at first, but still they grew. Both did this despite the Mission being secularized and the Pueblo of Yerba Buena being claimed by Americans from the East Coast and renamed San Francisco. The rectilinear form and attenuated grid of urban development fit neatly into the minds of the Americans. It was the same form and pattern they had followed in New York, where the Americans came from, and other urban centers on the east coast that developed from squares and merged their grids to form the American metropolises.

Strangely enough the square whose growth is most stunted was the first and initially the most heavily populated one – the Presidio of San Francisco. After the conclusion of the Mexican American War the regular US Army replaced the Army Volunteers from New York who seized the Presidio and recolonized California. And, unlike the mission or pueblo lands, which obeyed the typical urban laws of development with its balance of supply and demand, the presidio remained military and developed under its own government regulated pace.

In fact, during the Gold Rush and the years San Francisco boomed, the Presidio was relatively stagnant. Its well-regulated population dwindled as soldiers fled first to the gold fields and then to the booming city to make their fortunes or to remake themselves. For over a decade the Army simply refitted the existing adobe buildings (Thompson 1997). The development of a military base doesn't follow the rules of urban growth. So the square at the presidio wouldn't grow and attenuate until 1862, during the Civil War. It then grew, but not into a grid. The square stretched north to form an elongated rectangle with an additional row of housing for officers and barracks for enlisted men on the long edges. It grew in response to the primary force that grows any military: war.

War and rumors of war are about the only things that prompt a nation to grow its military, because a large standing army is historically a wasteful expenditure in times of peace and more often than not a dangerous group to have populating your lands without much to occupy their time. Even today you can look at nearly every one of the 800 or so buildings on the Presidio and tie its construction to a war or the threat of war. Between wars, buildings were removed and the land was cleared of what would have been empty barracks or warehouses. The 20th century was so replete with wars, hot and cold, that there was far more construction than removal. What was removed was soon replaced with more modern structures. This layered accumulation is what led the Presidio to be designated a National Historic Landmark District in 1994, where in just about everything built between 1776 and 1945 is considered nationally significant (Alley, et al. 1993).

It was the threat of foreign incursion, if not outright war, that prompted the Spanish Viceroy to recruit fresh troops from within New Spain to relocate northward and build an adobe fort called the Presidio of San Francisco. In retrospect, the choice of adobe for the climate in San Francisco was a problematic one. But, *in retrospect* is always an unfair vantage point – one the colonist themselves did not have. The perspective that led to building with adobe was an imperial perspective looking to solve for an expanding empire with limited resources in virtually uncharted territory. It wasn't a solution just for San Francisco, but one for the entirety of New Spain. This broader colonial project resulted in soldiers and colonists being sent to parts of North America with unstable supply routes and unknown access to local resources like timber. From a local perspective the choice of adobe did result in continual maintenance problems in San Francisco. From an imperial perspective the choice of adobe was resourceful and fairly ingenious. The raw material is so ubiquitous that it can be found in the ground at nearly any spot on earth. Then, you only need water and sun to produce its final form.

Adobe is also time tested. It had already been used in New Spain for centuries by the time it was first employed in California. To drive this point a little further: in 2009 I was moonlighting as an architectural conservator in Egypt where I learned the millennia old recipe for adobe that the ancient Egyptians used in the time before pyramids and people in Egypt continue to use today. It is two parts sand from the Sahara to one part silt from the Nile. The underlying geologic formation at the presidio is called the Colma formation. It is found between two and three feet beneath the surface soils. If you take a sample of this sediment and break it down to its constituent parts, you will find it is about 67% sand with the remaining 33% being a mixture of silts and clay – the same proportion as the Egyptian recipe, but unlike in Egypt, at the Presidio there was no need to transport and combine the raw materials. It was pre-mixed in the sediment.

Today, archaeologists find the remnants of large pits ringed around the outer edge of the colonial square. These are the pits the colonists and the native laborers dug to procure the sediment

needed to build the fort and their homes. The pits are typically found less than twenty paces from the outer walls of the fort. In this way you can imagine the fort itself being exhumed from the ground on which it stood, with roughly equal parts below-grade subtraction and above-grade addition. The bigger the fort got the more lunar and refuse filled the surrounding landscape became. For after the sediment was extracted to be used in construction, the pits themselves became receptacles for refuse. In these refuse pits are found a variety of materials that speak to daily life during the early years of the colonial period (B. Voss 2008), but they also speak to the environment.

Earlier, I stated how the natural world was conceptually outside the walls of the fort, while the cultural was safely inside. These pits and the evidence therein give some testimony that this was not only conceptual but practical. Much of the refuse found in these pits are food remains, the byproducts of butchery and meal preparation. There is evidence on the long bones found in the pits of scavenging by medium to large mammals (B. Voss 2008). A list that likely includes: coyotes, raccoons, mountain lions, vultures, raptors, possum, grizzly bears. From that we can assume there is more scavenging than what is evident because many scavenged food would leave no remains for an archaeologist and many of the bones that would have telltale markings would have been transported elsewhere. You can imagine a small band of coyotes rummaging through these pits looking for good meat on the bone, growling and fighting over the pieces as they are found, with the smart ones grabbing bits and dashing off into the dusk to disappear with their piece of the archaeological record.

Several of these pits contain capping layers, where you can see the intentional burying of the refuse under layers of clay to try and seal in the smells and discourage the scavengers. For these and others species there was a new source of food in the area, one that routinely enticed them right up to the walls of the fort. At a time in San Francisco when it would be a common sight to see a grizzly bear roaming along the bay shore during the summer salmon runs, these colonists would have felt as if they were surrounded. There would be plenty of evidence to reinforce this feeling, from the sounds of the animals scavenging outside the walls at night to the carcasses of their free roaming cattle found disemboweled on the hillsides. Initially, the natural fauna acclimated quite well to the foreign presence.

In the 1850s the presidio was still considered to be a remote outpost for the US Army, well outside the city of San Francisco. Even in the 1870s the federal government moved the hospital for Merchant Marines from the area of Rincon Hill, in the city center, to the southwestern corner of the Presidio so that the recuperating sailors could enjoy the open country and ocean air, and most importantly would not be tempted by the attractions of the city (McCann 2006). Even if they were tempted they couldn't easily get there. As testament to how remote this area was and how vital the surrounding ecosystem remained, the US Army and the Surgeon General overseeing the hospital were often at odds over who had rights to hunt the wildlife attracted to Mountain

Lake and which of their activities may be detrimental to the quality of the drinking water coming from nearby Lobos Creek (Thompson 1997).

Yet by the 1880s the Presidio's ill-defined borders were being encroached on by the grid. Speculators began buying future parcels on imaginary blocks surrounded by imaginary streets, and building homes and business along the few roads that connected the post to the city and had started to define the grid (see Figure 10).



Figure 10: Photograph showing the Presidio Blvd. entrance with young trees flanking the road inside the gate and rows of newly planted saplings on the slopes leading to the Main Post in the distance. The darker lines are rows of Monterey Cypress interspersed by five rows of lighter colored Eucalyptus saplings. The stone boundary wall is yet to be built to replace the wood fencing. Note the newly installed fire hydrant in the foreground on what looks to be a lot ready for development (courtesy of PARC).

It was this encroachment that the stone boundary wall and forest were built to repel. Today, the forest is the largest single artifact or feature that contributes to the National Historic Landmark District. Forest as artifice is something that initially perplexes visitors. At certain angles the Presidio forest appears natural, in that it is randomly arranged without regimentation. Sometimes a simple shift in perspective renders this notion absurd as the orderliness and the obvious regimentation of the forest becomes apparent (see Figure 11). Stands of the same trees, each of a same height spaced equally atop the hills. Stationary and silent, they march along the

ridges and down the slopes of the Presidio's topography. It is only when you're standing in the right place that this order snaps into focus and you realize the entire forest is an artifact of human invention, of human design, and of human intervention. Using natural forms to achieve an unnatural design well beyond the seminal square and the recognizably built landscape.



Figure 11: Artist Andy Goldsworthy's installation called "Woodline" which calls attention to one of the linear voids in the forest where the rows of Monterey Cypress were planted. The Cypress were subsequently out-competed by the surrounding Eucalyptus trees and all died. Goldsworthy used downed Eucalyptus branches to create this curvilinear wood line in the forest (courtesy of the Presidio Trust).

Major William Jones is credited with having the grand design for the Presidio forest. His design had a reciprocal influence and his notions were partially derived from botanists at UC Berkeley and city leaders involved with the creation of Golden Gate Park in what were then the barren sand dunes along the western slopes of the peninsula (Thompson 1997). It has always been a curiosity to me that although there was influence from the civilian sector and from academia, the Presidio forest did not escape the idea of regimentation. In fact it reinforced it. Jones and subsequent officers who carried out the plan consciously employed the order of rows in the overall design and it is these neat rows that distinguish it from the more naturalized park aesthetic used elsewhere. The placement and massing of the trees was meant to distinguish the Presidio from the city of San Francisco by crowning the ridges with trees that would accentuate

the dignity and grandeur of the military post and by extension the federal government. Jones stated that "in order to make the contrast from the city seem as great as possible, and indirectly accentuate the idea of the power of Government, I have [in this plan] surrounded all the entrances with dense masses of wood" (Thompson 1997).

This was all done in the long years following the Civil War as the union and the federal government asserted its dominance over the rebel states in the south and the still relatively new states in the west. This salient point should not be lost.

While the authorship for the Presidio forestation plan goes to Major Jones, behind every mid-level officer is a high-ranking officer giving either implicit or explicit support to their endeavors. In this case that superior officer was General Irvin McDowell. There are no documents penned by McDowell ordering or directing the forestation effort, but his name was regularly credited by subsequent officers who enacted the forestation of the Presidio (Thompson 1997).

McDowell's biographical path is interesting in this light. As a boy he studied in France, graduated from West Point in 1838, which at the time was predominantly an institution that trained the nation's civil engineers. In 1859 McDowell took leave from the Army to spend a full year in Europe studying the military organizations of various nations there. He is most famous, or infamous, for his role in the Civil War. He was appointed by President Lincoln to command the Union Army at the first Battle of Manassas (aka Bull Run) at the outbreak of hostilities, which turned into a signature defeat for the Union and signaled a protracted conflict with the rebel states. McDowell's unfortunate fate in the crucible of the Civil War continued with a rout at the Second Battle of Manassas, another stinging defeat. In each he was roundly criticized and even suspected of being a traitor or enemy in disguise. In being relieved of his battlefield command a second time and in light of rampant speculation about his actions and loyalties, McDowell requested a Court Inquiry to clear his name of misconduct, which it did (Cullum, et al. 1891). Yet those were the only field commands he would have during the war. He was reassigned to command the Department of California for the remainder of the hostilities. Immediately following the war he was reassigned to be military commander of the Fourth Military District of the South, where he assumed full control of the government apparatus for the states of Arkansas and Mississippi (McPherson 1969). Due to his political and military supporters, McDowell continued his career and served as commanding general for the Division of the East, and then from 1872 to 1876 commanding general of the Division of the South, where federal troops were extremely active during reconstruction, acting as both government officials and enforcers of an highly unstable peace (Dawson 1982). He then came to the Presidio to command the Division of the Pacific from 1876 to 1882. After 48 years of continuous military service he retired and became Park Commissioner of San Francisco, putting into practice some of his lifelong passions for art and architecture (Cullum, et al. 1891). He is buried in the National Cemetery at the Presidio.

I do not see this as coincidence that an officer who had travelled Europe, was a stalwart of the Union during the war and through a tumultuous reconstruction would instigate and implicitly support the aggrandizement of the Presidio and moreover make the biggest imprint on the Presidio in a manner that implicitly showed what the federal government is and can do. It wasn't only the forest. At one point nearly all the roads of the Presidio were named McDowell because he initiated or completed their construction. Many of the roads then are the same picturesque curving roads that remain today. The most notable is Lincoln Boulevard (then called McDowell), which extends west from the Main Post past the National Cemetery, around the cavalry stables, up toward the Golden Gate, before slowly descending the coastal bluffs along the Pacific and exiting the southwestern corner of the post. Less than 20 years after the conclusion of the Civil War McDowell was a man working with an unusual palette to paint a picture of the power of the federal government in taming wild places and laying roads, in leveling hills and even in halting the inexorable expansion of the grid.

Today when park officials think about Major Jones's plan for the Presidio forest, it is often presented as an effort at beautification or to control the wind, which it was. It was also a local statement directed to city's occupants. But it is more than that. While it is difficult to escape the spatial context of San Francisco the forest created more than a distinction between park and city. Providing the temporal context in which it was planned, it established a clear division between what was civilian and what was military yesterday and to what continues to be local and what continues to be federal today. In the temporal context that last dyad (local/federal) is the most salient. Regardless of the time you live, asserting dominance over nature is one of the most effective messages used to convey power to a broad audience. I see McDowell as one of a generation of officers who during Reconstruction sought to not only reconstruct the South, the ravaged cities, and to forcibly reconstruct various social structures in ways that would protect what was won, but to go one step further in persistently representing the strength of the union by employing the power of the federal government to make places that reflected and reinforced its power.

His ideas would set in motion a slow moving debate over what purpose the landscape of the Presidio should serve, which pitted the higher level division leadership against the lower level leadership of the post.

On November 7, 1892, less than a decade after Major Jones developed the forestation plan, the Division Quartermaster, Major J.H. Lord, proudly pronounced that the number of trees planted on the Presidio came to 329,975 (Langdon, February 10, 1890 in PARC). A month later the Post Commander, Colonel William Graham, began a rebuttal of this proud accomplishment in a letter to the Division leadership:

The reservation has 1380 acres, of which 96 acres are in the garrison proper [the Main Post]. About 150 acres are in marsh land. About 75 acres are used by the Treasury Department. And the remainder is dry rolling ground well suited for the handling of troops. Of this about 400 acres have been planted to trees or are now being planted. These areas are protected with barbed wire fences. The space available is greatly reduced for drill.

Another evil arising from the extensive tree planting and which is only beginning to be felt, as the earlier plantings are attaining considerable size, is the dense thickets that are being formed, which makes shelters and secure hiding places for the tramps that infest the reservation.

(Graham, December 22, 1892 in PARC)

In 1894, Graham complained again that because of the large areas densely covered with trees and underbrush, troops in formation whether mounted or dismounted, were unable to train. He did not think any more trees should be planted and recommended thinning should take place. If, however, the commanding general wished to plant more trees, Graham said he would cooperate (Thompson 1997). Trees continued to burden the troops. On one occasion Graham had to post a mounted patrol to keep people from stealing newly planted trees. Twice Graham complained that the new barbed wire protecting the trees had injured government horses and that the groves hindered the proper instruction of the cavalry. His superiors responded by saying that the planting of trees was not inimical to the military service, but that any excess fencing would be taken up (Thompson 1997).

Graham's struggle with his leadership over the growing forest reached a climax in 1895 during the colonel's last year as the post commander. The San Francisco Examiner reported in August that the Quartermaster Department had advertised for 60,000 young Monterey Pines for planting in a forty-acre parcel along the western borders of the Presidio (Thompson 1997). Graham objected strongly to additional planting, saying space must be available for drill and battle exercises, "It is urgently recommended that the planting of more trees be prohibited by the proper *military* authorities" [emphasis his] (Graham, November 11, 1895 in PARC). Further, all fencing should be removed. Apparently the Quartermaster proceeded to prepare the ground for planting. And apparently the commander of the Presidio's Fourth Cavalry, Lt. Col. Samuel Young allowed his men to ride over the newly prepared ground. The Quartermaster heard that the Presidio's cavalry had been drilling in the area, injuring the young forest. Young asked Graham to take steps to preserve the grounds for military purposes. At that point, the commander of the Department of California, General James W. Forsyth, ended the dispute. He issued an order directing no interference with the operations of the Quartermaster in connection with tree

planting and a suspension of any cavalry drills that might interfere with the forest's growth (Thompson 1997).

There was something about an officer's position in the overall hierarchy of the army and their longevity in that service that informed their opinion on the significance and importance of the growing forest, and the naturalized place it established for the military institution.

Six years later, after several promotions, now Major General Samuel Young commanded the Department of California and along with a change in rank came a change in attitude towards the forest he and his men once trampled under hoof. Young wrote that "The period has arrived when the Presidio Reservation should be adjusted to a systematic and permanent plan of improvement." He recommended the appointment of a board of officers to consider such matters and the employment of a "landscape engineer." He discussed these ideas with the famed conservationist Gifford Pinchot, who was then Chief of the Division of Forestry of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Pinchot described his work as "the art of producing from the forest whatever it can yield for the service of man" (Muccigrosso and Niemeyer 1988). At the Presidio the forest yields a naturalized setting for the Army that reflected its institutional values.

The leadership at the Presidio had changed also, where the post commander, Colonel Jacob Rawles, took firm control over the preservation of the forest, ordering that "The cutting down, trimming, or in any way mutilating trees or shrubs on the Presidio Reservation is forbidden. Whenever trimming or cutting of any kind is to be done, the Commanding Officer alone will order it" (Thompson 1997).

A few years later, in the early years of the 20th Century, there was a building phase and design aesthetic, now called the City Beautiful movement that reached San Francisco. It broke with the functional rectilinear grid and was aesthetically driven by the famous architect out of Chicago named Daniel Burnham (Moore 1968). In 1904, while working in San Francisco, Burnham visited the Presidio to speak with the commanders about a beautification program where the built landscape would mesh with the topography and maturing forest. This was done as a small part of the overall development plan for San Francisco, which Burnham completed the year before the Great Earthquake and Fire (see Figure 12). Burnham was clearly a man familiar with the city grid, but at this point in his career and within the zeitgeist of the City Beautiful movement he sought opportunities to reimagine the city often by inserting new open spaces, grand boulevards, and lines that respond to the topography (Moore 1968). The difference between McDowell and Burnham is that McDowell's roads followed the contours out of necessity, while a quarter-century later Burnham's designs followed the topography of the Presidio by choice to accentuate certain views to the ceremonial parade grounds and furthermore to work with the surrounding

hills to create a sort of natural amphitheater surrounding the Main Post and a newly proposed drill field along the bay shore (see Figure 13). And I see in this initiative a way to situate the power of the federal government in a naturalized landscape by allowing it to seem as if it grew out of the land, as if it was integral, and inevitable.



Figure 12: The 1905 Burnham Plan for San Francisco, which included his designs for the Presidio (courtesy of the Bancroft Library).

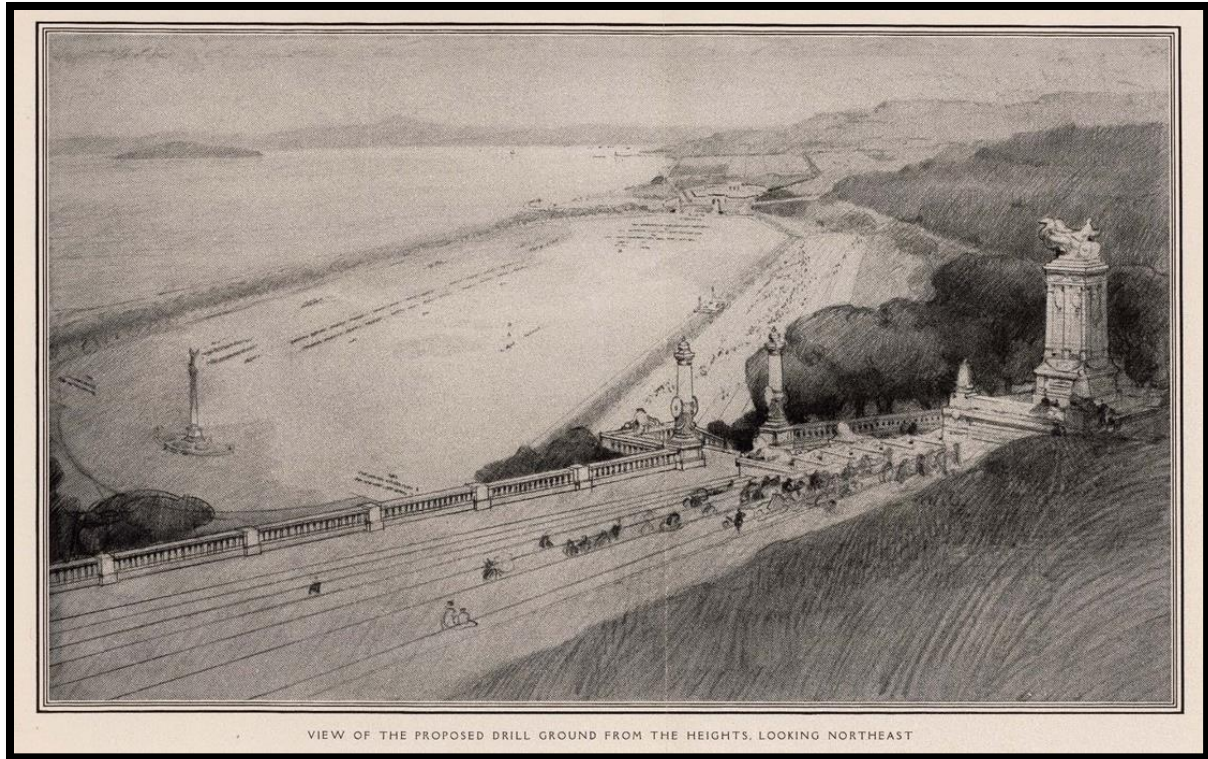


Figure 13: Burnham's 1905 rendering of the proposed drill ground at the Presidio located in an area that was marshland. A decade later these lower lands would be the site for the Panama Pacific International Exposition and subsequent Crissy Airfield (courtesy of the Bancroft Library).

The 1906 earthquake in San Francisco broke the enthusiasm for Burnham's plans to beautify the city. An army engineer named Major William Harts, however, picked up where Burnham left off with an expansive plan to remake the Presidio. It was Harts who gave credit to McDowell for the forestation plan. Harts included Burnham's recommendations for the beautification of the Presidio in his report, stating "In view of the growing importance of the Presidio, and of its natural topographical advantages, everything possible should be done, with government cooperation, to make it a monument to the United States Army" (Harts 1907).

Harts echoed Jones when he said each entrance to the reserve should have clusters of large trees bordered with low, flowering shrubs, "as will give the visitor the impression of entering an enclosure as he passes in." He continued, "this effect has been secured at many places at Golden Gate Park and the effect there may be studied with advantage" (Harts 1907).

The city grid is very American. It is the byproduct of cities that grew incredibly fast and in some parts under a singular design. The leveling of hills and filling of marshes in order to create a flat

plane conducive to the extension of an urban grid is an explicit way of showing dominance over nature. But, there is a deeper power to a naturalized setting that is more implicit to observers. Enforcing one's will over nature is a short-term victory: filled marshes will flood again; untenable slopes will slide; protected forests will ultimately burn; and reclaimed land, especially earthquake zones, will liquefy. But these are the inevitable predations of time against the will of man. What I'm speaking of here is perception, where the message situated within the naturalized landscape conveys a sense of the inevitability. It shows that this institution is long-lasting. This institution is integrated with nature, is propped up by nature, and therefore is part of the natural order of things. This fusion simultaneously concealed and enhanced the power of the federal government, by embedding its military at this place within the natural system. It also provided a natural reference for the controlling values of order, regimentation, and uniformity for the soldiers stationed there.

Because of the sheer size of the forest, covering approximately a third of the Presidio's 1500 acres it radically altered the native ecology of the area. The remnant coastal scrub and serpentine grasslands were rapidly replaced with an odd monoculture of introduced forest made from Eucalyptus, Cypress and Pine. By the time the US Army left in the 1990s most of the 1500 acres had been touched by development: rock quarries and landfills; firing ranges and mock battlefield trenches; water tunnels and earthen dams; golf courses and baseball fields. It just hadn't been touched by the density of urban development so obvious in the adjacent urban grid. So it seemed, by comparison, to be an island of refuge, and in many ways it is by harboring rare and endangered species such as the last Raven's Manzanita remaining in the world.

In this heavily forested island of refuge, environmentalists in the 1990s saw opportunity to restore the land, expand remnant habitat, and reestablish vital ecosystems so thoroughly destroyed in the city. Restoration Advisory Boards were established to guide the removal of landfills. Botanists were hired and began marking the hillsides with little flags of various colors to identify rare native plants hiding amidst the invasive exotics. Small armies of volunteers grew native seedlings in nurseries, which would repopulate the landscape with the proper species of plants and reestablish a semblance of the natural ecosystem. Acres of land would be denuded of existing foliage. Appropriate soils would be transported into the old post, dumped onto the new park landscapes, and carefully formed into dunes and other naturalized forms. Extensive but temporary irrigation systems were installed. Teams of volunteers would dig hole after hole, sometimes placing little packets of fertilizer in the bottom to help grow thousands of tender and young native plants.

This is when I arrived at the Presidio as an AmeriCorps volunteer. Many days I would joke with my team leaders, asking what we were doing today: *pulling 'em out or putting 'em in*, meaning pulling out the exotic plants or putting in the natives. I recall one of my first days as part of large team restoring dune habitat along the valley floor surrounding last naturally flowing stream left

in San Francisco, the Presidio's Lobos Creek. The area had been a drilling field, target range, and experimental balloon hangar. I accidentally but abruptly ended one day's work because I had found what I knew to be a dummy pineapple grenade in the hole I was digging for a young native plant. But, I was a 23 year old AmeriCorps volunteer and understandably, no one was willing to wager a limb that my identification was correct and that the grenade was not live. So, the work day ended and the San Francisco bomb squad cleared the field. To this day I wish I didn't let that police officer take the grenade from me: it was a great artifact that told an unexpected prehistory of that now fully grown and naturalized landscape, one most visitors assume was untouched by human intervention. It was also federal property and the local police had no jurisdiction.

Years later in another location volunteers restoring native plant habitat found an unusual bottle: small, square, and clear with the word "toxic" embossed on the side. The bottle passed from hand to hand until someone thought to bring it to the archaeology lab where I worked, now located in a "temporary" warehouse from World War I. One of my colleagues found out why it was embossed "toxic" as she dutifully washed the bottle as part of her rote practice and inadvertently activated the remnant crystals in the bottle, releasing a small amount of mustard gas into the laboratory. Aside from a minor rash and a somewhat embarrassing story on the local news, my colleague was fine.

Today if you visit the rolling hills where the mustard gas was found in the Presidio you will see the location from behind a fence and the area is routinely monitored. The fence is meant to keep visitors out and to keep the rare native serpentine grassland species safe from humans and their pets. The monitoring is not for levels of toxicity but for the diversity of native species and the intrusion of exotic species into the restored habitat. The dense native foliage has almost entirely concealed the extensive system of trenches soldiers dug into these hills during and after World War I when the area was used to train soldiers and medics in the field identification of live chemical warfare agents and the treatment of chemical warfare victims. According to records, the training was to acclimate the uninitiated to the battlefield. They did this by stringing chicken wire above the trenches, forcing the men to stay down below the trench walls and resist their natural instinct to stand up or run when they heard the sounds of the 50 caliber machine gun strafing the air above them. Once acclimated to battlefield conditions the men learned to recognize various types of chemical agents and practiced removing them from equipment or from the body of an enlisted soldier in a protective suit (Army 2003).

Similar to the battles over the forest, but in our own time the more aesthetic desire to establish a naturalized landscape trumped the desire to preserve a utilitarian landscape. Still, the aesthetic serves a purpose in situating this land as part of the national parks and their protection of natural(ized) ecosystems.



Figure 14: Park staff and volunteers undertaking a native habitat restoration project involving the removal of non-native vegetation prior to planting native plants in the area of El Polin Spring, near to the site where the Mustard Gas vile was found.

While the colonists sought to create a compound for culture in the form of a colonial square, which kept the natural world out, and the army's engineers used forms of exotic trees to establish a naturalized forest to exert their power over the land, and the likes of Pinchot and Burnham opined on the design of this naturalized place of institution, now the agents of federal power have taken to controlling nature itself, dictating the growth and development of native plants in a highly controlled manner, making the 500 acres of natural landscape in the Presidio just as culturally prescribed as the forest or the hundreds of buildings. Even without the attenuated grid, it is the completion or apotheosis of the control of nature that the colonists dreamed of centuries prior. Although I doubt they would have been able to conceive of the various forms that control over nature would take or recognize just how manipulated the natural world has become.

In all episodes there is reflected the continuing effort to control the natural world in a manner that reflected and reinforced the values of the institution. In each episode the place became both a product of the institution and a setting that was conducive for its social reproduction.

Chapter 5: Establishing the Institution

I insist, that if there is any thing which it is the duty of the whole people to never entrust to any hands but their own, that thing is the preservation and perpetuity, of their own liberties, and institutions.

-Abraham Lincoln-

All places changes over time. They are not, and in essence cannot be, static. Although the forces and conditions that lead to change are routinely debated, change itself is a given, so much so that it has become a cliché: change is the only constant. This truism of the modern world was once a hotly debated topic. It was previously seen as a specific condition of several ancient centers of culture or metropolises. The remainder of the world's cultures were seen as static; only in response to migration, diffusion, and colonial contact did those places change.

Parts of Europe recognized this sort of historical perspective with the reemergence of Classical philosophy during the Renaissance. It forced people to acknowledge that things were not always the same and furthermore to recognize that the future was something to be produced, and managed. Once this historical perspective was attained in Europe, their capitals became the modern metropolises acting on other seemingly static places. Powerful individuals and especially emergent nation-states during the Enlightenment sought to direct the course of cultural change toward certain goals.

Progressive agendas for modern cultural transformations required instruments with which to instigate change and realize their goals. Institutions were and are at the nexus of these intentions. The purposeful creation of new institutions and the manipulation of existing ones became essential tools for social reformers and others keen to transform society and establish national programs. Institutions were also a countervailing force to change. They often played conservative roles and were used to stymie change and reinforce tradition as the times changed around them. Any individual institution may do both over a long enough stretch of time.

Sociological and anthropological scholarship on institutions has oscillated like a pendulum over the years, swinging from descriptions and discussions on the intangible institutions of a culture (marriage, slavery, kinship, religion) to more of a focus and fixation on tangible institutions (prisons, asylums, factories, schools). At this time, I believe the pendulum has gotten stuck at the latter end. I think institutions are too often receiving a very narrow definition and scope, which coincides with a certain architectural facility with the power to confine and is lacking in the

broader meaning of societal controls. In other cases, descriptions and discussions on places and cultures that could benefit from an institutional lens do not have that reference.

In the following section I will seek to add breadth that will expand our view of institutions and bridge the divide to also include institutions without recognizable walls, those that impose order and regulate behavior in less obvious and sometimes intangible ways.

Because the term “institution” has several definitions and connotations I don’t want to assume that this term is so fixed in the mind that it need not be defined. And, not wishing to add a variant definition to a common word, I will turn to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), which lists eight senses of the word “institution,” often with several distinctive uses within each sense. Being a historical dictionary the entries are arranged chronologically, and in truth some of the earliest senses of the word are the ones that I find the most affinity for in my work. Here I’ll highlight the pertinent definitions and give the date of first documented usage:

- The action of instituting or establishing; setting on foot or in operation; foundation; ordainment; the fact of being instituted... [circa 1460]
- The giving of form or order to a thing; orderly arrangement; regulation. The established order by which anything is regulated; system; constitution. [before 1500 – now obsolete]
- An established law, custom, usage, practice, organization, or other element in the political or social life of a people; a regulative principle or convention subservient to the needs of an organized community or the general ends of civilization. [1551]
- An establishment, organization, or association, instituted for the promotion of some object, esp. one of public or general utility, religious, charitable, educational, etc., (e.g. a church, school, college, hospital, asylum, reformatory, mission, or the like). [1771]

(O.E.D.)

Amongst these chronologically ordered definitions I notice a utilitarian sequence that tracks the initial “action” and the subsequent “orderly arrangement,” this then leads to “a regulative principle or convention” and finally generates “an establishment, organization... for the promotion of some object.” Furthermore, my inference is that “some object” in the last sense of

the word can certainly refer back to the “established law, custom, usage, practice, organization, or other element in the political or social life of a people,” thus creating a self-sustaining and reinforcing loop. By this reading, the sequence not only introduces and establishes, but also produces the means to maintain a given institution. Perhaps this sequential reading reflects the historic implementation of progressive agendas beginning after the Renaissance and continuing through the Enlightenment into modern times. Perhaps that is overly speculative. Nonetheless, it is a curious sequence of development for the word, and more importantly the idea and actions behind the word.

The OED doesn't try to spell out this kind of historical reading *amongst* the various senses of the word, but it does purposely represent the historical variations in usage *within* each sense of the word. The OED does this by excerpting quotations from significant historical publications over time that are meant to track permutations in meaning from the first usage to the present day – or its last usage, if that sense of the word is now obsolete. So before I leave the comfortable bedrock that is the OED I feel compelled to highlight one of these quotations. This one happens to be the final quotation given for the second, and now obsolete, sense of the word institution, the one concerning “the giving of form or order to a thing.” The quote is by the English Poet Percy Shelley from his preface to *Hellas*, which he wrote in 1821 to raise money for the Greek War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire – a war that garnered widespread attention because for many outside of Greece it resonated in part as a symbolic battle over ancient Greece between the Ottomans as the Islamic successor to the Eastern Roman Empire and the aggregated scion states of the Western Roman Empire who supported Greek Independence.

But for Greece — Rome, the instructor, the conqueror, or the metropolis of our ancestors, would have spread no illumination with her arms, and we might still have been savages and idolaters; or, what is worse, might have arrived at such a stagnant and miserable state of social *institution* as China and Japan possess (Shelley [1821] in O.E.D.).

For me, that particular quotation further accentuates the important function institution(s) played in defining empires, and then nations, not only as civilized or modern but also set apart as opposed to other non-western cultures. It points to the instrumental role social institutions would occupy in colonial or nation-building endeavors undertaken by Europe and later the United States to bring their institutions to places that seemingly lacked them.

Aside from the now obsolete sense of institution defined by the OED discussed above, the term has essentially a dual meaning. The *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences* affirms that institutions are conceptually used in a dual way. First, it denotes rules,

constraints, or norms of human interaction. Second, it describes the resulting stable patterns of interaction among a set of agents and the social mechanisms generating this outcome (T. R. Voss, et al. 2001). This processual aspect is sometimes also expressed in the concept “institutionalization,” such as in Talcott Parsons' structural-functional theory of social systems (1982). In Parsons' words, “institutionalization is an articulation or integration of the actions of a plurality of actors in a specific type of situation in which the various actors accept jointly a set of harmonious rules regarding goals and procedures” (Parsons 1982). Later in what is termed the ‘new institutionalism,’ this process is echoed with a more explicit vocabulary where *institution* represents a social order or pattern that has attained a certain state or property and *institutionalization* denotes the process of such attainment (Jepperson 1991).

Institutionalization therefore becomes the process through which certain cultural norms become elements of the actors' motivational dispositions; where conformity to a norm is rewarded while deviant behavior is punished. Many social scientists have been preoccupied by the kinds of concrete institutions dedicated to more extreme situations involving crime and deviance, and by extension those institutions of social control that developed as a corrective to such behaviors, such as prisons and asylums.

Taking cues from the body of literature to do with the idea of a *social contract* personified by Rousseau, early sociologists saw the question of how society curbs individual passions and interests in order to perpetuate itself in peace as one of paramount importance. Social control was the term employed in the early part of the 20th Century and it “referred to the capacity of a society to regulate itself according to desired principles and values” (Cusson, et al. 2001; Janowitz 1975). As I've previously stated, one of the principle instruments of societal control is the institution. Underlying much of this line of thinking is a perspective that questions why individuals would conform at all. Sociologist Travis Hirschi (1969) most plainly states the perspective: “Deviance is taken for granted; conformity must be explained.”

This emphasis on deviance and conformity has set-up a polarization that has led to a focus on extreme situations. Although I seek to move the dialogue towards more subtle and understated social institutions, it would be ignorant not to acknowledge the influence of works that focus on extreme examples of institutionalization. Starting with examples in the extreme has a certain heuristic benefit because in these situations the process is pronounced. Observation in the extreme can often lead to better recognition of more subtle processes that would otherwise go overlooked or perhaps just seem like idiosyncratic noise.

The institutions addressing extreme deviance are where the most elementary personal exchanges and norms of interaction are broken only to be restructured. In some cases these

institutions damage the moral self [e.g., self-respect and modesty] through various forms of humiliation, while they act as machinery for disciplining and normalizing behavior (Willems, et al. 2001). Prominent amongst this realm of work on institutions are the works of Erving Goffman and Michel Foucault. Both Goffman and Foucault start with the treatment of extremely deviant populations and attempt to understand the type of institution meant to impose conformity.

Goffman’s book *Asylums* (1961) describes a class of social organizations that has to do with confining, controlling and altering people. Although he titled the book *Asylums*, the first essay includes references to all types of what he terms “total institutions,” including military camps, convents, prisons, and boarding schools. Goffman recognized common characteristics, but also important distinctions amongst these and defines the total institution as “a place of residence and work where a large number of like situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life” (Goffman 1961). These institutions were architecturally, spatially and materially structured to control every aspect of their lives so as to better direct and ensure their progression towards moral and social transformation. Common techniques used included segregation, surveillance, time structuring, uniforms, repetitive morally reforming labor, and intricate systems of classification. He describes five different types of total institutions:

Description:	Examples:
Places established to care for persons felt to be both incapable and harmless.	Homes for the blind, aged, orphaned, and the indigent.
Places established to care for persons felt to be both incapable of looking after themselves and a threat to the community, albeit an unintended one.	Tuberculosis sanitarium, mental hospitals, and leprosaria.
Places organized to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers to it, with the welfare of the persons thus sequestered not the immediate issue.	Jails, penitentiaries, P.O.W. camps and concentration camps.
Those places purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds.	Army barracks, ships, boarding schools, work camps, colonial compounds, and servants in large mansions.

Those places designed as retreats from the world even while serving also as training stations for the religious.	Abbeys, monasteries, convents, and other cloisters (Goffman 1961).
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In addition to this list of examples Goffman offers the following synopsis:

A basic social arrangement in modern society is that the individual tends to sleep, play, and work in different places, with different co-participants, under different authorities, and without an over-all rational plan. The central feature of total institutions can be described as a breakdown of the barriers ordinarily separating these three spheres of life. First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together. Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials. Finally, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution (Goffman 1961).

I am most interested in Goffman's fourth type of institution, those "purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds" (Goffman 1961). The list he offers for this set of institutions sounds like a familiar list of historical archaeology sites: army barracks, ships, boarding schools, work camps, colonial compounds, and large mansions from the point of view of those who live in the servants' quarters.

The second major social theorist to deal with institutions is Michel Foucault who in *Discipline and Punish* (1977) examined the birth of the modern prison, which he believed coincided with – or is a precursor to – the modern disciplinary society emergent at the close of the 18th century. Foucault describes the Walnut Street jail in Philadelphia as the prototype for not only future prisons but also, according to his thesis, for other social institutions and modern culture writ large. He poses a rhetorical question, asking "is it surprising that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons?" Some scholars (e.g. Shelley 1979) see a paradoxical relationship here; she questions how 18th century prisons can presuppose other, older, institutions and believe Foucault overstates this point. Goffman also touches on this in the very first sentences of *Asylums* where he remarks on how prisons have become representative

of the whole order of institutions. “Prisons serve as a clear example, providing we appreciate that what is prison-like about prisons is found in institutions whose members have broken no laws” (Goffman 1961).

Nonetheless, Foucault asserts that schools, hospitals, and factories have since copied the form of institutional dominance imposed by the prison and the routinized controls prisons maintain have become exemplary of the entire disciplinary society. With the prison serving as prototype, modern society has adopted the means of this institution and acquired symbolic, as well as actual, control over the totality of the lives of its members through scheduling and surveillance of their daily activities. Foucault’s main thesis is that this pervasive intrusion into all aspects of everyday life has superseded raw physical brutality as the principal means of social control. In his work on the relations of power within institutions such as prisons, Foucault identified the body as the primary site where power is registered and enacted, and focused on the essential relationship between the exercise of power and the manipulation of space (Foucault 1977).

Foucault noted that to understand the operation of an institution required the development of a “corpus of source data” about how it was designed and structured by architecture and regulations, how it operated, and the hidden discourses that maintained or subverted its institutional focus (Foucault 1977).

Goffman and Foucault conceive of institutions using that second definition of institution from the OED: “an establishment, organization, or association instituted for the promotion of some object...,” which we’ll call *physical institutions*. Mary Douglas in her book *How Institutions Think* (1986) addresses the first definition of institution from the OED: “an established law custom, usage, practice” or “regulative principle or convention,” which we’ll call *conceptual institutions*. Here I’ll pivot towards that sense of institution. Douglas starts more broadly with ruminations on cooperation and solidarity, noting that “not any busload or haphazard crowd of people deserves the name of society; there has to be some thinking and feeling alike among members” (Douglas 1986). This resonates with Benedict Anderson’s (1991) “imagined communities,” meaning a shared identity that can only be imagined, for the community to which individuals feel attached is too large or dispersed for any individual to know and engage with all the other members. Douglas notes how the analysis of socially constructed and derived motivations did much to confound utilitarian models, based in the self-interest of rational individuals.

The conflict between social and individual cognition compelled Douglas to refer back to Emile Durkheim, who emphasized the social origins of individual thought through his analysis of, what he called, “primitive religion” (Durkheim 2001). Douglas also points to another lesser-known figure named Ludwik Fleck who pursued a line of inquiry about the nature of the social mind in

modern society, with attention to the field of science itself (Fleck 1981). Fleck was in many ways a precursor to Thomas Kuhn in his assessment of scientific thought (Kuhn 1996). Despite Durkheim and Fleck's divergent fields of analysis – primitive religion and modern science – the comparison yields several equivalencies and they seem to concur that the human mind is furnished as society writ small. Durkheim sees that:

[Categories] represent the most general relations which exist between things; surpassing all our other ideas in extension, they dominate all the other details of our intellectual life. If men do not agree upon these essential ideas at any moment, if they did not have the same conceptions of time, space, cause, number, etc., all contact between their minds would be impossible... Thus society could not abandon the categories to the free choice of the individual without abandoning itself... There is a minimum of logical conformity beyond which it cannot go. For this reason, it uses all its authority upon its members to forestall such dissidences (Durkheim 2001).

Fleck goes further to say:

The individual within the collective is never, or hardly ever, conscious of the prevailing thought style which almost always exerts an absolutely compulsive force upon his thinking, and with which it is not possible to be at variance... Cognition is the most socially conditioned activity of man, and knowledge is the paramount creation (Fleck 1981).

Douglas contends that institutions arrange for this mental furnishing and create social relations. She states: "Half of our task is to demonstrate this cognitive process at the foundation of the social order. The other half of our task is to demonstrate that the individual's most elementary cognitive process depends on social institutions" (Douglas 1986). Douglas conceives of institutions as a legitimized social grouping that works to absolve individuals from many routine decisions and ordinary problem solving. Institutions acquire this legitimacy by asserting their fit with the nature of the universe, a fit that allows institutions to act as a guide to what to expect from the future. Within this naturalization:

There needs to be an analogy by which the formal structure of a crucial set of social relations is found in the physical world, or in the supernatural world, or in eternity, anywhere, so long as it is not seen as a socially contrived arrangement. When the analogy is applied back and forth from one set [of] social relations to another and from these back to nature, its recurring formal structure becomes easily recognized and endowed with self-validating truth (Douglas 1986).

In short Douglas contends that not only do institutions establish unquestioned categories and absolve individuals from certain sets of decisions, but they “create shadow places in which nothing can be seen and no questions asked” (Douglas 1986).

The unquestioned categories and conventional thought subtly built by institutions is the focus of several theorists not often associated with the study of ‘total institutions’ but nonetheless focused on what we’ve now laid out as the institution and institutionalization. For studying institutions necessarily and inevitably becomes at some level a reckoning of structure and agency, of social determinism and individual free will. Giddens, in his outline of a theory of structuration (Giddens 1986) tackles “social practices ordered across space and time” and crafts a useful framework. Giddens actually goes further in some of his later writings when he discusses an institutional focus that integrates structure and agency: “one way of combining both is to study the social institutions and organizations which help shape people’s lives but are also changed by them over time” (Giddens 2010).

The “duality of structure” is an explicit middle ground he establishes between the two poles of determinism – structure vs. agency – where “social structures are both constituted by human agency, and yet at the same time are the very medium of this constitution” (Giddens 1979). I find Giddens’ formulation particularly conducive for studying institutions because through this lens one can view structure without reducing individual actors to the mechanical reproduction of preexisting order, so that structure is not “simply placing constraints upon human agency, but as enabling” (Giddens 1979). I feel Pierre Bourdieu (1990) gave a more eloquent presentation of this general idea in *The Logic of Practice*, for which he borrowed a metaphor from Raymond Ruyer who described it as: *a locomotive train that lays down its own rails as it travels*.

Here I’d like to turn to two studies that take up some of the topics previously mentioned, operationalize the ideas, and present a summary of their findings. The first is Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell’s work on what they term institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). They begin by taking up Goffman and Foucault’s earlier query about prisons and the striking similarity of institutions – although DiMaggio and Powell curiously do not reference Goffman, Foucault, or prisons. Instead they start by broadly questioning: “why there is such a startling homogeneity of organizational forms and practices.” Using Giddens (1979) approach, they assert that this homogeneity or isomorphism results from the structuration of organizational fields, and by field they mean “those organizations that in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life,” such as schools or hospitals (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). This field level approach emphasizes the importance of both the overlap amongst organizations and their structural equivalencies. They identify three mechanisms of institutional isomorphic change: *coercive*, which stems from political influence and the problem of legitimacy; *mimetic*, resulting

from standard responses to uncertainty; and *normative*, which is associated with professionalization.

Max Weber's work on increased rationalization and the inexorable growth of bureaucracies still informs the thinking of many who tackle institutions, and served as the jumping off point for DiMaggio and Powell's whole line of inquiry. They start from the Weberian synopsis that under capitalism, the rationalist order had become an *iron cage*, from Talcott Parsons' translation of the German phrase *stahlhartes Gehäuse* – steelhard housing (Weber 2003), and this iron cage was bureaucracy: “the rational spirit's organizational manifestation.” DiMaggio and Powell reaffirm the notion of the iron cage when they say, “in the long run, organizational actors making rational decisions construct around themselves an environment that constrains their ability to change further in later years” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). In the late 19th Century Weber saw bureaucratization resulting from three related causes: competition in the marketplace making demands for efficiency; competition amongst states, resulting in more effective control and command mechanisms; and bourgeois demand for an egalitarian system that provides equal protection under the law (Weber 2003). By the late 20th Century DiMaggio and Powell posited that bureaucratization has become infused with value beyond any instrumentalist purpose and imposes a rationalist order without regard for the increased efficiency that had previously been seen as the primary driver. In other words the iron cage had obtained value in and of itself.

DiMaggio and Powell offer six hypotheses of isomorphic change for institutions. I will highlight the three most pertinent ones:

Organizational level predictions:

1. The greater the dependence of an organization on another organization, the more similar it will become to that organization in structure, climate and behavioral focus.
2. The more uncertain the relationship between means and ends the greater the extent to which an organization will model itself after organizations it perceives to be successful.
3. The more ambiguous the goal of an organization, the greater the extent to which the organization will model itself after organizations that it perceives to be successful.

(DiMaggio and Powell 1983)

Continuing the focus on bureaucratization that DiMaggio and Powell, as well as Weber, saw as heavily driven by the state is the work of Nelson Polsby who examined a fundamental institution of the state in the *Institutionalization of the U.S. House of Representatives* (Polsby 1968). In Polsby's analysis he establishes three major characteristics for the lower body of the federal legislature:

- 1) it is relatively well-bounded, that is to say, differentiated from its environment. Its members are easily identifiable, it is relatively difficult to become a member, and its leaders are recruited principally from within the organization.

- 2) The organization is relatively complex, that is, its functions are internally separated on some regular and explicit basis, its parts are not wholly interchangeable, and for at least some important purposes, its parts are interdependent. There is a division of labor in which roles are specified, and there are widely shared expectations about the performance of roles. There are regularized patterns of recruitment to roles, and of movement from role to role.

- 3) Finally, the organization tends to use universalistic rather than particularistic criteria, and automatic rather than discretionary methods for conducting its internal business. Precedents and rules are followed; merit systems replace favoritism and nepotism; and impersonal codes supplant personal preferences as prescriptions for behavior (Polsby 1968).

In my opinion, these studies successfully apply broader ideas espoused by thinkers like Giddens and Weber in ways that begin to bridge the divide between physical and conceptual institutions. Furthermore, their predictions and characteristic findings provide both a springboard for analysis and a basis for comparison.

Archaeological studies focusing on institutions have been heavily influenced by Erving Goffman (1961), especially in drawing from his listed examples of total institutions to determine which sites are institutions – including hospitals, asylums, prisons, and almshouses (Baugher 2001; Casella 2000; DeCunzo 1995; Piddock 2001). While Goffman has perhaps been the most influential in framing the field of institutional study, Michel Foucault (1977) is the thinker most explicitly referenced by archaeologists. Those following Foucault, while displaying a concern with how institutions attempted to reform the individual into an appropriate social unit, accentuate how power in these institutions operated (DeCunzo 2006). Therefore, archaeologists who seek

to understand the workings of institutions, as well as social dominance and subordinate resistance, have repeatedly mined Foucault's work.

Lynn Meskell comments on the mining of Foucault's ideas by noting that they have only been applied by archaeologists as a "simplistic and formulaic binary equation" such as that between oppressor and oppressed, or between domination and resistance (Meskell 1996). This is an increasingly routine critique and finds resonance in colonial studies focusing on colonizer/colonized divisions, and those questioning the emphasis on this division as the primary axis of identification (Silliman 2001; B. Voss 2005, 2008). Foucault himself noted that a focus on the state, or indeed on one authority such as an elite class or institutional management, as the major source of power was to be avoided. "In reality, power in its exercise goes much further, passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power" (Foucault 1977). Foucault referred to this as the *microphysics of power*, by which power, in infiltrating the entire social system, could produce numerous unequal relationships between individuals or groups in which power was exercised quite separately from the institution.

In this idea of the microphysics of power Foucault brings in the individual as a vehicle for transmitting power and a foci for institutional analysis. Meskell's influential work on corporeality (1996) follows Foucault's assessment that the body is the primary site where power is registered and enacted. De Cunzo narrows this point even further in noting that "the archaeology of institutions translates into an archaeology of bodies" (DeCunzo 2006). Of course Foucault emphasized the body, but in a wider view the essential relationship is between the exercise of power and the manipulation of space. The interplay between the body of an individual and the manipulation of space has led other archaeologists, such as James Garman (Garman 2005) to incorporate Edward Soja's ideas of a "trialectic" (Soja 1996), which is his own reconfiguration of LeFebvre's (1991) spatial triad, in which space is conceived, perceived and lived. Garman used this to frame his analysis of the First State Prison in Providence, Rhode Island and employed a classification system based on binary roles such as guard/prisoner to examine the lives of men within the prison.

Although I find no particular fault with a focus on men within a prison, this kind of androcentric approach has been criticized by archaeologists such as Connie Nobles for making women and children invisible despite evidence that they were frequent inhabitants of such institutional spaces. She noted that archaeologists must "look for the invisible" and avoid "unconscious acts of exclusion, patterns of Eurocentric and androcentric influences" (Nobles 2000). While this is a valid critique it also strikes me as overdone considering the body of literature focusing on women within the institution.

With a feminist focus on domination and resistance, Eleanor Casella's analysis of female convict "factories" or prisons in Tasmania suggested how women contravened institutional prerogatives through the trade of contraband objects and expression of illicit sexuality (Casella 2000). In this way they create an alternative language and geography of transgression that references yet defies the official geography of transformation. Due in no small part to the types of institutions she studies – prisons – Casella starts from an explicit and exclusive focus on institutions with the power to confine (Casella 2007) and she digs deep into the Victorian era literature on the design and management of prisons within the former British empire.

Lu Ann De Cunzo's (1995) work on Philadelphia's Magdalen Society considered how institutions spatially, rhetorically, and in their choice of labor practices incorporated the Victorian ideal of domesticity and the separate sphere for women as a means of guiding "fallen women" into patterns of socially acceptable and class appropriate female behavior. In reflecting on the archaeology of institutions and the framing provided by Casella (2009) and Susan Spencer-Wood (2009), DeCunzo more recently noted in a chapter entitled *The Future of the Study of Institutions* that: "These works shared a view of institutions' functions and purposes as social control, and framed all relationships within these institutions in terms of power, as relationships of domination and resistance" (DeCunzo 2009). This is the exclusive focus for much, perhaps too much, of the archaeological work done on institutions that because of their topic – prisons, asylums – see all members of an institution as either inmate/staff or oppressed/oppressor, harkening back to the simplification Meskell pointed to and Foucault cautioned against. I agree with DeCunzo when she notes that she finds these arguments "convincing and yet *not* enough" because "essentially, they seem reductionist" (DeCunzo 2009).

When archaeologists expressly address institutions it is nearly always applied to one of Goffman's list of "total institutions," and even further circumscribed to the narrow focus on institutions that confine. But what about the other categories of total institutions, especially that category of total institution described by Goffman as "purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds?" Such as military, industrial, or religious sites? Or even beyond that to the institutions that Emile Durkheim or Mary Douglas sought to shine a light on? Here it is a little more difficult to define the field because archaeologists dealing with these more subtle institutions tend to define their object of study as something besides an institution, and fall outside the tight circle of archaeologists who have taken up the charge of Goffman and Foucault.

Kent Lightfoot's analysis of the pluralistic setting at the Russian outpost of Fort Ross (Lightfoot, et al. 1998; Lightfoot, et al. 1997), while taking practice theory as his springboard, is interesting to think of in this broadened spectrum of light. In seeking to understand this multicultural

mercantile outpost, Lightfoot's multi-scalar approach reveals the differential expression of doxa – usually in spatial formulations - between the various cultures. While not explicitly addressing institutions he integrates both definitions previously given by illuminating the spatial order imposed by the Russian American Company [“an establishment, organization, or association, instituted for the promotion of some object”] and the persistence and change in daily practice by the Native Californian and Native Alaskan laborers [“a regulative principle or convention”].

In a thematic edition of the journal *Historical Archaeology* on “Communities Defined by Work: Life in Western Work Camps” the editor Thad Van Bueren (2002) begins with a hesitant embrace of the word “community” instead of reaching back to a definition like Goffman for institutions that were “purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task.” Instead Van Bueren reaches back for a definition given for community by George Murdock as “a group of people living in the same place, interacting on a daily basis, and operating under a system of shared understandings” (Murdock 1949). This is not far off the mark of Goffman's own definition of a total institution as “a place of residence and work where a large number of like situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life” (Goffman 1961). This special volume on *Communities Defined by Work* could have been titled differently, using institutions as its frame, without excluding any of the sites addressed within the publication (fur trading outposts, construction or mining camps, oil fields, and company towns). Institutions, however, or the body of theory described previously play no significant role in framing or analyzing these communities of work. Extending well beyond this one exemplary publication there furthermore seems to be an inability to see institutions as anything more than prisons and asylums. Could it be that archaeologists cannot see an institution without walls? Without the obvious power to confine and separate? Could this be a blind spot in a materialist view of the archaeological past – an inability to see institutions of a more subtle social control?

In a recent publication on *The Archaeology of Institutional Life* Sherene Baugher (2009) provides a short list: “For archaeologists, ‘institutions’ encompass communal societies, almshouses and workhouses, orphanages, hospitals, schools, settlement houses, asylums, and reformatories.” She then goes further in excluding two major categories of institutions: religious and military sites, which “are so diverse that they are usually categorized under their own headings” (Baugher 2009). This is a sleight of hand that masks the surprising fact that there really is no large and diverse body of historic archaeological literature that addresses military or religious sites through the lens of institutional theory. This is simply a reduction of the field in view.

Now, there is nothing egregious about narrowing one's field, but there is a certain inconsistency between a narrow field for the types of institutions addressed and the (somewhat circumscribed) attempts at much broader framing in other passages. Such as Baugher's statement, also in the introduction, where she states “the archaeology of institutional life (as defined in this volume)

centers on those institutions that control people's behavior and daily life" (Baugher 2009). Even with the parenthetical disclaimer that is an overly broad statement considering the narrowed field. Even for "total institutions" Baugher cannot see past the confining examples she provides to understand the conceptual categories Goffman had devised in 1961. She states in describing respite homes for injured seamen: "The governing boards of these institutions sought to recreate the hierarchy on land that had existed at sea. However these were not 'total institutions,' as the men had freedom and were not treated as prisoners" (Baugher 2009). For me, that statement displays a fundamental misunderstanding, wherein she has conflated, or substituted, confinement with total institutions.

Although military sites can display many of the classic characteristics of institutions in their maintenance of power relations, structuring of space, and treatment of the individual, they have rarely been analyzed as such by archaeologists. When they are addressed it is often with a narrower focus on military prisons (Bush 2009; Casella 2007). A near exception is Facundo Gomez Romero (2002), who in his study of small fortified military structures used in Argentina during Indian wars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, applied Foucault's model of a technology of power in order to understand how imperial elites used a system of arbitrary conscription, imprisonment, and torture, as a way of subduing local rural populations (Gomez-Romero 2002). He suggests that this was not simply a binary system involving coercion of a subordinate group by the powerful, but an example of Foucault's microphysics of power. These micro powers operated primarily in the context of the levy or conscription system, which operated under state auspices but functioned largely through local agents with a high degree of inconsistency, corruption, and lack of official oversight. Under this system the conscript was forced to serve in one of the frontier forts, which simultaneously served as both a unit of state aggression and as a conscript prison. Again, here we have the body of institutional theory being applied in seeming response to the trigger of segregation and imprisonment.

It seems to me that an institutional study of missions, presidios, and later military sites would fill a gap in our understanding of the role institutions played in the colonial and national pasts, and perhaps furthermore fill a gap in the archaeological literature on the performance of subtle or conceptual institutions. Missions have received considerable attention for reasons to do, in my opinion, with the involvement of Native Americans and archaeology's early focus on tropes of the disappearing Indian. Military sites, however, have received considerably less critical analysis.

The reasons why military sites should be the locus of study, beyond my own, are fourfold:

1. the military is an agent of social change tied directly to the political system;
2. the social changes are felt both at home as people pass in and out of the military as well as abroad;

3. the gravity and consequences of military actions should require us to better understand it as an institution; and
4. the overall footprint left by the military has created a multitude of opportunities for study along with a rich body of data from the archives.

There are certainly enough studies of military sites, and archaeology has contributed to the knowledge of past battles and the functioning of certain outposts of empire and trade. But, a critical assessment of *the military* is missing or under-analyzed. Often the military is one of the greatest hegemonic processes involved within a nation, and one that is controlled in a very direct way by the government apparatus. In some cases the military hierarchy and government are synonymous [e.g. military dictatorships]. While in other cases the ultimate levers of military command and control reside with a civilian authority. Either way, the military is quite literally an *agent* of the government, and of social change.

The military's breadth of recruits inducted into the rigors of hierarchy and enforced homogeneity is in some ways unparalleled. For these reasons I find it somewhat surprising that it is not a prime focus of anthropology and by extension archaeology. Furthermore it seems that viewing the military through the lens of institutional theory would be ripe for both the more obvious physical aspects of an institution but also those more subtle aspects of conceptual institutions regulating behavior.

In this study I am most interested in understanding how the military at the Presidio projects its values and a structure to reinforce those values (both physical and conceptual) on people, groups, or cultures within and beyond its ranks. For this I will need to look at: the manner in which these institutions establish order through categories beginning with the institutional identities of their members; how social structure is reflected in the places they build; and what symbols they choose tell us about their highest level institutional projects with an emphasis on how they establish legitimacy and a narrative for their historical trajectories. This last one about trajectories is important, because I am also curious about institutional lineages and looking at institutions the presidio is modelled on or influenced by.

Chapter 6: Setting the Stage

The first steps of colonization begin with the explorers who make surveys and produce maps, representing through lines on paper the shore of a new coastline. Using a constellation of numerals to record the depths of a safe harbor and a tidy little icon for good anchorage. Making annotations for timber and fresh water. Placing geometric shapes on the land to depict the proposed locations for the institutions of empire.

A map exactly like this is what you find in the archives for San Francisco, drawn in 1775 by seasoned explorers who came aboard the first European ship known to enter through the Golden Gate: the *San Carlos*. It depicts two geometric shapes for the proposed institutions of empire, one for the presidio and one for the mission. Each was placed on the peninsula that would become the city of San Francisco (see Figure 15). These two institutions were intertwined and virtually inseparable. Their mutual dependence highlights an aspect of institutions that is often overlooked. Almost any institution regardless of the scale at which it operates is part of a larger system. It is tempting, and valuable, to look at them in isolation, but each one is part of a larger vertically nested system and each is part of a complex Venn diagram of horizontal authorities and responsibilities across the field.

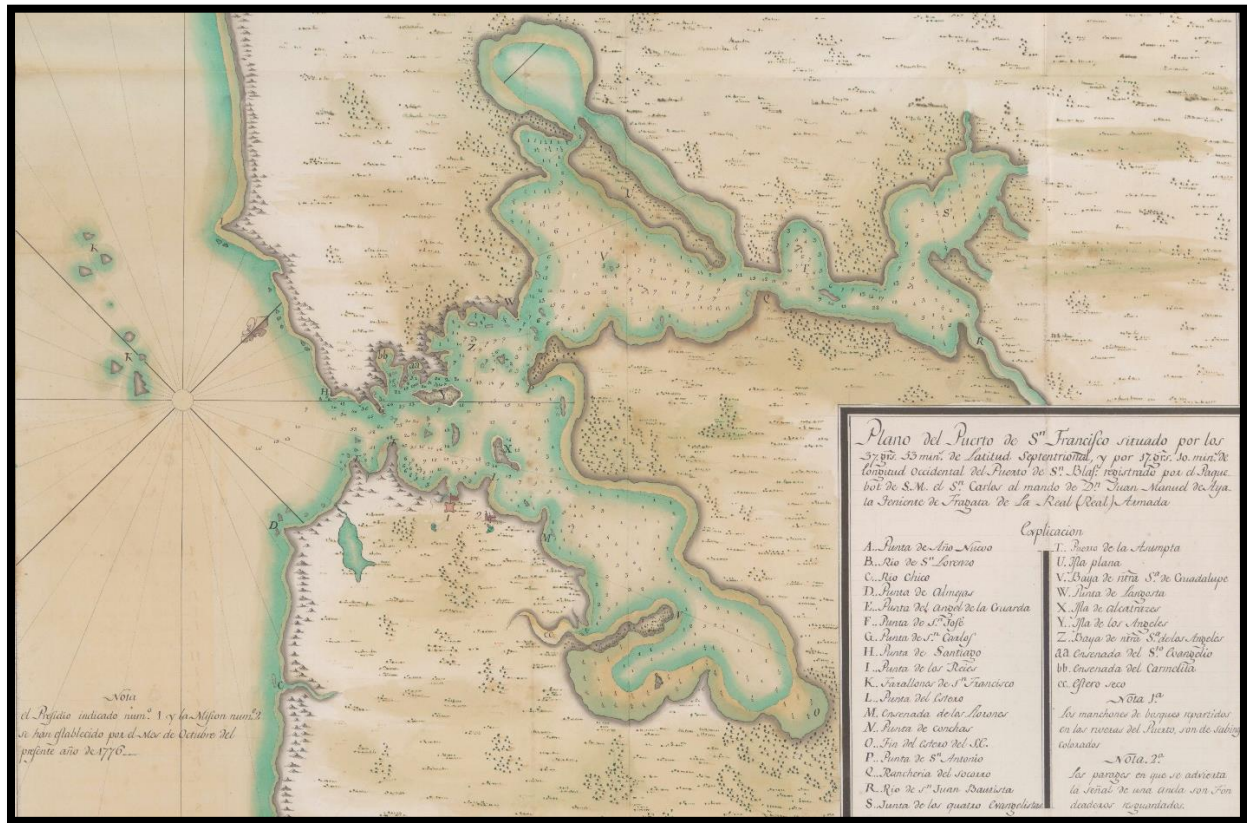


Figure 15: 1776 Map of San Francisco showing the proposed presidio and mission (courtesy of the Bancroft Library).

For the presidio and mission in San Francisco, each was responsible for the indoctrination and training of new members to their respective communities. Yet, once a membership was established their interdependence took hold. The mission priests were responsible to provide the sacramental rites and the products of the neophyte labor to the colonial soldiers and their families. The presidio soldiers were responsible to secure the mission and to enforce the continued participation of its neophyte members. Although the colonists were not part of the mission community. Presidio soldiers were constantly stationed at the mission on *escorta* or escort duty (Langellier and Rosen 1992) and neophyte Indians from the mission were often sent to the presidio to receive official punishments, which included: receiving lashings and being shackled for months at a time, laboring on construction projects at the presidio; or being imprisoned there. Yet, again, the Indians were not officially part of the presidio community (Milliken 1995). Where the Venn diagram overlaps most fully between these two institutions is with regard to the newly indoctrinated Christian Indians. So that is where I will begin this chapter.

The native people dwelling around San Francisco Bay are not depicted anywhere on the 1775 map, although Capt. Juan Manuel de Ayala, Father Vicente Santa Maria, and the crew of the *San Carlos* were immediately aware of their presence. As soon as they entered the bay Santa Maria noted:

We saw on the slope of a hill that was in front of us a number of Indians coming down unhurriedly and in a quiet manner, making their way gradually to the edge of the shore... I went in the longboat with the two sailing masters and the surgeon... to bring them into close terms with us and make them the readier when the time should come for attracting them to our faith... Keeping watch all around to see if among the hills any treachery were afoot, we came in slowly, and when we thought ourselves safe we went on shore, the first sailing master in the lead. There came forward to greet him the oldest Indian, offering him at the end of a stick a string of beads like a rosary... Then the rest of us who went in the longboat landed... The sailing master accepted everything and at once returned the favor with earrings, glass beads, and other trinkets. The Indians who came on this occasion were nine in number... One alone of the young men had several dark blue lines painted from the lower lip to the waist and from the left shoulder to the right, in such a way as to form a perfect cross. God grant that we may see them worshipping so sovereign an emblem. (Santa Maria [1775] in Paddison 1998).

That first night as the sun went down the ship's crew would have seen many fires alight in the native villages marking their presence along the shoreline ringing the bay. The *San Carlos* had entered one of the most densely populated regions in North America outside of Mexico. It also had one of the most diverse populations. Father Santa Maria was most interested in the native presence, because his role was to survey the natives themselves and record their reactions to the alien presence he and the crew provided. The crew would ring the ship's bell to see the native's reaction, which was typically awestruck but unafraid. Within days Santa Maria began to think the native peoples were eager to be converted and made note of it in the expedition journal.

The Huimens community of the Coast Miwok people and Huchiuns community of the Ohlone people approached the *San Carlos* separately in their reed boats. When the Huimens and Huchiuns met on board it was clear there was animosity between these communities. Santa Maria noted that "it appeared that those of the one and the other *rancheria* did not look on each other with much friendliness" (Santa Maria [1775] in Paddison 1998). Each group brought gifts of local foods and made presentations to the Spaniards. These offerings were always reciprocated. On board, Santa Maria was delighted at their curiosity. He remarked on how quickly their visitors learned Spanish names and words.

Several days later Santa Maria journeyed to shore again. He explored an empty Huimen village on the Island he named *Santa Maria de los Angeles*, which we know as Angel Island today. He surveyed the area of the village and soon found:

A large rock with a cleft in the middle of it, in which rested three remarkable, amusing objects, and I was led to wonder if they were likenesses of some idol that the Indians revered. These were slim round shafts about a yard and half high, ornamented at the top with bunches of white feathers, and ending, to finish them off, in an arrangement of black and red dyed feathers imitating the appearance of a sun... This last exhibit gave me the unhappy suspicion that those bunches of feathers representing the image of the sun must be objects of the Indians' heathenish veneration (Santa Maria [1775] in Paddison 1998).

From his diary he also recorded the approach of Huchiuns, who were from the other side of the bay where they spoke a different language and although they "did not look at the Huimens with much friendliness," they held some things in common with the Huimen:

One of them, who doubtless came to the bow of his boat for the purpose, began to make a long speech, giving us to understand that it was the head man of the *ranchería* who came, and that he was at our service. This visit was not a casual one, for all of them appeared to have got themselves up, each as best he could,

for a festive occasion. Some had adorned their heads with a tuft of red dyed feathers, and others with a garland of them mixed with black ones. Their chests were covered with a sort of woven jacket made with ash-colored feathers; and the rest of their bodies, though bare, were all worked over with various designs in charcoal and red ocher, presenting a droll sight (Santa Maria [1775] in Paddison 1998).

One of the Huchiun men who paddled toward them from the far side of the bay, compelled by his curiosity, was named Tilacse. He had never seen such a ship in his life. It is possible, however, given the Ohlone's long oral tradition and relationships with the Coast Miwok that he had heard Miwok stories of great ships that had crashed up north on the rocky Pacific coast long, long ago. He may have seen or recalled descriptions of the strange pale men perched atop a new kind of animal who had rode from the south a few years past. This ship and its crew he experienced firsthand. Tilacse scrambled aboard and delighted at a small menagerie of new animals. He discovered sheep, hens, and a cow. After exploring the ship, Tilacse returned to his Huchiun village.

Eighteen years later, there was a severe drought that was leading to conditions of starvation in the winter of 1794 for the Huchiun people. The missionaries saw this as an opportune time to aggressively recruit from the Huchiun population and requested the assistance of the presidio soldiers for this effort.

The acting Presidio Commandant Juan Perez Fernandez wrote to the governor to explain why he had turned down the missionaries request for escort to the other side of the bay and provided three reasons for his refusal:

1. Because it is nearly unknown country; there are indications that the people who live there are contrary.
2. I do not believe that a single religious and two or three soldiers are a strong enough party to cross and remain overnight in unknown territories.
3. Although the Reverend Fathers believe it to be an opportune moment, because the pagans are without food, having lost their harvest due to the severity of the drought, which facilitates drawing them in, I do not have the resources to send out an expedition of appropriate magnitude. (Perez Fernandez [1794] in Milliken 1995)

Without any assistance from the presidio soldiers the Huchiun came to the mission and Tilacse paddled across the bay towards the colonists once again. He was on the vanguard of a mass

exodus by the Huchiun, soon whole villages would empty and begin their conversion to life at Mission San Francisco, where they would become Christian Indians.

Tilacse was baptized at the newly constructed chapel at Mission San Francisco and was given the Christian name Ostano (Milliken, et al. 2009). His conversion took place at an institution that began as a shape on Captain Ayala's map and a speculation in Father Santa Maria's journal. Once Tilacse entered and was baptized into that institution his days were regulated by the sound of bells, which he first heard aboard the ship. Bells to tell him when to wake, when to work, when to pray, and when to sleep (Lightfoot 2004).

When the bells called him into to the chapel for service he, like the priest, would have looked upon the altar as he struggled to learn the mysterious rites of this new place. For in those days the priest did not speak to the people, the priest would speak for the people to god facing the altar with his back to the congregation. Looking over the priest's shoulder Tilacse's gaze likely explored the altar and scanned the rear wall of the chapel searching for this god the priest was speaking to.

The mission set a high bar in the way they set a scene that enveloped its neophytes in a web of new meanings. Of course the most prominent and intentionally crafted scene was the chapel and its altar. These scenes are highly prescribed in their design and purposeful in their iconographic meaning. This is where the tabernacle is located and, according to Catholic doctrine, where the bread and wine is not figuratively but literally transformed into the body and blood of Christ. In Catholic chapels there is a highly ornate backdrop to the altar that envelopes this holiest of holy spots. It is called a *reredos*. So important were these furnishings that they were not left to be created by each mission, they were centrally supplied by the Catholic leadership in the core areas of New Spain (modern day Mexico) with custom built pieces carved by highly trained artisans there (Engelhardt 1924; Neuerburg 1987). When completed they were disassembled, crated, and shipped up to the periphery of California with instructions for their reassembly and installation in the newly built missions.

But that took time. So, for a brief period after the mission chapel was completed in 1791 and before the *reredos* arrived on a ship some five years later the 22'x 20' wall behind the altar needed to be finished to establish the focal point of each mass for the priests and the parishioners. Considering its prominence, one of the missionaries likely directed the project himself, at least for some of the sacred symbols. The padres would be projecting their adoration towards those symbols; the body and blood of Christ would be stored and received from a tabernacle at the base of that wall; the statue of their patron Saint Francis would be placed in

the niche at the top of the wall. Together, it would serve to illustrate some of the many religious lessons the Padres sought to teach the neophytes.

Understanding what we know about labor situations at the California Missions it can be reasonably assumed that the mural was the physical work of the neophytes. Considering the use of the colors and designs that resonate with disparate tribal groups from the area, you can imagine this mural carrying many discreet and even some hybridized meanings for the neophytes as they looked over the shoulders of the priest and up at the mural. I imagine that the priests and many of the Christian Indians were focusing on different areas of the large mural and weaving from it separate but overlapping webs of meaning.

The priests and the neophytes together created a work of art that was instrumental in setting the proper scene for neophyte Indians, like the Huchiuns, who were recruited and indoctrinated into the mission system during these years. Painted on the wall behind the sanctuary altar, it held the most visually prominent position for all who entered and all who attended to worship there. This work of art projected an intentional image of mission culture, but in this case it was also a product of that culture.

In 1794 Tilacse saw a large freehand mural painted in a deep red and charcoal black on the white wall; a few key Catholic symbols were highlighted in a rich yellow ochre. While those symbols were foreign to him, others had a hint of familiarity including the red ochre, white and charcoal black sunburst pattern in the statuary niche at the top of the mural wall, where a Statue of Saint Francis would have stood. The sunburst design was much like the one Father Santa Maria saw in the cleft of the rocks on Angel Island. The whole of it was reminiscent of his artistic traditions in its use of red ochres and charcoal blacks. Those were the colors Father Santa Maria recorded for the regalia Tilacse wore in 1775 when he visited the *San Carlos*. They were also used in the sacred cave paintings in the mountains east of his village. They were the colors he painted on the bare skin of his chest, back and legs during times of sacred dance. These colors and sunburst designs have deep symbolic meaning in the Ohlone and Coast Miwok cultures and their presence in the chapel mural carried those meanings. The colors still show in the chevron patterns that adorn the roof beams in the Mission chapel today.

Whereas the chapel used to dominate the otherwise open and treeless colonial landscape, today it is dwarfed by the huge basilica next to it and barely tops the flat roofs of the Victorian and Edwardian homes in the neighborhood. In 2004 I had an opportunity to document the mural Tilacse gazed upon, which is now hidden in the wall behind the *reredos* in the Mission chapel. A historically significant transition was underway at the time. The curator of the old mission chapel, a Franciscan Brother named Guire Cleary was being replaced by the Catholic priests who still run

this active parish with a Native Ohlone man named Andy Galvan, who is a descendant of neophytes baptized there around the same time as Tilacse. His ancestors and Tilacse surely knew each other.

The irony in this Franciscan to Ohlone transition was that it was meant to happen roughly in the year 1786, years before Andy's ancestors and Tilacse were baptized. Each mission project in the colonization of California was designed and pitched to the colonial government as a ten year endeavor – the priests thought it would take a decade to convert enough natives and groom enough leaders amongst those converted to hand the mission and its lands over to these leaders to perpetuate the community as the priests then moved further into the hinterlands to start another mission and begin the process anew (Robinson 1948). That it took 228 years was an irony only a mission scholar with a wry sense of humor would appreciate, luckily Andy and Guire were both such scholars.

Andy was aware of the mural hidden in the walls of the old chapel even before he became curator. He and Guire mentioned it to a brilliant and quixotic digital artist from England named Ben Wood who recruited me to engineer a means to document this one of a kind artwork. Ben was passionate about this documentation project and heard from Guire that I was a guy who could get things done. So our project began, and over countless burritos and trips to the hardware store we tackled the primary obstacle to the work: how to access the space.

The *reredos* is 22 feet tall by 20 feet wide and when installed was sealed tight against each wall and extended the full height from floor to ceiling (see Figure 16). It was, however, positioned about 18 inches in front of the back wall where the mural was painted. This dark and inaccessible space is what had sheltered and preserved this one-of-a-kind artwork for more than two centuries. The mural could only be accessed from a small centrally located access panel in the attic that measured 18 by 20 inches and opened up to the completely dark space behind the *reredos*. The panel was cut into the attic floor sometime in the early part of the 20th century when electricity was added to the chapel and a worker needed to access the space to run conduit. There was a story that the tradesman who did the work came up out of this cramped space with his uniform covered in flecked paint from rubbing up against the mural. The bare mud wall just below the access panel was proof that something like that had certainly happened. Both curators wisely prohibited our bodily entry into the space. So, with a series of pulleys and rope to guide a digital camera tethered to a laptop computer we took hundreds of photos of very small sections of the mural. With all the structural supports anchoring the *reredos* to the wall we could only complete photography for the top five feet of the mural. Yet Ben digitally stitched together these 300 plus images to create a composite image of this significant but forgotten piece of art.

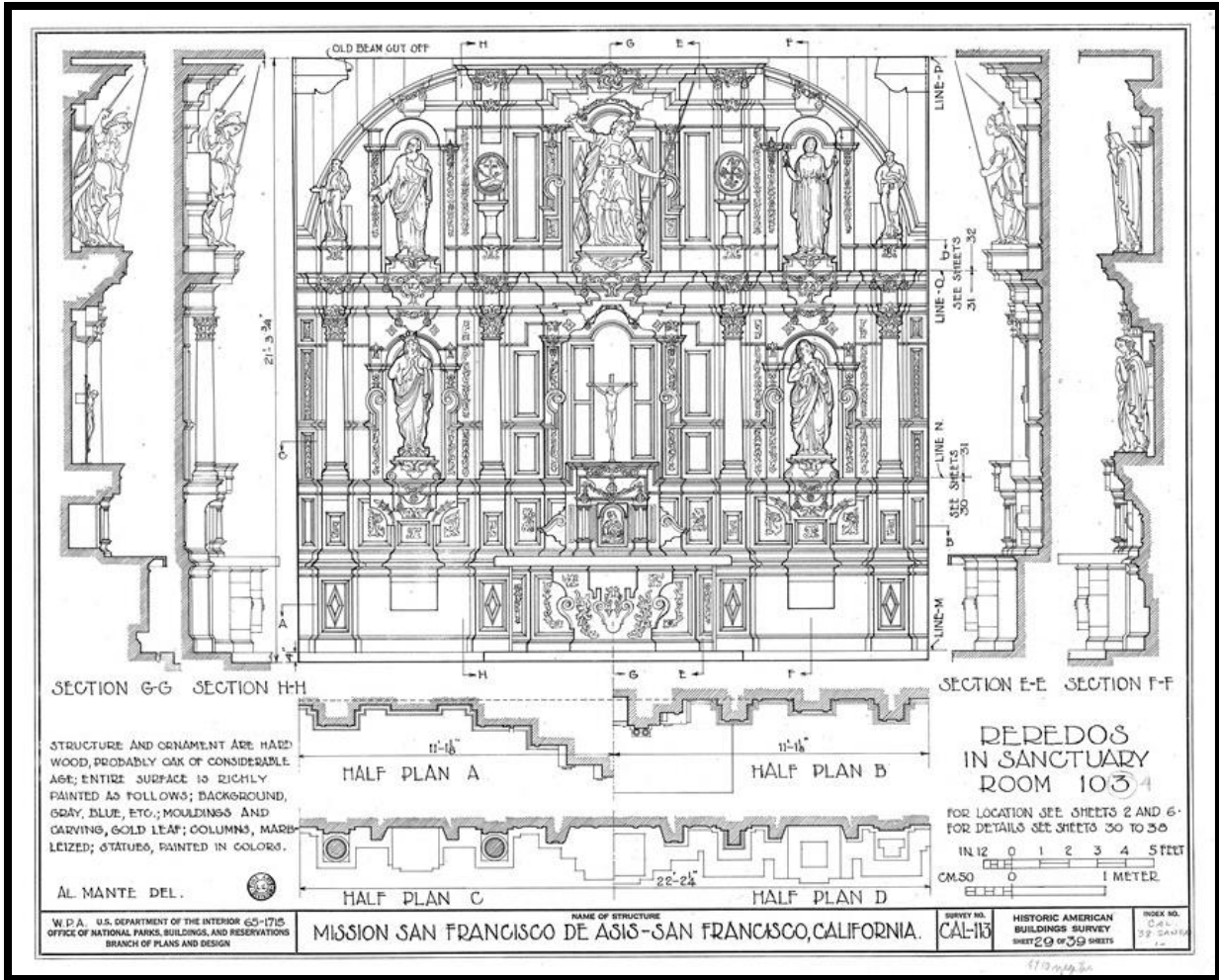


Figure 16: Historic American Buildings Survey scaled drawing of elevation, sections, and plan of the reredos in Mission Dolores (courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration)

There are three elements in the upper portion of the mural that immediately stand out (see Figure 17). The first two are Catholic symbols circled in that rich yellow ochre. At the center of each circle is a heart. One is the Sacred Heart of Mary symbolizing the prophesy of Saint Simon who foretold that for Mary losing her son Jesus would feel like a sword through her heart. The second is the Sacred Heart of Jesus, differing from the more modern version of a heart with a crown of thorns, instead with three stakes piercing the heart symbolizing the nails of the cross and Jesus' ultimate sacrifice. The third and central element is the sunburst design in the statuary niche. This symbol held meaning that I cannot fully recognize or interpret.

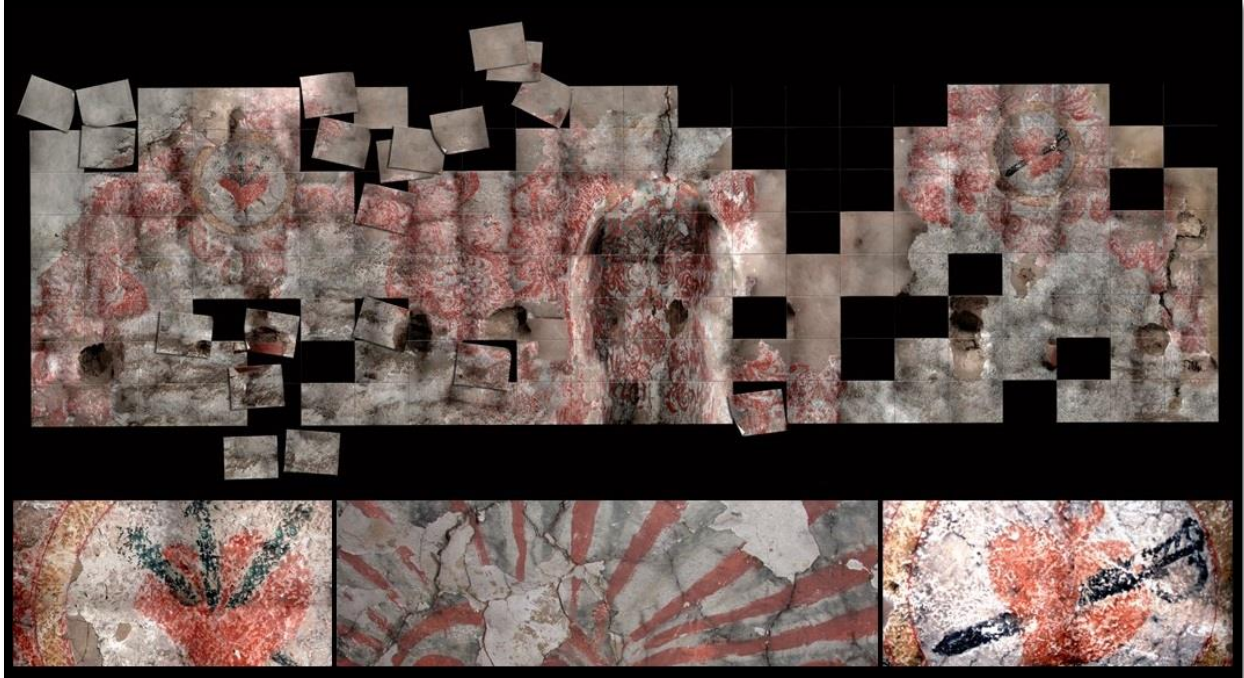


Figure 17: Photodocumentation of the hidden mural in Mission Dolores showing the process of piecing the image together from the hundreds of composite images taken by Blind and Wood circa 2004 (top). Sacred Heart of Jesus (bottom right). Sacred Heart of Mary (bottom left). Sunburst design (bottom center).

Art is perhaps the easiest form of material culture to understand as not merely a material object or even a sensory image, but it is also imbued with meaning by the artist. Through art the artist depicts the world as they understand it or want it to be seen. The question of identity is crucial to the discussion of meaning. Because, meaning is found in relationship, it's not inherent. Art therefore carries meaning *for* someone.

I spent long hours in the mission archive going over the handwritten names in the original leather bound book that recorded the baptisms into the Christian community. I was vainly looking for the name of the artist. It was a needle in a haystack. There were 526 natives baptized by the end of 1790 (Mission) and given the basic information recorded by the priests there was no one noted as an artist, although many certainly were. The one name that did stand out in my research was a 12 year old boy who was baptized in 1793 with the name Salvador. I couldn't help but imagine what meaning Salvador would make out of the mural. Salvador was an Indian, but not in the way you imagine. Salvador was born in Bombay, India. All we know is somehow he found his way on a transpacific ship and was baptized along with all the other Christian Indians, but I imagine the meaning he created out of the mural was different.

We often focus on the dichotomy amongst the colonized and colonizer and miss all the other identities and multivalent ways people in the mission connected (Milliken 1995; Silliman 2001). After all, the aggregate population of the mission was drawn from a wide geographic range and by the time the mural was obscured Tilacse and his Huchiun community were just one of 20 distinct tribal communities who had members of their population baptized there (Milliken 1995). These groups had their own experiences, relationships, and intentions for their future prior to their entrance into the mission. From this deep well they drew their traditional identities. Once they entered the missions a whole new institutional axis of identification was established that cross-cut all these tribal identities and cleaved the native population in two: Christian Indians and Non-Christian Indians. One episode, involving Tilacse and the Huichuns is illustrative.

A few short months after Tilacse led a mass conversion of Huichuns into the mission that doubled its population, an unknown disease wreaked havoc on the overcrowded mission population, killing 60 neophytes in a little over a month (Milliken 1995). Passes were issued by the missionaries for the neophytes to return to their villages, which also eased the growing food shortage. One group of Christian Indians who came from the Saclan community didn't return. Typically, the missionaries' first tactic to bring back runaway neophytes was to send out members of their own established neophyte population, often because the presidio soldiers had other nested interests that precluded them from getting involved. Such was the case here. Two *alcades*, who were native leaders at the mission, and 12 recent converts from the Huchiun and Saclan people were sent to return the runaways. The missionaries did not allow the search party to bring their bows and arrows, only some lengths of rope to tie up the runaways (Borica [1795] in Milliken 1995). The search party was unable to locate the Saclans in their own villages but followed them much further north to the village of an unknown tribal group called the Chimenes where the runaways reportedly went with a fourth tribal group, the Jalquins. Upon arriving at the foreign village, the Chimenes and visiting Saclans emerged in a fury from a dance house yelling "these men are our enemies" and killed all but one of the Christian Indians, burning alive the *alcalde* named Rogerio, who was Huchiun (Borica [1795] and Arguello [1797] in Milliken 1995).

Upon receiving word of this at the mission from the lone survivor Father Danti accused the survivor of lying, suspecting the story was just covering for the others who he assumed had now runaway too. Once convinced, Father Danti told the survivor to "be careful about what you say to any soldier or the commander will find out" (Perez Fernandez [1795] in Milliken 1995). Considering two leaders of the neophyte community had disappeared, there was no chance of keeping the secret. Governor Borica instructed the Presidio Commandant, Juan Perez Fernandez, to:

Make sure the *escoltas* are vigilant round the clock, because although one might dismiss the rumors that are floating around that the Saclans want to now strike

the mission, we should at all times go about our business as though the enemy were really in view (Borica [1795] in Milliken 1995).

Although the presidio soldiers at the missions were put on alert, the attack on the Christian Indians caused great alarm amongst the neophytes and served as the catalyst for more runaways from the mission that summer. By the end of the year nearly 300 neophytes had run away from the mission for a host of reasons, including the outbreak of the disease that spring, and what the presidio soldiers named at an official inquiry the “*tres muchos*” at the mission: too much work, too much punishment, and too much hunger (Milliken 1995).

The Governor refused to engage the presidio soldiers in efforts to return the runaways in the north. Nor would the governor engage the soldiers in a punitive campaign against the Chimenes, explaining to the Viceroy in New Spain that “this was not an assault upon vassals of the king, but upon Indians by their enemies” (Borica [1795] in Milliken 1995). The governor’s reasons were also informed by his knowledge that British explorer George Vancouver recently anchored in the north where there was good harbor near Bodega Bay. His answer show the vertical nesting of institutional projects and how the local actions were a small part of the larger umbrella of colonial geopolitics.

As for the argument against punishing the Chimenes, they live near Port Bodega, where in the course of time they could do quite a lot of harm to us as declared enemies, were some foreign nation to attempt to establish themselves ther (Borica [1795] in Milliken 1995).

Two years later, the local missionaries were still plotting to get back the runaway Christian Indians. In July of 1797 they sent 30 neophytes under the direction of an Indian from Baja California named Raymundo. It is possible Raymundo was motivated to go north after the Saclans because Rogerio, the Huchiun *alcalde* who was burned to death, was his brother-in-law. One example of the multivalent connections made amongst the diverse population of the Christian Indians. That sortie failed and resulted in the party being attacked, but not killed this time. After this attack and threats of more, the presidio soldiers did get involved to retrieve the Christian Indians who ranaway and capture any Indians involved in the killing of Rogerio’ party or the attack on Raymundo’s party.

Sergeant Pedro Amador led the expedition and wrote the following account in his diary:

At dawn we attacked said village. We met much resistance from the Indians in it. Although we repeatedly told them that we did not wish to fight but only to take

away the Christians, they admitted no persuasion but began to shoot... we used our weapons in order to subdue them so that they would surrender. Seven were killed, for they refused for two hours to give up.

There were three villages close together, and with the destruction of this one, the inhabitants of the others fled. We captured only two persons from the second village, although in the first the number captured was thirty, including both pagans and Christians. Having carried out an investigation and having ascertained the guilty ones and the Christians, I made it clear to the rest, through interpreters, that we did not wish to do them harm... I liberated the pagans and we set forth...

We had gone but a short distance when there began to assemble a great many Indians, uttering shrieks and cries, so that we had to go into line of battle again. Falling upon them, we killed one person, and with this they all retreated. We followed our course in the direction we were going...

At dawn we reached the place where were gathered all the Christians whom we wanted, together with those pagans who had participated in the attempt to kill Raymundo and his people. We struck the first, second, and third village during the same morning. As we reconnoitered the Indians of the last village, which is very large, the inhabitants were just about to open hostilities. But being admonished by the interpreters that we had not come to harm them but to hunt for Christians, they were pacified (Amador [1797] in Milliken 1995).

Here you can see the extent to which the soldiers went to enforce the continued institutional participation of the Christian Indians and how forcefully and mortally they reinforced the importance of this new identity amongst the Non-Christian Indians.

At a trial at the Presidio for the various offenses for the people captured, those who were involved in the killing of Rogerio's party were punished most severely. The leader got 75 lashes on three separate occasions and one year in shackles at the presidio, most of the rest got 25 lashes and four months in shackles. Those who were involved in the attack on Raymundo and his party received 25 lashes and two months in shackles at the presidio. The Christian Indians were turned over to the missionaries after their sentences, while the pagans were released to their villages. As for the additional 78 Christian Indians that Amador and his men captured they were questioned as to their motives and returned to the missionaries. In this last group was Tilacse, who confessed that he had fled the mission when his wife, only child, and two brothers died that spring during the outbreak of disease (Arguello [1797] in Milliken 1995). Regardless of his personal tragedy, as a Christian Indian, Tilacse was forced to reenter the institution he ran from. And, once there he was again called by the baptismal name he received years before, Ostano. His

enforced institutional identity as a Christian Indian was indelible and dictated where he lived and what his name was.

When Ostano reentered the mission in 1797 he looked up at an entirely new scene behind the altar. The *reredos* had since been assembled and installed in the mission chapel. The new *reredos* not only held the tabernacle, it also depicted key scenes from scripture with full relief statuary depicting multiple saints and the archangels of Christianity each in an illustrative pose that tells something of their character and role in the pantheon of the Church (see Figure 16). The painted colors on the garments worn by each character sculpted into the *reredos* are iridescent, having been painted with an underlay of gold leaf before the artists applied the blues and greens to their flowing robes. The initial Historic American Building Survey undertaken in the 1930s considered it to be the finest piece of period baroque sculpture in North America outside of Mexico. Gone was the pretense of familiarity in the mural of red ochre and charcoal black sunburst designs. The ability for him to create hybrid meanings between his culture and the institution through the mural imagery was also gone. Now it only reflected the higher level institution who controlled its symbolism.

Art, especially religious art, is among the easiest forms to begin this kind of symbolic exploration considering how pregnant with meaning it is. This whole experience with the Mission Mural made me think more and more about first impressions, institutional identities, and how places convey meaning. It made me think back to McDowell, the forest, and although it uses an unusual palette how the presidio itself painted a picture for new recruits, one that also illustrates some of the many lessons the army wished to impart to its inductees. I began to rethink mundane artifacts I had found at the Presidio years earlier.

In 1999, the building at the Presidio where my first office was located was proposed for rehabilitation. The building was originally constructed as soldiers' barracks in the 1890s and was going to be transformed into the National Park Service Visitors' Center – a project that was never finished. I worked closely with the crew to educate them about the historic nature of these buildings, to describe how I would need to monitor particular phases of their work, and to inform them that anything they found was federal property and should come to me. During the preliminary work one of the carpenters found a crumpled up piece of paper in the walls of the building. I can't say I remember who gave me this piece of crumpled paper, but I do recall the moment I unrumpled it and read it aloud to my colleagues. Clues in the letter suggest it was written in 1953. It reads:

Hi Doc,

How they been treatin' you- the books I mean. Is it as rough as ever. Tell me have you been cutting up mice bodies lately. Do you still have a spark of love life or has your mind been completely taken over by scientific propaganda? Let me know what you have been doing for excitement the past four months or so.

Most of my experiences I'll cover very lightly as I assume you must have heard some of it from Nate. You had better watch that boy closely – he'll either have a nervous breakdown from work or else he'll be married to Charlotte before I get home (if he has his way about it). Isn't love grand or don't you know.

I just came from the movie – The Best Years of Our Lives with Harold Russell. It was truly great + I am glad I didn't see it sooner, as there is so much more to get out of the picture now that I have been in the army that I never would have before.

I've seen all the good pictures here – Caine Mutiny, High + the Mighty, The Promoter – sooner or later they all come here and for 25 cents I can go to all of them. There is news, a different picture + cartoon each night.

As for my trip out here I had a marvelous time. There was so much to see that I am glad we didn't come by airplane. I guess going through the Rocky Mountains around Mount Rainier were the real highlights along with the badlands of Montana + South Dakota. We had a four hour stop at Chicago + I got to see some of the town. Riding on the train with us was Secretary of the Army Stevens and at a 10 minute stop for ice + supplies in Montana he came over + talked with me. I didn't recognize who he was until we got back on the train and he confirmed I was correct. He was going to his ranch in Montana for a vacation. He had just come from Germany where his son is stationed in the Army and he really needed a rest because this was just a short while after the McCarthy hearings. He is a very distinguished looking man + very interesting to talk to. We had roomettes for sleeping accommodations + we ate like kings at the Army's expense. The only expenses we had were tips + liquor which we drank in the club car.

We arrived in Tacoma, Washington + spent the day + night in the city, sleeping at a hotel. The next day was our day to bunk at Fort Lewis, so we got these in the afternoon, a bedding, got assigned to quarters, and then we got passes for the weekend + came back to Tacoma. It is a rotten city, strictly a serviceman's city. Plenty of bars, army + navy stores, penny arcades + that crap. Most of the women there are Eskimos or Indian + very repulsive looking. Another

bad feature of it was that the streets are all on hills – the ones like in Providence - steep.

When the weekend was over, we went back to Fort Lewis, slept there one night and the next morning we were sent up to Fort Laughton in Seattle. It is a small inactive camp, used only to receive guys coming back from Korea + Alaska. They never knew when a boat was coming so they had to have men around to serve as KP [Kitchen Patrol] in case some came – so we were KP's. But no boat came in all week + I only had KP once. We hardly did a thing all day and had a pass every night so I saw a lot of Seattle. The food + the cooks there were terrific + I think I gained 5 pounds that week.

When the week ended they sent us back to Fort Lewis where, once again, we got bedding + assigned quarters. When we got up the next day we found out orders had come in + all of us were coming to San Francisco. We happily turned in our bedding + got ready for a trip down here.

Again it was by train + we had a great time except this time we only had Pullman berths. The trip was good + while celebrating in the club car I met a 35 year old "girl" who was coming to San Francisco for a weekend from Portland, Oregon. We had a few drinks before going to bed and I was supposed to call her at her hotel that night and she would "show me the city." But we got to the Presidio broke, + we didn't get paid anything that weekend, so I had to let that ship by.

As for the Presidio, I couldn't believe my eyes - I thought it was a dream. The place is beautiful with its palm trees + beautiful lawns, flowers, Spanish style yellow stucco buildings + beautiful view of the Golden Gate Bridge, the harbor, + Alcatraz. Without a doubt, no other army post can compare with it.

For such a small post + being right in San Francisco, they have a lot of facilities one wouldn't think are necessary. Some of these are a bank, post office, restaurant + snack bar, 2 theaters, 2 gyms + a swimming pool, a library, bowling alleys, a beautiful service club overlooking the harbor, an airfield, PX's just about anything one could ask for.

As for uniforms everyone wears the dress uniform except the prisoners who act as groundsmen + KP's. At the end of the work day, right after chow, and from Saturday after lunch till Monday morning everyone changes into civies + you could hardly tell this is an army post – except for the large number of MP's + officers here. It is the 6th Army Headquarters here under General Wyman + General Dean. No such thing as training. The only thing military we do are once a month on Saturday morning we have an hour of marching but it usually lasts 15

minutes – and also every fourth week some of us march in a parade held here. But they only last an hour and then we have three hours off to get ready which more than makes up for it.

Those parades are very colorful + something to see. Besides the sharp MP units and color guard, they have a regular band + a special “bagpipe band” which wears the gayest kilts you can find this side of Ireland. They had Syngman Rhee come here with his (illegible) party + paid a 20 gun salute to him. Maybe you saw it, as they took movies for news that day. It was so colorful, so perfect I doubt if I’ll ever see anything like it again.

As to my job and the fellows I work with – I have no complaints. Though we went to key punch school for IBM more of us ended up as key punches. I ended up in the analyst section because I had been an accountant + my work was the closest to it. The work is very interesting and I think I am in the best section of all.

The other kids here are for the most part very good guys. We only have 3 colored boys + they are nice kids. You can trust just about everyone and you can have your lockers open or things lying on top of your bed and it will be there when you look for it. The rooms in the barracks vary from 2 to 10 men to a room and in my room we have 5. It is like the United Nations – a Jew, a Negro, an Irishman, a Chinaman, and an Italian.

The letter is unsigned and was never sent. It’s a draft, and for whatever reason the pages were crumpled up and thrown into a corner somewhere never to be mailed. But upon returning to it I got the sense that this wasn’t just a great depiction of the period and the place, which it certainly is, it is also a depiction of one soldier’s indoctrination into a new institution and that institution’s vertical and horizontal integration within a larger system. It also hints at the institutional identity being formed, the kind of community he entered, and the values expressed by the place.

It reads as if this unknown soldier was only about four months into his service, but in that time he had learned enough to make more meaning out of Hollywood’s representation of the Army. In that time he had travelled across thousands of miles, and far away from his home somewhere in the northeast. He ate, slept, worked, and explored new locales with his fellow soldiers. He was exposed to a range of duties in this new system and figured out the ones he liked and began to sense the ways he was best positioned to contribute. He was enmeshed within a global system that connected him to transport ships returning soldiers from Korea and the highest rank of officer who had recently been before Congress.

And, yet by the time he gets to the Presidio he is awed, remarking on its beauty, uniformity, and its hint of the exotic. There he realizes the extent to which the Army will go to provide for its soldiers on post, providing “just about anything one could ask for.” He sensed the odd circumstance of having all these amenities on post while there was also all you could ask for just off post in one of the premier American cities, but for that experience he, like Tilacse at the mission more than a hundred years prior, would need a pass.

This emblematic but unknown soldier spent most of his time on post. From the first moment he was transported there he came through the Presidio’s sandstone gates, each post ornately carved with symbols, a castle for Corps of Engineers, snakes coiling a winged rod for the Medical Corps, the Greek goddess of victory for luck. But even before arriving at the gates he would see the Presidio from afar set off from the rest of the city by its forest. Once inside the gate he would likely gaze up at the towering trees taking in the forest’s obvious but subliminal uniformity and regimentation. Once he got to the Main Post he would look around to see the great variety of buildings he described, each of them regardless of material or form painted to look like “Spanish style yellow stucco buildings.”

Today all the buildings are white, which replaced the earlier yellowish color. A detail that passed by many historians looking at black and white photography who assumed the buildings were white then as they are now. But whether yellow or white the intent was to create a uniform look to the Presidio. That went back to Harts and his plan to remake the post:

It is well known . . . that the architecture of government buildings on military posts has in the past unfortunately always been of a needlessly plain character . . . the style of buildings used has been intended to conform to some old adopted pattern... it would seem thoroughly desirable to select buildings of some better architectural design rather than use the old stock patterns followed so long... Buildings should not be over two stories in height and officers' quarters should be arranged to get the best effect of the sun... the officers' quarters should purposely be varied as much as practical... It would be desirable to have all buildings of the same general color and same general style of architecture. . . . The brick barracks which are already in existence . . . would not harmonize with [new concrete] barracks and should be plastered. All roofs should be red tile thus producing a fine combination with the concrete. (Harts 1907)

This plan began to be implemented in the 1910s and expressed some of the values of the institution: a level of uniformity for all conveyed through the “same general color and same general style,” with some variety or individuality provided for the officers.

The building that most exemplifies the insistence on a white and red uniformity is a small windowless stone building in the center of the Main Post. It was constructed during the Civil War expansion of the post and was purposefully built to store black powder. Being a volatile and dangerous material being stored in close proximity to the enlisted men’s barracks and officers’ houses, the structure was designed in such a way to avoid casualties in the event the powder stored within was accidentally sparked. With thick stone walls, purportedly built from the foundation of the Spanish fort. It is windowless yet has an ingenious ventilation system that brings fresh air through the walls indirectly to keep the powder dry and secure. It also has a very thin domed roof, which was designed to be the weak point in case of an explosion and was built by a mason of exquisite skills. If the powder did spark the thick walls and thin domed roof would direct the explosive force upwards through the roof and not outwards where it could cause serious damage and injury. And yet, this building so deliberately engineered also had its stone walls painted white and a completely purposeless peaked roof placed above the dome. Its new roof was topped with heavy red, Spanish style, roof tiles – the weight of which counteracts the ingenious design, adds shrapnel to the explosive equation, and exacerbates the very danger the building was designed to prevent. But, it now wears the correct uniform (see Figure 18).

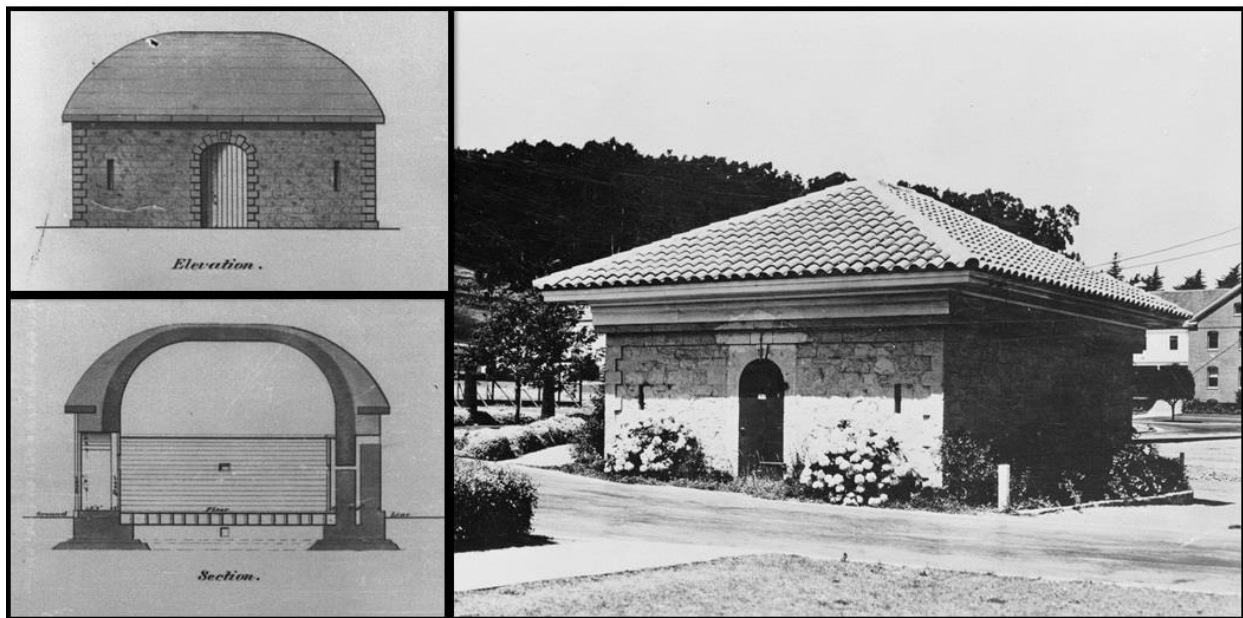


Figure 18: Composite image of the Powder Magazine. Elevation and section drawings of the original construction at left (top and bottom). Photograph of the modified structure after it was roofed in Spanish style roof tiles and painted white decades later.

A common army saying, which soldiers used to teach new recruits how keep out of trouble while on post, was this: “if it moves salute it, if it doesn’t move pick it up, if you can’t pick it up paint it.”

The point is that the buildings themselves express a similar set of ideas about uniformity, about order, about regimentation as the forest does. The final and most lasting example of this set of ideas is expressed at the national cemetery.

The cemetery has a visual chronology to it. You can see how gravestone styles have changed over the years in a similar trend from diversity to uniformity. In the older parts of the cemetery there is a great variety of gravestones, depending on the wealth, religion, and tastes of the family. One style that always tricks the eye of visitors are the gravestone “stumps.” These seemingly petrified tree stumps have an origin with the Modern Woodmen of America a fraternal insurance benefit society, where members could pay into a fund that would ultimately ensure them a marker so that when the time came the family would not face that last cost during their time of grief. The society began the style in the 1880s and the tree stump style spread in popularity (Yalom 2008).

In the cemetery you’ll see tree stump graves next to others that have a scroll motif, or others with angels, and other sculptural elements. In the following decades the military would soon take on this role of providing gravestones for its members. So throughout the 20th Century the variety of gravestones is slowly replaced with a standard issue marker that carried set categories of information: religious affiliation, home state, name, rank, regiment, division, date of birth, date of death, and any significant service medals. General John J. Pershing was among those to recommend the new standard issuance for soldiers in death and is himself buried beneath one at Arlington National Cemetery. This last piece is significant for the rank Pershing held. He was elevated to be “General of the Armies” after his service during World War I, when he became the first American to command European troops in battle. So exalted was this rank that it became an issue of politics long after his death. In 1976 during the bicentennial fervor Congress passed a joint resolution to posthumously promote George Washington to “General of the Armies” so that he would have rank and precedence over all other grades of the Army, past or present. In essence so he would not be outranked by Pershing or anyone else. And yet, despite this exalted rank Pershing has the same standard issue marker available to any soldier regardless of rank.

In death as in life the soldiers through their grave markers are uniform, ordered, and regimented. Like the forest they give an impression that they are marching in unison down the hillsides of the Presidio (see Figure 19).



Figure 19: View of the National Cemetery at the Presidio showing the standard issue markers that predominate the landscape in the areas of the cemetery where military veterans who served in the latter part of the 20th century are interred (courtesy of the Presidio Trust).

The imagery of marching brings me back to the letter from our unknown soldier to his friend “Doc.” The time he spent on post was fully scheduled, but wasn’t fully occupied. In it he mentions “the only thing military we do” is marching and parading. It was, however, very military and very meaningful.

The Presidio was the setting for the kind of choreographed performance and ceremony that only a powerful institution can orchestrate and put on full display. During this unknown soldier’s time on post the Army put on its best show for Syngman Rhee, who was the first President of a new nation the United States had just established and the Army was actively fighting for – South Korea. The parade grounds were the stage for a performance, one that was broadcast nationally. While it is easy to dismiss marching and parading as the relic of a bygone era when soldiers actually marched into battle in formation, it is much more than that. It is the synesthetic learning that is essential to complete training. A full mind-body experience of what the institution needs to instill in its members and wants to convey to its audience. Much more so than the uniform a

soldier wears is the way he, or she, carries themselves, the way they perform in relation to their fellow soldiers. Marching and parades are the kinesthetic performance of uniformity, order, and regimentation.

Marching is practice, while parades are performance. These performances express the level of control within the institution and are displayed for key audiences. Some are for the general assembly of troops, wherein some companies are competing amongst themselves to establish a level of mastery. Some are for a general American public to express the professionalism of the forces who protect them and project power on their behalf. Some of the key performances are done in tribute to a high ranking member of their own institution, such as the parades held on post for the retirement of General Arthur MacArthur (the father of General Douglas MacArthur). The most important are the ones arranged for foreign leaders and ambassadors. For these are meant to convey a message abroad, a performance of the military's command and control. In short, a diplomatic show of force. Some parades are used to associate the foreign leader with the command and control of the U.S. Army, such as with the new president of South Korea, Syngman Rhee, in order to bolster that leader's perceived power. Others are to project a message to be received by a visiting foreign leader who is not ally, but a real or perceived threat.

The most significant of these latter messages, in my opinion, was a display held on the regimental parade ground – the old colonial era *plaza de armas*. This particular parade was orchestrated in 1931 for the visiting prince of Japan, Prince Takamatsu and his new wife Princess Kikuko (see Figure 20). Prince Takamatsu was the younger brother of Emperor Showa, better known outside of Japan by his given name of Hirohito. The prince was a key confidant of the Emperor and had an official post in the General Staff of the Imperial Japanese Navy. His visit came at a time when Japan was escalating hostilities against China and invading Manchuria. Japan held deep resentments towards the Americans for their occupation of the Philippines, where US Soldiers from the Presidio were routinely deployed, and by this year Japan was the dominant trading partner with the Philippines – who Japan would invade by overwhelming US forces in their first move after bombing Pearl Harbor. The audience for this particular parade was an audience of one and it was designed to send a clear message of power and control. During World War II, Prince Takamatsu would routinely counsel his brother that it was not prudent or feasible to fight the Americans (Seagrave and Seagrave 1999). It is impossible to tell if this parade had any bearing on his thoughts on the war, but seeding doubts that the American soldiers could be defeated in battle was precisely the message the parade was meant to deliver.



Figure 20: Photograph of the honorary review party, including Crown Prince Takamatsu, on the regimental parade ground in 1931. Crown Prince Takamatsu at center of back row. Note Princess Kikuko in foreground looking directly at the camera (courtesy of PARC).

Given the incredible choreography amongst the soldiers on parade and the way the army fused the servicemen into a uniformed, ordered and regimented whole, what is perhaps the most telling description in the unsent letter is the brief description of the men our unknown soldier was serving with, the men he would eat, sleep, work and socialize with. They represented the kind of diversity he probably could only have imagined prior to his time in the Army and for a comparison he referenced the most strategically diverse gathering of people ever assembled – the United Nations. It is this last trait of the Army that makes it such a hallmark institution, in that it takes in groups of people that would never otherwise have been brought together and structures their lives through training in such a way that they become bonded in thought and action. You can sense his surprise in the way he conveys the safety of the barrack despite this extraordinary diversity, making special note of the “colored boys.” The Army had only recently been ordered to have fully integrated units that included African Americans. This unknown soldier conveys the level of trust he feels to people of races and nationalities that you sense he knows “Doc” would not normally feel wherever “Doc” eats, sleeps, works, and socializes. It’s a character-defining feature of institutions that is not much discussed, but would have had

resonance with Tilacse as he was looking around the mission to see a greater diversity of people in the same place doing the same things under the same authority than he could have conceived of prior to entering that institution.

The first and perhaps most important thing an institution does for its actors or initiates is to provide them with a new identity, one that cross-cuts and is meant to supersede all the different identities they come into the institutions with. Whether it was the new identity of Christian Indian that cross-cut and superseded deeply rooted identities of Huimen, Huchiun, or Saclan or the new identity of American Soldier that cross-cut and superseded deeply rooted identities like Jew, Negro, or Chinaman.

It is this action that lays the foundation for subsequent initiatives to align individual thought and establish the order or basic categories of thought that support and reproduce the institution. Once an institution has been successful establishing an indelible category that is applied to the individual in the form of a new identity, subsequent initiatives are comparatively easier because they build off that very personal foundation. This is the groundwork to establishing unquestioned categories of thought to be applied in subsequent situations, like war, and to other people, like enemies.

It is because the initiates to institutions are typically diverse that many institutions manufacture a setting to establish and naturalize values of uniformity that reinforce their new and commonly held identity, and train through performances in such a way to both reinforce and evaluate the effect. At the Presidio, the top-level institutional identity of soldier is a precursor to the next level of identification, which include rank and begin with the differentiation between officers and enlisted men.

Beyond the utilitarian purposes that enable the institutional projects these identities and categories are carried beyond the institution. Such was the case of Tilacse, whose institutional identity as a Christian Indian was enforced through corporal punishment and mortal force for those who tried to leave the identity behind and defied the enforcement. Yet, this portable identity and subsequent categories of thought are also carried forth in more peaceful ways. This is particularly true of the military as the term of service is not indefinite, so these soldiers will return to the wider society. The previously indoctrinated carry these new identities, ideas of order, and a marker of their fit within the institution (in the form of an honorable or dishonorable discharge) with them beyond the walls of the institution. This great influx of people have had an impact on the wider social dynamic. I would argue that given the numbers of soldiers of

increasingly diverse backgrounds who passed through the army in the 20th Century that this experience forced an integration in the barracks of Jews and Negros and Chinamen that had effects in the larger society that was on par with the integration of another pervasive institution: schools.

A smaller scale example of this process can be seen during the late colonial period in California. According to a census in 1790 the military community at the presidio was divided into their respective *castas*, which were a series of prescribed racial/ethnic identities for the subjects of the Spanish Crown. At the presidio 54% of the populace were categorized as *español* with the remainder being *mestizo* at 27%, *indio* at 12%, and *mulatto* at 7% (Mason 1998). Similar to how the missions were intentionally reducing the divisions amongst the tribal communities that joined that institution. So was the military, although perhaps unintentionally. Keep in mind that the growing colonial community almost all had a connection to the military and the original party who came in 1776. Even the civilian community in the large pueblo of San Jose were more often than not either retired soldiers themselves or the children or siblings of soldiers from the presidio. And, by 1814 in response to a series of questions all missionaries worldwide had to answer about the categories of people in their region, one Bay Area missionary at Mission San Jose had a very telling answer:

The only two *castas* we know of here are *gente de razón* [literally people of reason, which is not a *casta*] and Indians. All the former are considered Spaniards although there may be some among them of the same mixtures as in other parts of America. However, in this peninsula no differences have been stressed since the time of conquest (Geiger and Meighan 1976).

I can only speculate that the levelling effects (within rank) of the military had some effect on the community's understanding of themselves and the importance of *castas*. While it clearly beyond the scope of my research herein, it is this kind of broader societal effect that institutions are designed to have and that institutions have in unintentional ways. The very fact that it is so far beyond my scope of research is why I hope others would see value to this kind of institutional analysis to not only understand these places and their methods within their walls but also to understand their effects beyond the walls.

Chapter 7: Building the Community

In the course of my career I have come to appreciate the difference between buildings *as-planned* and buildings *as-built*. While I have been employed at the Presidio approximately 800 buildings have been rehabilitated or renovated for new uses. In many cases there were historic building drawings to reference. In each case there were new building drawings made. In all cases what was built was not strictly speaking according to plan. Several lessons have stood out.

1. The person holding the hammer has more authority than the person holding the pen wants you to realize. There is always a translation that occurs in making drawings reality. On many projects I have spent hours convincing an architect to adjust their drawings to preserve some piece of the past, only then to find that the tradesman considers the building plans as suggestions not directions. So, I would have to start the convincing again.
2. The differences found between what was planned, what was built, and what changes were made after it was occupied are a reflection of the conceptual alignment, or lack thereof, amongst the people involved in each step.
3. The documentary record is more often than not an archive of the plans to be built and not the actual buildings. Few constructions projects go back to document what was actually built and the course corrections they made along the way. Very few buildings have an ongoing record to document the incremental changes that happen after it's "finished."

In 1776, the plan for a presidio was well regulated: a four sided fort with a perimeter defensive wall and several bastions at the corners for artillery (Brinckerhoff, et al. 1965). These presidios were to be placed at strategic locations. In California their intended placement was along the Pacific Coast at locations from which the soldiers could control a potential port or harbor.

The colonial expedition leader, Juan Bautista de Anza, had scouted the peninsula in advance of the rest of the colonists to determine the site for the presidio. He selected an open windswept site, with a commanding position atop the sheer cliffs overlooking the narrowest point at the mouth of the bay – what has since been named the Golden Gate. Anza, however, was making plans, not building the fort or living there. He would leave California, returning to his home before the colonists ever built anything on his selected location. Once the remainder of the colonial party did reach the spot Anza selected they lingered but soon moved on till they found a spot further inland from the coast, a spot located on a gently sloping plain surrounded by freshwater streams on the east and west, and slightly sheltered from the winds off the ocean. At this spot, the vegetation was lush and it had a pleasant view of the interior of the bay with its islands.

What it lacked was visibility to the ocean where a foreign ship would first appear. This was the first episode where the misalignment would manifest itself.

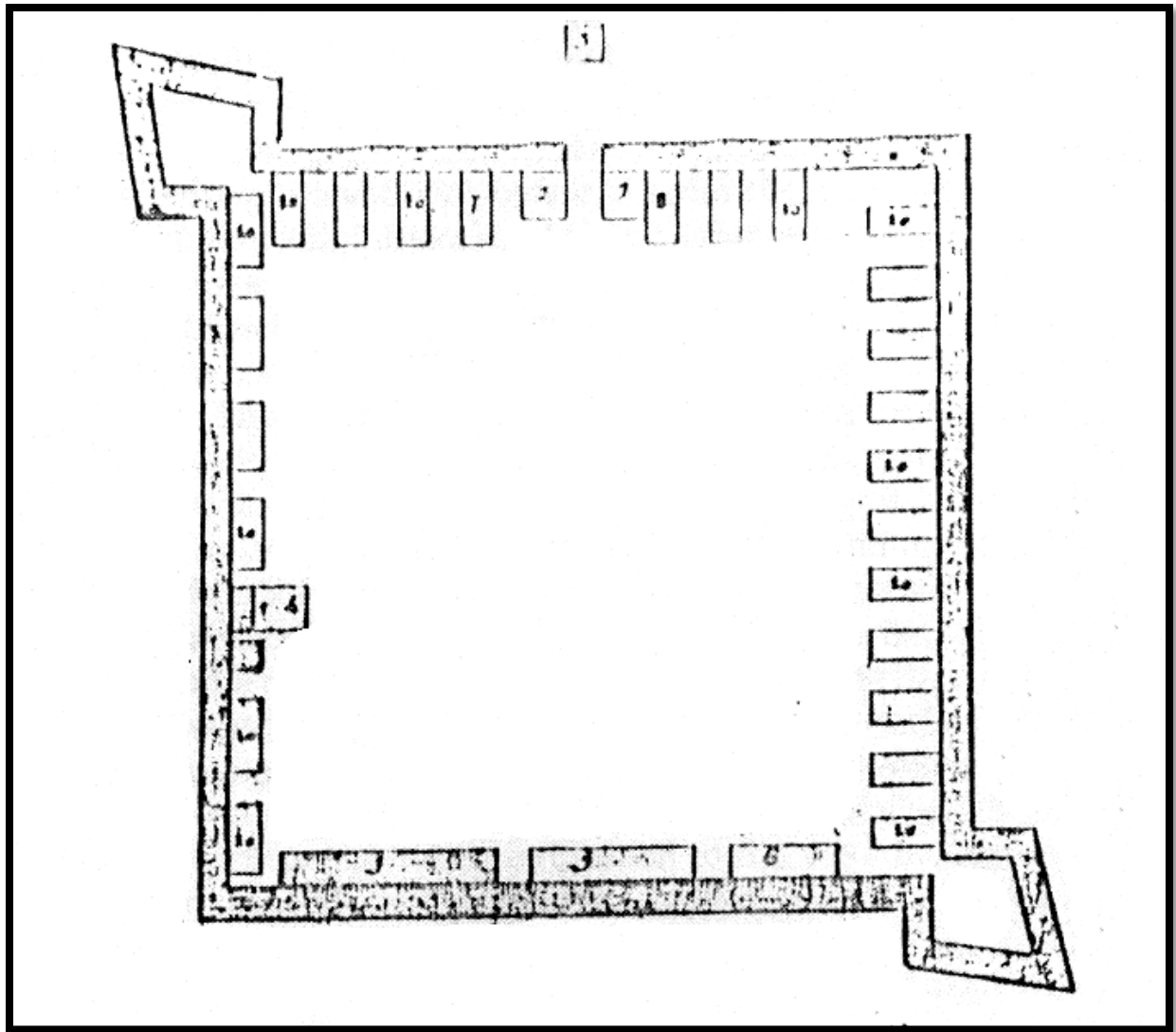


Figure 21: 1776 plan of El Presidio de San Francisco showing the corner bastions and perimeter wall with houses and other structures surrounding an open square or plaza de armas (courtesy of the Bancroft Library).

It continued along this same divergent course in actual construction as well. The crew of the supply ship constructed several administrative and communal buildings while they were in port, as the soldiers and their families were left to construct their own dwellings (Langellier and Rosen 1992). The 1776 plan of the presidio looks like a presidio based in the regulations (see Figure 21). The accounts of the presidio after construction were markedly different. The forms and styles the colonists built did not conform to the regulation. A few years later the governor described

the homes as “mere huts” and commanded that all future construction be of adobe brick on stone foundations in accord with the regulations (Bancroft 1963). The obligation to comply with regulations and the realities faced by these soldier-colonists were not compatible. This internal conflict resulted in a confusion of both purpose and priority that characterized the early colonial period (Langellier and Rosen 1992). Moreover, there wasn’t a natural fit between the design on paper and the design held in the heads of the fresh recruits. The recruits had shared a path of some 1200 miles to get here, but prior to that their lives, for the most part, had not been part of the military and they hailed from various villages across the regions of Sinaloa and Sonora, each of them enticed into the military with notions of starting a better life for their families in California. Given the relocation of the presidio to a far less strategic but more comfortable location the colonists intentions prevailed over the orders and regulations of the viceroyalty of New Spain.

By 1792, the acting commandant, a man named Hermenegildo Sal, drew up an *as built* plan to accompany a scathing account of the sad state of the presidio. It depicted three of four sides completed with housing built irregularly along the edges of various forms and materials, and no bastions (see Figure 22). He concluded the diatribe with the coda “All this that I manifest and expose is notorious and therefore I sign it” (Sal [1792] in Langellier and Rosen 1992). Later that year the famed British explorer Captain George Vancouver visited San Francisco and was able to assess the quality of the construction. His disdain is evident in the journal entry recording his first impression:

“Instead of the city or town, whose lights we had so anxiously looked for on the night of arrival... The only object of human industry which presented itself, was a square area, whose sides were about two hundred yards in length, enclosed by a mud wall, and resembling a pound for cattle... ill accorded with the ideas we had conceived of the sumptuous manner in which the Spaniards live on this side of the globe” (Vancouver [1792] in Wilbur 1954).

Even though Vancouver’s visit was expected and sanctioned by the Spanish Viceroy, Sal was reprimanded for allowing Vancouver to get such an extensive look at the state of the Spanish defenses, which would have been impossible to conceal (Bancroft 1963).

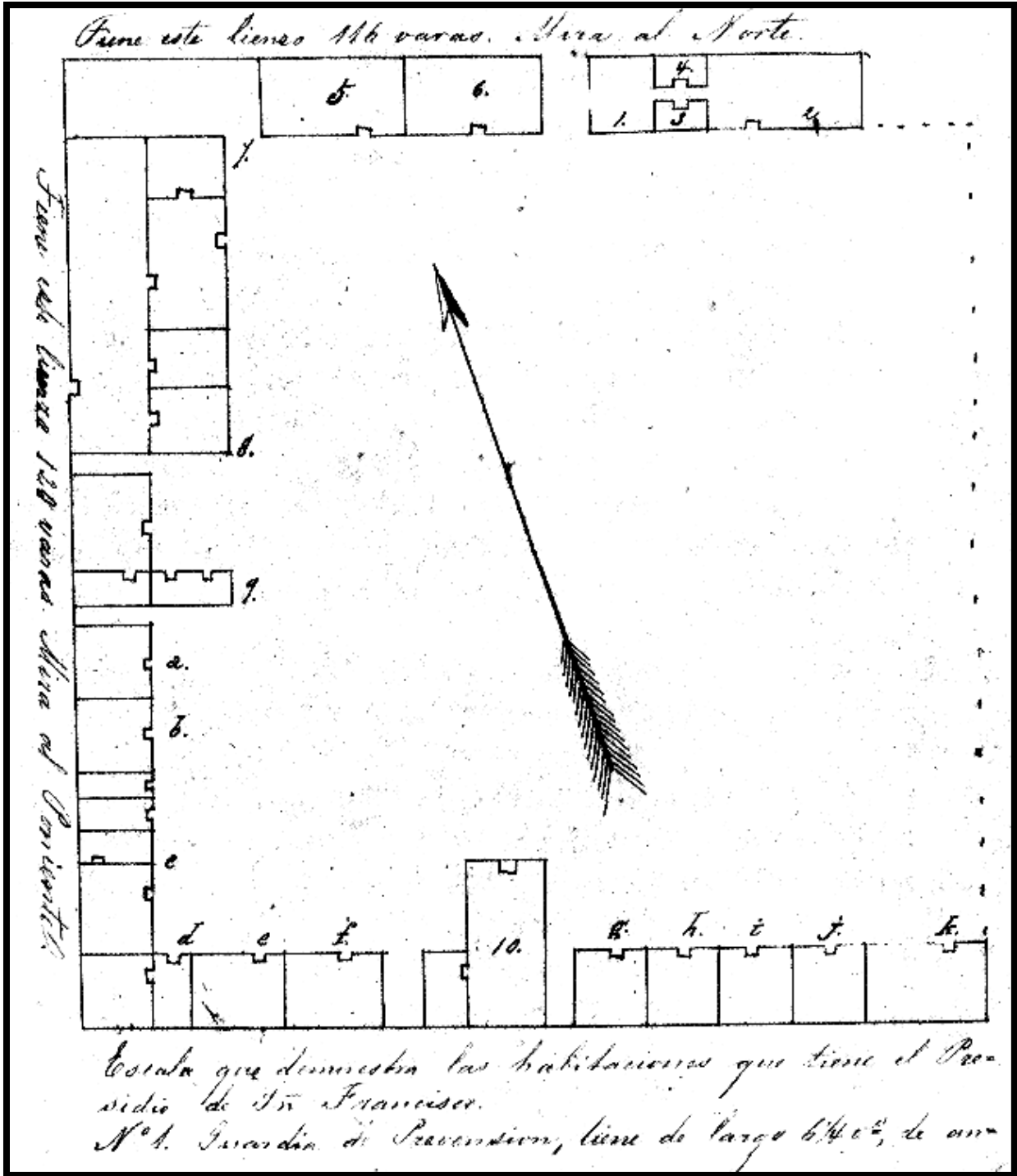


Figure 22: 1792 plan of El Presidio that accompanied Sal's letter. Note there are only three of four sides built surrounding the plaza and no bastions (courtesy of the Bancroft Library).

Vancouver's visit did get the attention of the Spanish hierarchy. Soon construction began on a fortification called *El Castillo de San Joaquin* at the mouth of the bay, near Anza's original location for the presidio. In the spring of 1794 there were 78 Indians laboring to build the Castillo, including some 30 Christian Indians. All but one of the latter group reported from the nearby missions to labor as punishment for some infraction against the padres. The rest were Non-Christians recruited directly from the tribal villages, who the soldiers called pagans. One sergeant, a corporal, and two soldiers supervised the work of these native laborers, who chiefly kept occupied making adobe brick at the rate of 1,500 per day (Langellier and Rosen 1992). The labor situation is another way to see into the interdependent relationship between the presidio and the missions it protected, showing the manner in which the presidio was triangulated between the Christian and Non-Christian Indians of the region. Regardless of whether the natives were baptized or not, they labored to build the very institution that was established to control them.

The next major construction to take place was in 1815. This version of the presidio was built of adobe bricks on substantial stone foundations. It is indelible in the landscape today and has formed the basis for the archaeological site discovered centuries later. What is interesting to me is this construction, from what can be ascertained from archaeological excavation, is most in line with the regulations. I say it is ascertained from the archaeology because there is no known plan for this construction in the archives. It is possible that the plan somehow didn't survive, but more likely by this point they didn't need a plan. The one account to be had is from the memoirs of Antonio Osio:

Once when [commandant] and his men were returning to the presidio at sunset after a day on horseback, he stopped on the crest of the low ridges which overlook the military square. From that vantage point, he pointed out to them that all of the homes were in poor condition. He suggested that, if they agreed and were willing, the homes could be quickly and completely destroyed and then tastefully rebuilt around a larger square, which would provide each house with a larger lot and better appearance... He would soon see them all working on the project he wished to complete. Since everyone was in such a good mood, the new presidio square was sketched out by dawn the next day. Sergeants, corporals, and soldiers were appointed to begin to break ground and lay the foundation as soon as they could obtain the assistance of the Indians (Osio 1996).

The commandant at the time was a man named Luis Arguello, who took it upon himself to rebuild the presidio without authorization from his superiors and was subsequently reprimanded for doing so by the governor (Osio 1996). I find it significant that it was Luis Arguello who initiated and sketched out this plan. Luis was the son of Jose Dario Arguello, who had commanded the Presidio from 1787-1806. Luis grew up within the institution. He was an exemplar of this second

generation of soldiers and laborers who because of the institutionalization process had their thinking aligned to that of the institution so much so that there was no need for formal plans. In my view the earlier episodes of construction reveal an immature institution, one that had to rely too heavily on the uninitiated to build it. After nearly forty years and under the command of Luis Arguello, there finally was, it seems, a natural fit, meaning the minds of the community had been institutionalized and the institutions had been established long enough to develop the Indian labor supply it required to reproduce itself.

There is one building at the Presidio that remains from this colonial period – the Officers’ Club (see Figure 23). It is more apt to say the one building left from the colonial period is encapsulated in the Officers’ Club. Today’s Officers’ Club is approximately 30,000 square feet, of which about 1200 square feet is within the standing adobe walls of the remnant colonial structure. The rest of the the Officers’ Club is composed of additions to this relatively small structure found at its core. Yet when the Army would boast that the Presidio was continuously occupied from the original Spanish Colony through the Mexican and American regimes, making it their oldest active post, the one structure that has been the consistent locus for all that occupation is this adobe building of 1200 square feet.



Figure 23: Photograph of the Officers' Club today. The two low wings flanking the taller main hall are what remain from the colonial adobe. The rest of the structure is composed of various additions from the main hall at the central façade constructed in the 1880s to the large two story addition and tower (center background constructed in the 1970s.)

During the critical juncture when possession of the Presidio passed from Mexico to the United States during the Mexican American War there occurs one of my favorite episodes in the history of the Presidio featuring one of my favorite characters. I stumbled across this episode in a series of letters I found in the archives. The handwritten correspondence was between a series of US officers in 1848 who were trying to adjudicate the fate of an old Mexican artilleryman named Joaquin Pena who refused to leave the Presidio. Pena claimed two of the adobe buildings as his

property, which he received in lieu of pay for his long years of military service. One of these buildings was today's Officers' Club.

In reading the dates on these letters the most immediate thing that struck me was the obvious overlap in occupation. Some 18 months after the American flag was raised over San Francisco, Pena was still living at the Presidio, even more remarkable was that by this time he had been living at the Presidio alongside the American soldiers for approximately 10 months. As the US soldiers busied themselves fixing up the buildings for continued use, there was Pena still holding a claim to the buildings but with no means to effect that claim amidst the transition of sovereignty. By the time of the letter below Pena had forsaken his claim to the property and was then petitioning for transport across the bay to be nearer to his family. The sympathetic letter from the commanding officer at the Presidio to his superior officer and new Governor of California reads thus:

Sir:

I have the honor to enclose a communication from one Piña, an old Mexican soldier who had lived for many years at the Presidio of San Francisco, but who has lately been dispossessed of his residence there in consequence of the Government's requiring the houses to be occupied for officer's quarters. I regretted being under the necessity of moving him, and in order that he might not remain without a roof to shelter him, I offered him a house in the Mission as a residence. He however is under the impression that I have done him injustice in taking his houses as he holds them in compensation for many years military service otherwise unpaid. He produced a sort of grant or permission from Castro late Commandante General as his title; this I informed him was sufficient during the administration of Castro, but as the property was national property and always held and occupied as a barracks, Castro had no right to alienate it, and that a permission to occupy it was only valid during the administration of the Commandant.

He cannot be satisfied however, with a residence at the Mission, and wishes to remove to the other side of the bay, at San Rafael.

He begs permission to pass his effects and cattle [they are but few] across the bay in a public launch. I told him to apply for it to the Head Quarters.

I hope authority will be granted the Quarter Master to afford the old man this privilege.

*I am Sir very respectfully
Your most obedient servant
James A Hardie
Major 7th NY Regiment.
(PARC)*

Aside from the odd-bedfellows imagery of this old Mexican artilleryman milling around a fort that was seized by his enemy and now housed the enemy troops, what strikes me is the way he was dispossessed. It was a sympathetic but categorical rejection of the validity of his claim on simple grounds that these national barracks were institutional not individual property and while the commanding general could bend these categorical rules the underlying rules of the institution immediately snapped back into place once his rule ended. Throughout the rest of California legal cases would wind their way through the courts for years and even decades with Mexican land-owners defending the legitimacy of their claims against squatters and counterclaims by the new wave of Americans and other immigrants. Here at the Presidio the institutionality of the place was obvious and inalienable despite the change in sovereignty.

After the Mexican American War, the US officers who moved in to occupy the adobe quarters of their Spanish and Mexican predecessors had an immediate misalignment between the building they occupied and the standard of quarters they expected. Year after year the commanding officers wrote condition reports to their superiors in Washington DC and almost invariably mentioned that the adobe buildings were unfit for occupation and should be demolished. One problem is that they inherited the buildings but not the Indian labor the Spanish and Mexicans used to maintain the adobe. The strongest complaints concerned the adobe in today's Officers' Club, which was then used to quarter the commanding officers who wrote the letters. One letter from 1857 describes these officers' quarters:

The Officer's Quarters... is an old adobe building, in tolerable state of preservation, considering its age, the walls having been built about eighty years ago. This building has by an expenditure of a very large amount of money and considerable labor, since its first occupation by the American troops in the year 1847, been kept in fair condition, though in rear it is somewhat dilapidated and in need of slight repairs. The amount of money expended upon this building during the past ten years would have built fine quarters for all the officers of two companies of artillery. The necessity which required its occupation and repair from 1847 to 1850 no longer exists, and its immediate abandonment as Officers' Quarters earnestly recommended as a matter of economy to the Government.

The building is however worthy of preservation to be used as occasion may require for laundresses quarters and such other purposes as may be necessary for the convenience of the garrison. The building contains six rooms in tolerable condition, but which are objectionable as Officers' Quarters, being dark, badly ventilated, damp and muddy in winter, dusty in summer, and in disagreeable proximity to the barracks of the enlisted men. The building can accommodate with shelter one Captain and four Subalterns, but has but one kitchen attached to the whole set. This answers the present wants of the post, but another kitchen and privy will be needed before the end of the present month. This with other additions, alterations and repairs will be required should the building continue to be occupied by the officers of the Post, but slight repairs will be needed if used for other purposes (Inspection Report, March 7th, 1857 in PARC).

The insight in this letter is pretty remarkable in how it describes the privilege associated with rank. The extensive repairs needed if the adobe was used for officers' quarters contrasted with the slight repairs if used as laundresses' quarters or for other purposes. The objections to its being "dark, badly ventilated, damp and muddy in winter, dusty in summer and in disagreeable proximity to the barracks of the enlisted men" contrasted to its worthiness as laundresses' quarters. Given the Army's attention and regulation directed toward the appearance of its uniforms, a muddy and dusty building would seem to be a less than ideal place for laundry work (laundresses lived and worked in the same building). Also, given the Army's attention and regulation to separating the sexes, having a quarters for female laundresses in a proximity to the enlisted men that male officers found "disagreeable" also seems questionable. To me, this signifies that officers had high expectations of their place in the institution, one that came with purpose built quarters, not the ad hoc use of existing buildings that they were accustomed to disbursing according to their prerogatives to others of lower rank, or no rank in the case of the laundresses. After 1862, when the construction of the wood frame cottages that formed Officers' Row was completed, this adobe building would become laundresses quarters and occasionally quarters for enlisted men with families (see Figure 24).



Figure 24: Drawing of the adobe quarters in 1879 that would become the Officers' Club and was then used to house laundresses and enlisted men with families. Records show 16 laundresses would occupy this structure (courtesy of PARC).

Providing housing to enlisted men with families was left to the discretion of the post commander, while providing housing for laundresses was required. Since 1802 the Army authorized four laundresses to be posted with each company of men. These industrious women received rations, straw bedding, medical care, as well as a set payment for their work, which came directly out of the pay of the enlisted men in the company they were assigned to. I've always wondered what kinds of gendered friction there was for these women on post and while deployed. Many were married to the Non-Commissioned Officer assigned to the company, which could make for a complex dynamic for an enlisted man, seeing as the woman doing his laundry and receiving his pay was also married to his commanding officer. Other laundresses were single and simply liked the itinerant lifestyle and steady paycheck. They were usually older than the enlisted men they served with and were routinely described as strong willed (Miller 1980). General James Forsyth, who commanded the Department of California, described them as "good, honest, industrious" women who vigilantly maintained their rights. He said they were "ever-ready for a fight, yet kind of heart in a rough manner, always ready to assist in times of distress" (Forsyth 1900).

Laundresses had official recognition from the Army, something that was not accorded to officers' wives. For enlisted men who married laundresses assigned to their company it could be seen as a strategy to obtain housing and not be discharged from the Army for getting married. The Army was obliged to provide housing to the laundress. The quality of the housing was often substandard but it was free housing in the 1870s, a time of widespread economic depression, which made life in the military that much more attractive. Given the gender roles and inequalities in American society at the time, it must have sat uneasy with enlisted men to be reliant on their wives for their housing, especially when you worked for the same institution. Or worse, for an enlisted man to be "bumped" from his housing by the woman doing his laundry.

The designated locale for the laundresses was nicknamed "Soap Suds Row." It was situated on the far side of the post from the city and across a ravine (see Figure 25). Even with the distance it became the focus of a growing form of aesthetic policing, such as in 1870 when the Post Commander directed that the quarters occupied by married enlisted men and laundresses be neatly whitewashed and their grounds properly policed (General Orders 44, December 16, 1870 in PARC). As for the adobe that would become the Officers' Club, it was now classified as laundresses' quarters and highly desirable relative to the quarters available on Soap Suds Row, so it was the location for repeated incidence of a gendered contest for housing. Post Commanders who tolerated enlisted soldiers with families allowed them to occupy the laundresses' quarters when feasible. In 1871, Private Crofton requested quarters for his family in the adobe that would become the Officers' Club. Located on the southern line of the old colonial square and having been previously repaired to a "tolerable" condition for officers, it was considered the most desirable for enlisted men and laundresses. In order to accommodate the Croftons, an unauthorized occupant named Mrs. Baker would have to be relocated to Soap Suds Row. In response to Private Crofton's request the post quartermaster replied that one Corporal Bashford had already dislocated Mrs. Baker and moved into the adobe himself (Thompson 1997).

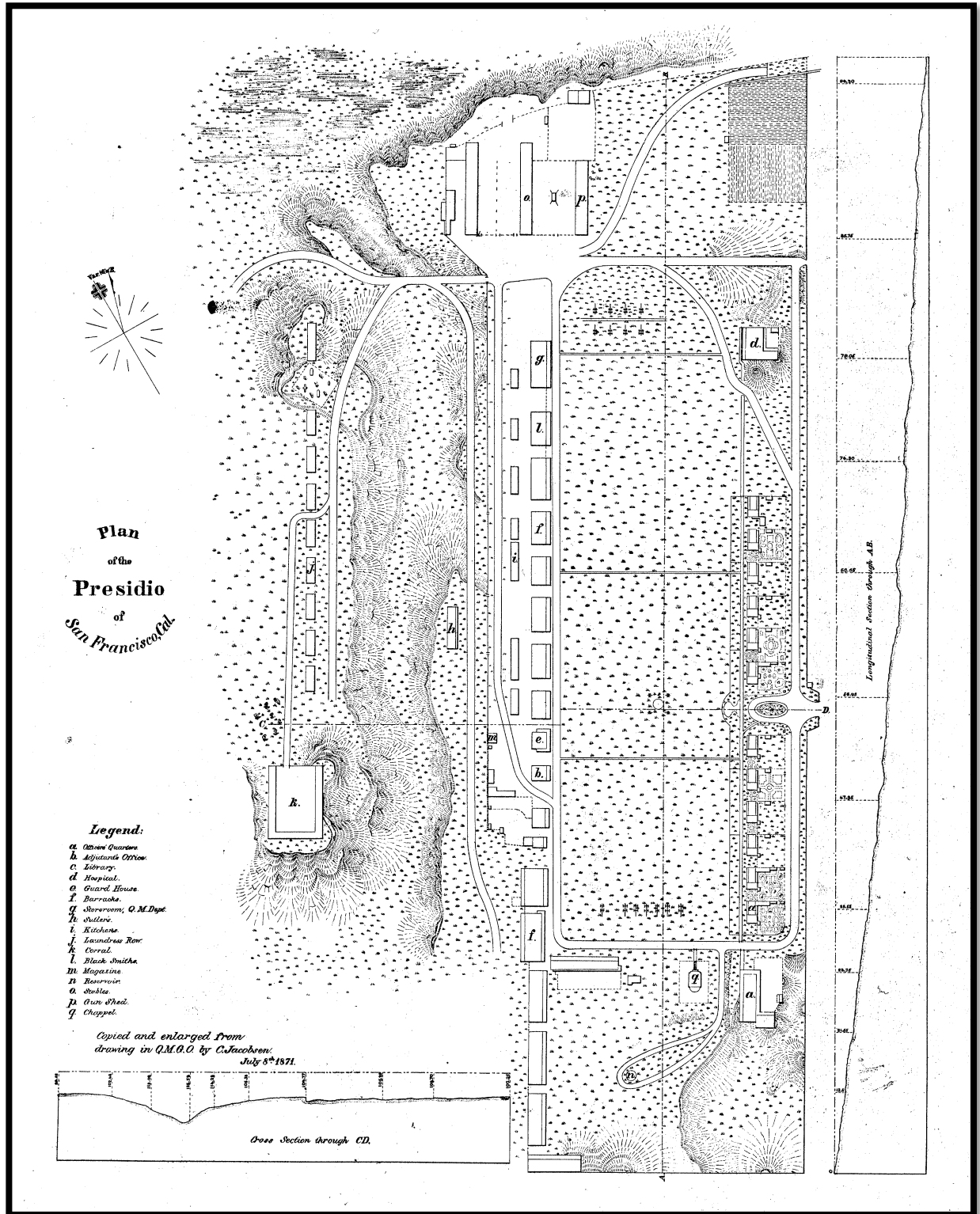


Figure 25: Plan of the Presidio in 1871 showing "soap suds row" at left, officers' row at right. The adobe that would become the Officers' Club is unlabelled near the bottom of the large parade ground with cannon at either end (courtesy of PARC).

Beginning in 1876 the Presidio underwent a significant reorganization to accommodate incoming personnel from the Division of the Pacific, whose headquarters had relocated to the Presidio from downtown San Francisco in another consequence of the economic depression. In that reorganization, Colonel French noted that, because of the incoming Division officers, sixteen enlisted families were forced to leave the post to find housing in the city while eleven laundresses remained on post in housing provided by the Army (Thompson 1997).

Laundresses always held an odd and tenuous place in the military community. They were officially recognized and issued housing but were often dislocated by the men. They received pay and rations like soldiers but were not subject to the same discipline and deprivation. This last point is part of what ultimately led Congress to eliminate the position in 1878. In Congressional testimony laundresses were described as a “drag” or an “encumbrance” when the troops moved. One Colonel unaffiliated with the Presidio complained in congressional testimony about the expense of transporting “all the laundresses' paraphernalia,” including “children, dogs, beds, cribs, tables, tubs, buckets, boards and Lord knows what not” (Congress 1876). The same colonel also noted their “prolific aptitude” for having children. Many of the high ranking officers referenced the same number: \$200,000 for the transportation costs of 1300 laundresses in the Army (Congress 1876).

Again, given the prevailing gender roles and inequalities there was something more than the travel cost of laundresses at play here. I believe it goes back to how the Army structured itself. Remember that, home, family and possessions were an officers’ privilege. Something to be earned through advancement in the institution. Unattached men in shared barracks deprived of civilian possessions occupied the lower ranks. Complicating this basic structure are laundresses, who in many ways shared the very lowest rank with enlisted men, yet women as a gendered class of people came with children, all the paraphernalia of a family, and needed a home. Even if a woman wanted the same lifestyle the Army had instituted for single men, the Army couldn’t or wouldn’t deprive a woman in such an intimate way that required reforming the prevailing gender role.

The Secretary of the Army testified to Congress that the only officially recognized women in the army should be replaced with men:

In the opinion of many experienced line officers all the laundresses might with great advantage to the service be dispensed with and their places supplied by each soldier doing his own washing or by colored or white men being enlisted and adequately compensated for this special service (Congress 1876).

There were, however, laundresses on the Presidio till at least 1897 (San Francisco Call May 16, 1897). Mrs. Baker, however, may have been the last laundress to occupy the adobe quarters that would become the Officers' Club. It was soon renovated to become the Post Headquarters. This was another kind of "bumping" that happened when Division of the Pacific Headquarters took up occupancy in many of the administrative buildings at the Presidio, requiring the post command to find a new headquarters building in 1880. I also think this building's location on the colonial square surrounded by officers' quarters put the laundresses or enlisted men again in "disagreeable proximity" to the officers.

The renovation involved the addition of wood floors, ceilings, and walls on the inside to conceal the adobe, shingles on the roof, clapboard on the exterior walls, and a complete assortment of finishes that made it look as much like a Victorian wood frame building as a squat colonial adobe with three foot thick walls could possibly look, including a then very popular bay window on the east end where the Post Commander's office was located. Three halls divided the interior into offices for the Post Commander and his adjutant, an imposing court martial room in the center, and with a witness room and library at the west end (see Figure 26). A reporter from the Alta California newspaper inspected the buildings of the Presidio and reported to his readers that:

The largest and most important building contains a long hall which is called the Court-martial room, and with its finish of solid wood resembles an old feudal hall. The redwood timbers [which the reporter assumed to be original] were found to be in a state of excellent preservation, the rich natural tone of the wood having deepened and improved with age. The outside was planed off and a high polish given to the wood, and they were placed as rafters across the ceiling. The walls of the building are between three and four feet in thickness, and quite put to shame many of the more flimsy structures of the day (Daily Alta California August 16, 1885).

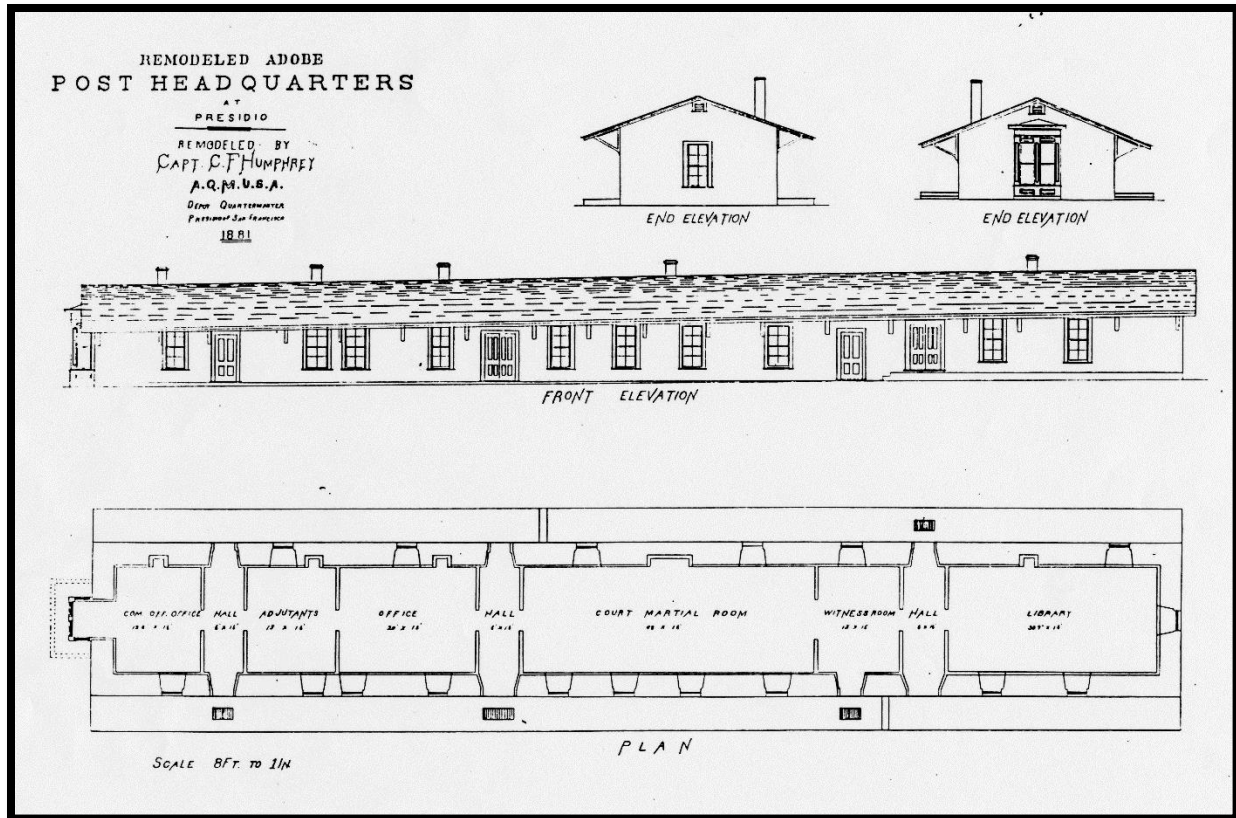


Figure 26: Drawings of the 1881 remodeled adobe that was then used for Post Headquarters (courtesy of PARC).

Five years later a new kitchen and grand assembly hall were added. Soon the assembly hall was the site for social events for the officers. Card games and billiards took place any night of the week except Sundays. On Tuesday evenings the hall hosted the officers and their families to concerts. Formal dances were regularly scheduled. On one occasion the bachelor officers proposed to hold an “informal” dance and not send out invitations, suggesting they could bring whomever they wished. The Post Commander, whose office was still in the building, disapproved and required the bachelor officers send formal invitations to specific guests reading, “The Bachelor [Officers] Mess at the Presidio requests the pleasure, etc.” (Thompson 1997).

Post Headquarters was relocated a little less than a decade later due to some damage to the building during the 1906 earthquake. The officers still received their meals out of the kitchen, which is why it was also known as the Officers’ Open Mess, and the social life of the post continued to be centered at the assembly hall, which was gradually transforming into the Officers’ Club. Unlike the enlisted men who made their third place in the barracks where they actually lived and worked, the officers could claim the most prestigious building and largest hall

as their third place (after Oldenburg 1999). But like the enlisted men this third place, where community is built, was one that didn't require them to leave the post.

By the 1930s the building was firmly the Officers' Club, and in 1934 it was "restored" to its original Spanish appearance. This meant another "Spanish" layer was added on top of the Victorian layer, which was previously added to conceal the actual Spanish Colonial structure. Newly milled lumber was distressed after installation, the milled and fluted lumber from the 1880s was covered over in plaster to simulate the roughhewn texture of colonial lumber, and the shingle roof was covered over with Spanish clay tiles (see Figure 27). The same colonial revival finishes and treatment were applied to the whole building whether the room it was being applied to was actually from the colonial era or was added in that year's construction, which included new patios, a bar/lounge, dining room, and an industrial sized kitchen (Perkins+Will and Thomas 2012). The architect working on the project published an article in the nationally published *Quartermaster Review* describing the work:

It was decided to renovate the entire building and restore it, in so far as was possible and practicable, to its original lines... It was no small task. All the main foundations were reinforced; in some places walls were rebuilt and the trusses throughout the building were replaced by stouter ones, on order to accommodate the weight of a Spanish tile roof; huge beams were superimposed in the ceilings to give the interior an "old Mission" finish, and a broad fireplace designed to replace the smaller original one; doors of hewn timbers, ornamented with wrought iron work, were made at the post and put into the building; modern heating and electric lighting systems were installed throughout.

A replica of the old Spanish coat-of-arms, 1700-1770 period, was superimposed in plaster and stucco over the center of the huge fireplace in the main ballroom. Its vivid colors were repeated in the long drapes of Spanish red shot with gold which hang at the windows.

The two old adobe wings, one occupied by the Ladies' Recreation Room and the other by the Officers' Billiard Room, needed little repairing, as the original four-foot walls were in good condition. In the West wing in the Ball Room side of the old adobe wall a small opening was left in the furred plastered wall, with a glass cover, an electric light, which was installed therein, and by the pressing of a button the opening is lighted and a section of the original adobe may be viewed (Meeden 1934).



Figure 27: Photographs of the Officers' Club before (above) and after (below) restoration efforts in 1934 (courtesy of PARC).

Except for that small peek-a-boo window into the walls, 1934 was the last time anyone had seen or inspected the concealed adobe in the walls at the core of the structure (see Figure 28). So, in 2005 my colleagues and I undertook a project to deconstruct one of the two colonial era adobe rooms in the Officers' Club, the former Officers' Billiard Room which is now called the Mesa Room. The impetus for this was to determine the condition of the adobe walls in advance of a comprehensive plan to rehabilitate the building, which turned out to be one of the more difficult projects the Presidio Trust ever undertook. We knew the Spanish clay tile roof above the room weighed about six tons, but it was unclear exactly what structure held it up. There was so much folklore about the building that had grown over the years it was hard to tell fact from fiction. The Army and various preservation groups in the 20th Century routinely referred to it being the oldest building in San Francisco, having been built in 1776. Given what we know about the early years of colonial construction that seemed unlikely. One archaeologist hired by the National Park Service shortly after the Army left speculated that the Army may have concocted the whole history of the building as a kind of faux heritage. To avoid perpetuating what might be no more

than legend he posed the possibility (and then refuted it) that the adobe walls were built in the late 19th or early 20th century to provide a tangible link to the Spanish roots of the Presidio. The motivation being that the Army had long been proud of the fact that this was the oldest military facility in continuous use in the United States (Adams 1995).



Figure 28: California Governor Pat Brown being shown the original adobe walls within the peek-a-boo window (courtesy of PARC)..

Even the documentary record is highly confusing with the number of buildings that have come and gone and the constant changes in use and renumbering of buildings that make it exceedingly difficult to be certain the building described in an 1850s letter as “Officers’ Quarters Block A” is the same as the building described in the 1870s as “Laundresses’ Quarters (adobe)” and is the same as “Building #20” in the 1890s. The maps help but provide little more than a rectangular shape for the early years. What they do show is that in every map ever made of the Presidio, since 1776, there is a rectangle of similar proportions placed on the spot where the Officers’ Club

stands today. What was unclear was whether it is the same structure or if the dimensional differences between the maps indicates the replacement of an existing structure with a new one of similar proportions.

Working with two of the Presidio Trust's best carpenters we slowly deconstructed the building (see Figure 29). At the same time we built up a Harris Matrix of the elements removed to create a detailed and phased construction history (after Davies 1993). Through the material record we developed an understanding of the building, which was not fully available or intelligible from the documentary record. For the earliest periods the material record we uncovered is the only record available. One of the best things we did, and always do on our archeological projects at the Presidio, was to keep the project open to the public so they could witness the process. During this time, and especially once the adobe walls were exposed, I was persistently questioned on the age of the adobe walls and particularly if it was older than the standing chapel at Mission Dolores, which would make it the oldest building in the city and probably the oldest in California. As an archaeologist this was a question people assumed I could answer with some specificity, but I couldn't. And truthfully it wasn't a question I was particularly interested in answering. I relished the unknown and unremarkable origins of this now beloved building.



Figure 29: Photo-documentation of the deconstructed east wall of the Mesa Room in the Officers' Club. Top left showing white gypsum board over yellow wall fabric. Top right showing the wall fabric over green and yellow bead board, Bottom left showing the bead board with a small exposure of underlying adobe. Bottom right showing remnant plaster on the colonial adobe bricks.

I would explain that the Officers Club began as a very ordinary building, probably constructed at the same time as many other buildings and formed a section of the overall Spanish fort. It did not stand alone and unlike the Mission Chapel no one took particular note when it was finished or what it was used for. Most likely it was quarters for a soldier and his family, but it was soon reused and repurposed for other uses, just as it was during the American period until it settled on its social role in the life of the Army officers.

What was more fascinating to me than the structural chronology was the social history I learned from the people who stopped in to see the work and spent time sharing their stories of the building, nearly all of which involved a bar, alcohol, and fuzzy memories of “good times.”

From the 1930s to the time the Army left the Presidio the Officers' Club was known as the "Army's best club." In its heyday celebrities of stage and screen were in regular attendance: Bob Hope, Jack Benny, Veronica Lake, Joan Crawford, and countless others. California historian Kevin Starr aptly described the scene during World War II:

At night, after duty hours, the bar at the Officers' Club was packed solid with men in khaki and brass... highballs in one hand, Lucky Strikes or Camels in the other, the room electric with the excitement of a city, a state, a nation, a world at war (Starr 2002).

From all the stories I realized the Officers' Club clearly provided the social pulse at the heart of the Presidio. This is a significant aspect of this place as an institution. While the Army maintained regulations that restricted the social life of soldiers, by requiring passes signed by commanding officers to go into the city for instance, it also provided more than a home and workplace. The Officers' Club provided that third place where officers and their families came together and built a community. And, while it excluded many in the Army and everyone outside of it without an invitation, for the officers it did provide the sort of levelling that characterizes third places and was a needed relief for the pervasiveness of role and ranked power that led to practices like "bumping" and so many more routine exertions of raw power over subordinates.

It also had a very playful mood at times. Through the 1950s and 1960s one of the social high points of the year was Frontier Night at the Officers' Club, which was when the officers and their guests would arrive in costume as their favorite frontier characters and play with the very real history of westward expansion that previous officers at the Presidio fought and died in during the numerous Indian Wars (see Figure 29). While it's a somewhat uncomfortable appropriation of another's history and culture I also recognize that many of these officers were dealing with very real trauma in their own times having fought in wars with far more lethal weapons and numbers of casualties than any of their predecessors. In this way the Officers' Club also took on other characteristics of a third place in the way it could provide psychological comfort and a haven for support.

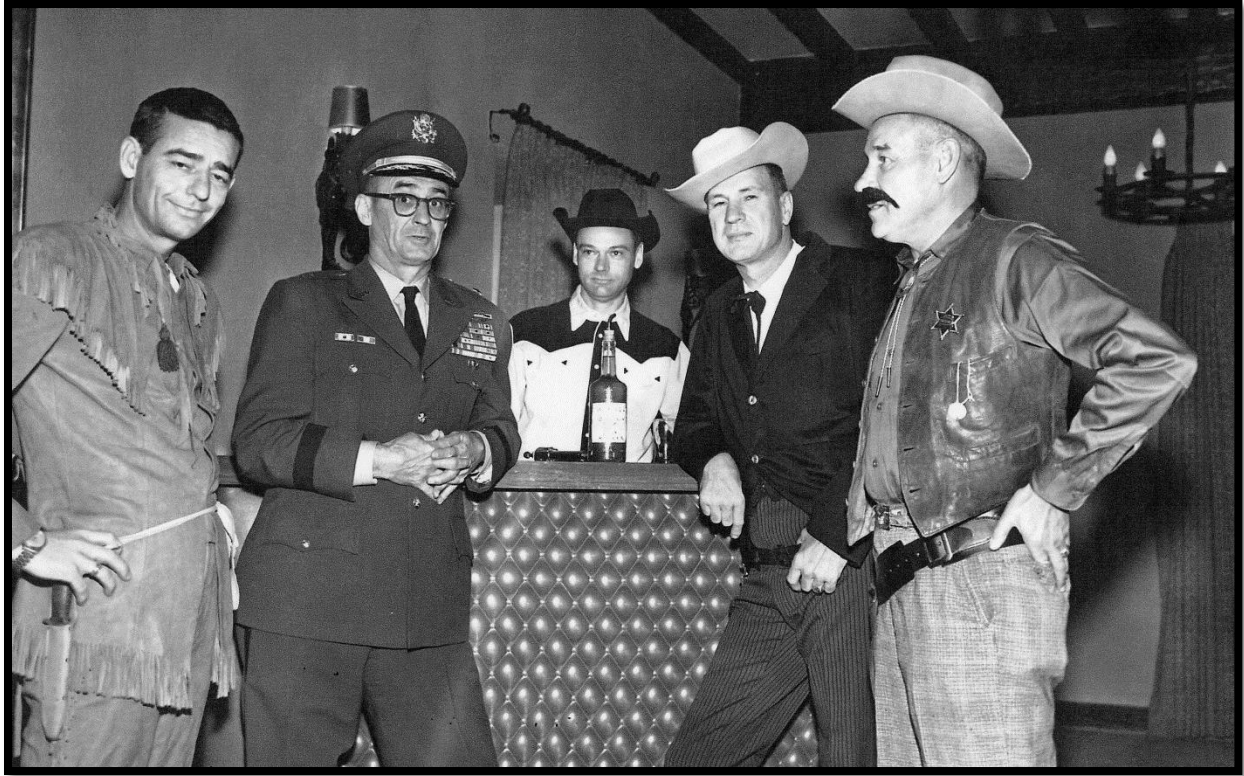


Figure 30: Frontier Night in the Officers' Club 1964 (courtesy of PARC)

From 1968 to 1985 Don Herrington was the Club Officer and General Manager of the Officers' Club. He recently sat down with a colleague of mine to record his memories of the club and what he considered its mission to be. In the very beginning of the discussion he came directly to this point:

Let me tell you this...I went in [to the Army] at the end of World War II... at the end of that they sent me to Okinawa and I had four sergeants with me and we stopped in San Francisco... so we all decided lets go to two clubs, buy drinks, and then move on out. We went in the first one and we couldn't buy a drink, the bartender bought it. We started to leave to go to the next one and the people sitting down at the end of the bar bought one. That was the feeling in San Francisco towards the military after World War II... My brother was in the war too and he could hardly buy a drink at that time. But that was the feeling. I knew that feeling. But when I came back [from Vietnam] and was in uniform downtown... well, I wouldn't wear my uniform downtown. That was the difference. You could feel the difference... San Francisco was probably the worst,

but it happened throughout the United States too after Vietnam. And, the Commanding General at the time was way ahead of his time. He says 'I want a full-fledged club cause I want you to have that [club] so good that they won't want to go downtown. And, I want you to take care of the retired people who are on the outside too, because they're feeling a little bit of that and I want them and I want the active duty and especially those people that are coming back from Vietnam and their families, I want you to take care of them.' Well, having been a World War II vet, a Korean vet. Well, when I came back from Korea most people didn't know about [the Korean War], it happened so fast. But from Vietnam I felt the difference. And, so I really wanted to do that then. I was excited about becoming a Club Officer, because I knew what it felt like and I really wanted to create a different feeling here. So I went all out (Herrington 2015).

This is the aspect of building a community at this place that I want to end on. Through all the royal regulations and strict rules on who gets to build and make this place their home, who in the hierarchy decides where people live and who gets to live with them, what gender or rank of soldier gets to live on post, how your position in the hierarchy allows you to "bump" others out of their homes, and what cultures the buildings reflect, it all begins to serve the need to build a specific kind of community. It's not a community that everyone would want to live in. It is definitely one with strong gender divisions and a rather ruthless hierarchy that strongly favors those at the top. Yet, it also creates a series of durable bonds that are absolutely essential to the perpetuation of the institution at this place.

While the bonds of community remain, the Army's institutional bonds with this place were broken when Congress ordered the Presidio to close in 1994. The New York Times covered the closing ceremonies. Below are excerpts from the article:

A soldier dreams of three things, or so the old Army saying goes. To be made colonel, to go to heaven and to be assigned to the Presidio.

But as of today, the Presidio, the hilly, sprawling garrison with sweeping views of the ocean, San Francisco Bay and the Golden Gate Bridge is no longer run by the United States Army. It has been taken over by the National Park Service. The transfer symbolized the end of an era, nothing less than the world changing. Yet not everyone felt the same way about it.

At a solemn ceremony on Friday marking the Army's retreat, military officers in full uniform saluted and openly cried when the unit's flags were lowered for the last time. But nearby, a group of people who live near the Presidio cheered and clapped as a construction crew replaced Army signs with National Park Service entrance signs.

The Army has been reluctant to hand over the keys to its beloved post, which was first a Spanish garrison (hence the name), then Mexican and, since 1846, American. The post has been derided by some San Franciscans as a country club for military brass. But it is more like a small, well-tended town...

It is the history of the place, and not the amenities, Army personnel say, that makes leaving the Presidio especially painful. 'It's not just bricks and mortar,' Col. Gregory A. Renn, the commander of the garrison, said on Friday. 'It was, and is, about soldiers'...

Even though the transfer is now official, residents said they still feared that, somehow, the Army would take over again. 'If there's war declared tomorrow, the Park Service would be out of here in a minute,' said Jim Lerer, a civilian electrical worker at the Presidio...

The military personnel who remain will live on a pared base. The post's library, some chapels, the day-care center, the theater, the bowling alley and the hospital have closed. The officers' club has been renamed the Community Club. And the soldiers who remain will have to learn how to interact with tourists.

(New York Times October 2, 1994)

Twenty years later, and after an extensive rehabilitation, the Presidio Trust reopened the Officers' Club. In many ways it has become the "community club" referenced in the article, however that name never stuck. Today it is open to all and contains a museum to the heritage of the Presidio, classrooms where thousands of school children come annually to experience the history first hand, a robust calendar of evening programs in the hall and a restaurant where anyone can eat and drink. If you spend any time in there you will likely meet someone who wants to share a story with you about their time in the Officers' Club when they were part of the community of officers here or when they were passing through on route to or from some overseas deployment.

Although we are focusing on a prestigious stateside Army post, we shouldn't lose sight of these deployments. The military institution is ultimately designed to serve a somber purpose: war, the

most difficult and consequential of all human endeavors. The social structure is meant to establish roles and lines of authority so plainly that they maintain their clarity in the fog of war. The efforts to build community are fundamentally about quickly developing the “band of brothers” bonds between individuals who may otherwise have no evident connections.

In the case of the Officers’ Club it is also about creating a third place that’s not exactly work or home where an officer can be with a community of peers and away from their subordinates. In this place can be found some psychological relief in the company of fellow officers who have shared the uncommon experiences of command on the battlefield. It also provides the alcohol to self-medicate and the venue for the kind of informal exchange of information gained through experience known as storytelling.

Chapter 8: Following in the Footsteps

One of the most confusing things about the Presidio when I arrived was the symbol or icon the Army Institute of Heraldry chose to represent it. It was emblazoned on mugs and sweatshirts; printed on stationary and postcards; and decorated buildings in stained glass and bas relief (see Figure 31). The symbol is a version of the crest of the Catholic Monarchs of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. How this crest of an ancient and foreign kingdom came to symbolize a US Army post in California perplexed me. It sat uncomfortably with my schoolboy history that our democracy was created in opposition to monarchy and that the separation of church and state was integral to our constitution. Not to mention that it was the symbol of a whole other country. It quite literally struck me as un-American, yet it symbolized a venerated US Army post.



Figure 31: Spanish coat of arms used in various manners to symbolize the Presidio. Clockwise from top left: the coat of arms in relief above the fireplace in the Officers' Club, on a veteran's hat, on a pack of souvenir matches, on it appeared in official print publications, in the stained glass windows of the Officers' Club, and on a veteran's sweatshirt.

It is well known that the Presidio was a former outpost of the Spanish empire, but the symbol was not in continuous use from that beginning. The Mexican Army at the Presidio certainly did not embrace this symbol after having waged a war for independence from Spain. The US Army did not resurrect it after their war with Mexico, through which California became a territory of the United States. And surely it was not in use during the Spanish American War when the nation and its army harbored a healthy enmity toward Spain.

Beginning at the turn of the 20th century there was a growing fascination with the Spanish past throughout California. Old mission structures were being excavated and reconstructed and a regional and romanticized version of the Spanish Colonial past was being applied to buildings as varied as the opulent castle designed by Julia Morgan for William Randolph Hearst and the ubiquitous California ranch house designed by Cliff May for the masses. The revival and its architectural style played a significant role in positioning and selling of California to the rest of the nation (Gibbs 2012; McMillian and Gainer 2002). I imagined the Army wasn't immune to this cultural trend and that once some decades passed after the war with Spain, enough time had elapsed for the United States and particularly the Army at the Presidio to forget the enmity and begin to embrace the Spanish heritage of the Presidio in this sort of regional aesthetic applied to its architecture. Considering its authentic Spanish colonial roots I first imagined that this began at the Officers' Club. Then learned that this Spanish Colonial embrace actually began not at the Presidio but at the Army Supply Depot in nearby Fort Mason, where soldiers from the Presidio would routinely embark to the Philippines. Major Harts provided the impetus for this Spanish Colonial aesthetic in the same plan he penned for the improvements to the Presidio, including the forest. Harts himself had previously embarked from San Francisco to the Philippines during the war there. His ideas for the Presidio and Fort Mason were developed after he returned.

Several years later the former Depot Quartermaster, Maj. Carroll A. Devol, made a return trip to San Francisco after he had been assigned to the Office of the Chief of Staff in Washington. In reviewing the Harts inspired drawings for the Supply Depot, he confirmed the approach: "The plan of the buildings in the old Spanish style with tile roofs appears to be a good one, and the [depot] should be an ornament to the Pacific Coast" (Devol, September 21, 1907 in PARC).

The Spanish Colonial aesthetic then took root at the Presidio with the construction of the new sub post of Fort Scott, which commanded the Coast Artillery Corps who were responsible for coastal defense along the Pacific. This newly instituted sub-post of the Presidio was built in the Spanish Colonial Revival Style in the 1910s. Not only did this provide the spark for the same revival style being applied to the remainder of the Presidio's buildings over time, it also provides the icon used for the Presidio today (see Figure 32).

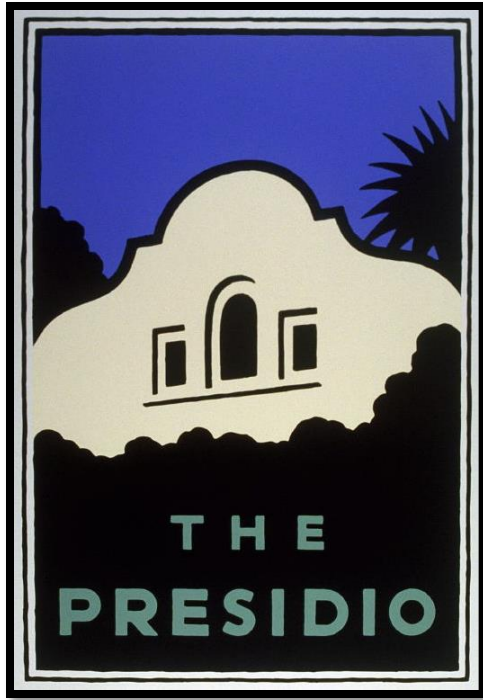


Figure 32: Artwork created by Michael Schwab Studios for the Golden Gate National Parks Conservancy and later adopted for use by the Presidio Trust as the federal agency logo.

Like the supply depot, Fort Scott also had a connection to the Philippines although a more indirect one. In the 1890s US military strategy was beginning to make a critical strategic turn. Influenced by the thinking of people like Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan, who posited navies were the deciding factor in imperial dominance and worldwide impact, the US refocused its military attention from transcontinental expansion and control to transoceanic expansion and control (Mahan 1918). It was a translation of manifest destiny from the land to the sea. The advancements in land based coastal defenses, namely large diameter guns who could accurately shoot 10 or more miles into the ocean, allowed for the US military to transfer responsibility to defend our most important ports from the Navy to the Army. This enabled the US Navy to transition shipbuilding from more defensive ships designed to patrol US waters to offensive ships that could assert American power overseas and control major ports and

other chokepoints of international shipping, including in the Philippines where they were positioned and ready for the outbreak of the Spanish American War in 1898 (Endicott 1886; Tucker 2009). Fort Scott and the coastal defenses it commanded was instrumental in this transition as it was built to house the troops and command of the Army's new Coast Artillery Corps. The coastal guns controlled by Fort Scott would watch and protect the Navy ships as they passed out of the Golden Gate to voyage to their new strongholds in Hawaii and then Guam, which they used like lily pads to get themselves and Army troops they picked up from the Depot across the vast Pacific and to the Philippines.

After the Army Supply Depot and Fort Scott were completed several decades would pass before the Spanish Colonial Revival touched the Officers' Club, but it was there that the Spanish Coat of Arms was first applied, in 1934. This set off the much wider embrace of the Presidio's Spanish heritage, including the application of the Spanish Colonial Revival Style to its existing architecture regardless of its original design. The long lineage the US Army identified for themselves with these architectural styles and symbolism, which tied them back to Spain and the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, is not simply a response to regionalism. It does in part express the deep colonial roots and character of California. But, I'm coming to believe it also expresses the

extended global network the United States established, in which the Presidio was a key node. But first the deep roots.

Spain came into being with the consanguine marriage between Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile. The lions and the castles on the crest symbolize this union of what had been two separate kingdoms. They then extended their control over more of the Iberian peninsula, extending the outlines of what would become Spain as we know it. They did this through the Reconquista, which forcefully expelled the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula and abolished their caliphate in Granada along the southern coast of Spain. The Reconquista culminated in 1492, the same year Ferdinand and Isabella sponsored Christopher Columbus' expedition to what would become America (see O'Callaghan 2003).

For their use of force to "defend" the catholic faith in Europe and for their potential to spread the faith abroad Pope Alexander VI bestowed the title *Reyes Catolicos*, or Catholic Monarchs on Ferdinand and Isabella and more consequentially issued a papal bull *Inter Caetera*, more commonly known as the Doctrine of Discovery, which established a Spanish monopoly over vast swaths of uncharted territory in the Americas (O'Callaghan 2003).

This institutional alignment between church and crown was more firmly established when their grandson Charles becomes the first Spanish King to also be crowned Holy Roman Emperor. At that moment the Spanish Empire became the scion of the Roman Empire. Through the middle ages the concept of *tranlatio imperii*, meaning the lineal succession or translation of one imperium to the next generation, tied each Holy Roman Emperor back to the Romans as the ultimate antecedent of their power. Holy Roman Emperor Charles V of Spain is the key to this imperial translation of Rome's power to the Kingdom of Spain in the early years of the 16th century. This lineage is interesting enough as a kind of high level history but it also connects what are otherwise seen to be separate actions.

Spain continued their expansion, pursuing the Moors into North Africa, and establishing a Catholic foothold in Morocco, across the Straits of Gibraltar. By 1570 they began establishing military outposts in Morocco, what they called *presidios* (Gallay 1996). The Spanish word *presidio*, however, does not seem to have been used on the Iberian Peninsula, where words like *fuertes and castillos* were commonly used. Prior to the advancement into Africa, the word and the institution had not been used at all. In Morocco the word *presidio* also carried with it the added connotation of a foothold for Christianity in a pagan land (Moorhead 1991).

At the same time Spain was strengthening its hold in the Americas and beginning to employ presidios to secure areas in Central America rich in silver and to expand its dominion within the viceroyalty in Mexico. Several centuries later they would establish presidios at ports in California and tactically placed along the *Camino Real* or King's Road. These culminated a line of such institutions along the borderlands of New Spain from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Of most interest to me is that the use of the institution (and the term) first appeared in North Africa. Spain's gain of control of both sides of the Mediterranean was reminiscent of what the Roman Empire had accomplished more than a millennium prior. Spain was the first European power to encompass both sides of the Mediterranean since the Romans. Rome left indelible marks on Spain and it is from the Roman institution and term *praesidia* that Spain modelled their presidios. Rome had established *praesidia* to extend and protect the far borders of their empire from modern day Scotland to Egypt (Hanson and Maxwell 1980; Hirt 2010). These institutions contained approximately the same number of soldiers as the Spanish presidios and undertook a similar range of duties. In Scotland, *praesidia* were positioned along Hadrian's Wall and later the Antonin Wall, which was the furthest Rome extended its empire into the Celtic stronghold. In Egypt, *praesidia* protected quarries and notably a portion of the Spice Route for caravans between the Nile and Red Sea (Sidebotham 2011).

It is clear the Spanish followed the Roman model in name and in practice at the edges of their empire. They followed a precedent and identified their institutions with a well-established lineage. One they were dynastically tied to. The explanation for the US Army's adoption of the crest of Spain is tied in an indirect way to this ancient history, because the actions of Spain and especially the Pope, with his Doctrine of Discovery, did set a firm precedence for the United States in their territorial expansion across North America, and beyond.

After the American Revolutionary War for independence from Great Britain the nascent United States became the successor state to this part of the British Empire. And, although it was a new democratic republic it held the same sovereignty as the previous monarch, particularly with respect to the establishment of law and dispensation of property. The key legal precedent for the United States' view of property, specifically related to the natives who inhabit it is the landmark case of *Johnson v. M'Intosh* decided at the Supreme Court in 1823. This case set the trajectory for territorial expansion and ultimate conflict with Indian tribes (Newcomb 2008).

Johnson v. M'Intosh is still taught to first year law students today as the decision that established the basis for all property law in this country. It, along with cases like *Dred Scott v. Sandford* is part of an unseemly canon of law that first year law students routinely critique for their underlying racial injustice. Unlike the Dred Scott case, the Johnson case is still standing law, which is regularly cited in property law decisions today. It established that the United States assumed sole sovereignty over the land and all its occupants after the Revolutionary War and inherited all title from Great Britain. Chief Justice John Marshall, in writing the opinion for a unanimous court, argued that title to the land and dominion of its people was conferred to the United States in the same manner that the European powers had assumed them, through acts of discovery, and explicitly tethered this decision back through the same lineage of claims that originated with the Doctrine of Discovery, wherein the Pope allowed Spain exclusive dominion over the Americas.

The actual dispute in the Supreme Court was over contested property in Illinois, land that was purchased by Johnson prior to the Revolutionary War from the Piankeshaw tribe. Later the same land was sold by the United States to M'Intosh. It has recently been established that the plaintiff and defendant colluded in the case, made clear by the fact that the lawyers of one party to the case actually hired the opposing lawyers. Added to that is the fact that the land claims in question did not overlap. They were separated by approximately 50 miles (Robertson 2005).

The particular decision held that the valid title was purchased from the federal government. In essence the Piankeshaw tribe could not have sold the land for it was not theirs to sell. It was rightfully Great Britain's by acts of discovery, and furthermore because property was not institutionalized amongst the Indians through tradition or law, the Marshall Court opined that whatever lands were rightfully tribal, meaning those established by treaty with European powers, that the United States, as sole sovereign, was the only legitimate buyer. In short there was no market for Indian land. The US Government held monopoly over the land, just as the "great nations of Europe" did. The following passage is from Chief Justice Marshall's opinion:

On the discovery of this immense continent, the great nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire... But, as they were all in pursuit of nearly the same object, it was necessary, in order to avoid conflicting settlements, and consequent war with each other, to establish a principle which all should acknowledge... This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made ...

The history of America, from its discovery to the present day, proves, we think, the universal recognition of these principles...

The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country... The power now possessed by the government of the United States to grant lands, resided, while we were colonies, in the crown, or its grantees. The validity of the titles given by either has never been questioned in our courts... All our institutions recognize the absolute title of the crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognized the absolute title of the crown to extinguish that right...

Although we do not mean to engage in the defense of those principles which Europeans have applied to Indian title, they may, we think, find some excuse, if not justification, in the character and habits of the people whose rights have been wrested from them (21 U.S. 543).

The Supreme Court decision held sway over all the lands then in the possession of the United States, set the course for territorial expansion into new lands, and led to the systematic loss of Indian land to the federal government. It also enabled the land grant acts and Indian reservation system, which combined to account for much of the conflict known as the Indian Wars in which the US Army at the Presidio plays a major role. But, that is not the ultimate connection I wish to make.

The Supreme Court decision illustrates a key to understanding institutions: they don't necessarily have to follow a recognizable family tree, as with the Spanish monarchy, in order to set precedence for each other. Contemporary institutions give great deference to those previously established and build off their precedents to establish themselves and to deepen their base of authority. It was the same idea from the middle ages: *translatio imperii*.

So with this idea of precedence and the lineage of sovereignty that repeatedly leads back to the Doctrine of Discovery (and from there to Rome), let us turn back to the Spanish Coat of Arms. While we could say the US Army gained an indirect lineage to Spain through the Presidio, more compelling to me is the direct lineage they gained from Spain much later once troops from the Presidio boarded ships taking them to the first major overseas war, which was against Spain and resulted in the United States succeeding Spain as sovereign in the Philippines.

This first came into focus for me in 2003 when we hosted a visiting scholar from the Philippines through US/ICOMOS (the US chapter of the International Council on Monuments and Sites). Her name was Veronica Dado and the primary project she worked on while here was the transcription and translation of primary archival documents from the Spanish Colonial period. What surprised me was not her knowledge of 18th century Spanish and her familiarity with the types of supplies available within the Spanish colonies. We counted on her knowledge of that and I assumed that would be the type of history we held in common interest. At that time, I admit that I was more or less ignorant of the Spanish American War and had only a dim understanding of the role the Presidio played in the Philippines. On our first tour I was trying to explain the US Army period at the Presidio, assuming she probably wouldn't be interested. In my standard tour in those days I would usually spend a lot of time on the colonial beginnings of the Presidio, pick some highlights of wars and other actions they undertook during the late 19th and early 20th centuries skimming past multiple decades before spending a little time on World War II and the Cold War in an effort to express the remarkable length of time the Presidio had been a military post. A catch phrase I liked to use was "from Colonialism to the Cold War."

Veronica was soft spoken, kind, patient, and very intelligent. It was probably the third or fourth time she said "yes, I know" to one of my shallow descriptions of the Presidio in the early part of the 20th century that I began to realize something was amiss with my tour. So I put my ignorance on full display and asked her how she came to know so much about the Presidio in the 20th Century. The part of her response that I couldn't forget was when she paused in her description of the Presidio's role in the Spanish American War, the Presidio's role in the Philippine American War, the Presidio's role in... and then stopped mid-sentence with a compassionate but bewildered look on her face to simply explain to me: "the history of my entire country is intertwined with the history of this little but powerful place."

I can think of only a few conversations where I have felt my ignorance so exposed on something so important to the person I was speaking to on a topic I ostensibly had some knowledge. In the moment I gave a halfhearted attempt to pretend that I knew more than I did, but I couldn't even pretend. I succumbed. The talking-at-her portion of the tour was over. It was time to begin a dialogue. We laughed when we realized that Daniel Burnham did master plans for both San Francisco and for the Philippines capital of Manila when the US occupied it, although his plans in Manila were largely implemented. By the end of our conversation we both found it kind of poignant that the Presidio was decommissioned as an Army post just a few years after her country asked the US military to leave the Philippine islands altogether.

The Presidio's soldiers played an active role on the front lines of the "benevolent assimilation" of the Philippines at the conclusion of the Spanish American War. Benevolent assimilation was the political posture and subsequent proclamation President McKinley made toward the Philippines. It was evident to many critics in the United States, notably Mark Twain, that when Spain ceded sovereignty to the United States at the Treaty of Paris, and when President McKinley decided to hold on to the islands, the United States became a colonial power in its own right. In reading the text of McKinley's proclamation it is hard to see it otherwise:

The destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila by the United States naval squadron commanded by Rear-Admiral Dewey, followed by the reduction of the city and the surrender of the Spanish forces, practically effected the conquest of the Philippine Islands and the suspension of the Spanish sovereignty therein. With the signature of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain by their respective plenipotentiaries at Paris on the 10th instant, and as a result of the victories of American arms, the future control, disposition, and government of the Philippine Islands are ceded to the United States. In the fulfillment of the rights of sovereignty thus acquired and the responsible obligations of government thus assumed, the actual occupation and administration of the entire group of the Philippine Islands becomes immediately necessary, and the military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor, and bay of Manila is to be extended with all possible dispatch to the whole of the ceded territory.

In performing this duty the military commander of the United States is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain, in severing the former political relations, and in establishing a new political power, the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the securing of the persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to announce and proclaim in the most public manner that we come, not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends, to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights... Finally, it should be the earnest wish and paramount aim of the military administration to win the confidence, respect, and affection of the inhabitants of the Philippines by assuring them in every possible way that full measure of individual rights and liberties which is the heritage of free peoples, and by proving to them that the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation... to repress disturbance and to

overcome all obstacles to the bestowal of the blessings of good and stable government upon the people of the Philippine Islands under the free flag of the United States.

William McKinley
December 21, 1898

There is perhaps no more important war that has ever been forgotten in annals of US History than the Spanish American War and subsequent Philippine American War. On one hand it was the implementation of the Monroe Doctrine that expelled a monarchy from the Americas in defeating the Spanish in Cuba. On the other hand, it was an imperial move in its own right in the conquest and continued occupation of Cuba and the Philippines. The war in the Philippines is particularly noteworthy as the first full scale overseas war, and one where the US troops fought insurgent forces in guerrilla warfare to continue the occupation.

During the Spanish American War and the following Philippine American War approximately 130,000 troops trained at and deployed from the Presidio to the Philippines. The Presidio would be their last post before embarking for the Philippines and would often be their first stop upon returning. American troops serving at the Presidio were continually exchanged with those serving in the Philippines. For decades the primary overseas deployment for soldiers at the Presidio was to the Philippines. The only interruption to this was when Japan seized the Philippines during World War II, and then it was the Sixth US Army who was instrumental in recapturing the Philippines from the Japanese forces. Not coincidentally after World War II the Sixth US Army was headquartered at the Presidio till the Presidio closed and the Sixth Army was disbanded (Thompson 1997).

While in the Philippines many soldiers would be posted at old Spanish institutions of empire such as *Intramuros*, the walled city within Manila. The US Army raised the American flag over the Philippines for the first time there at a place called Fort Santiago (see Figure 33). This historic Spanish fort then became the Army headquarters in the Philippines (Karnow 1989).

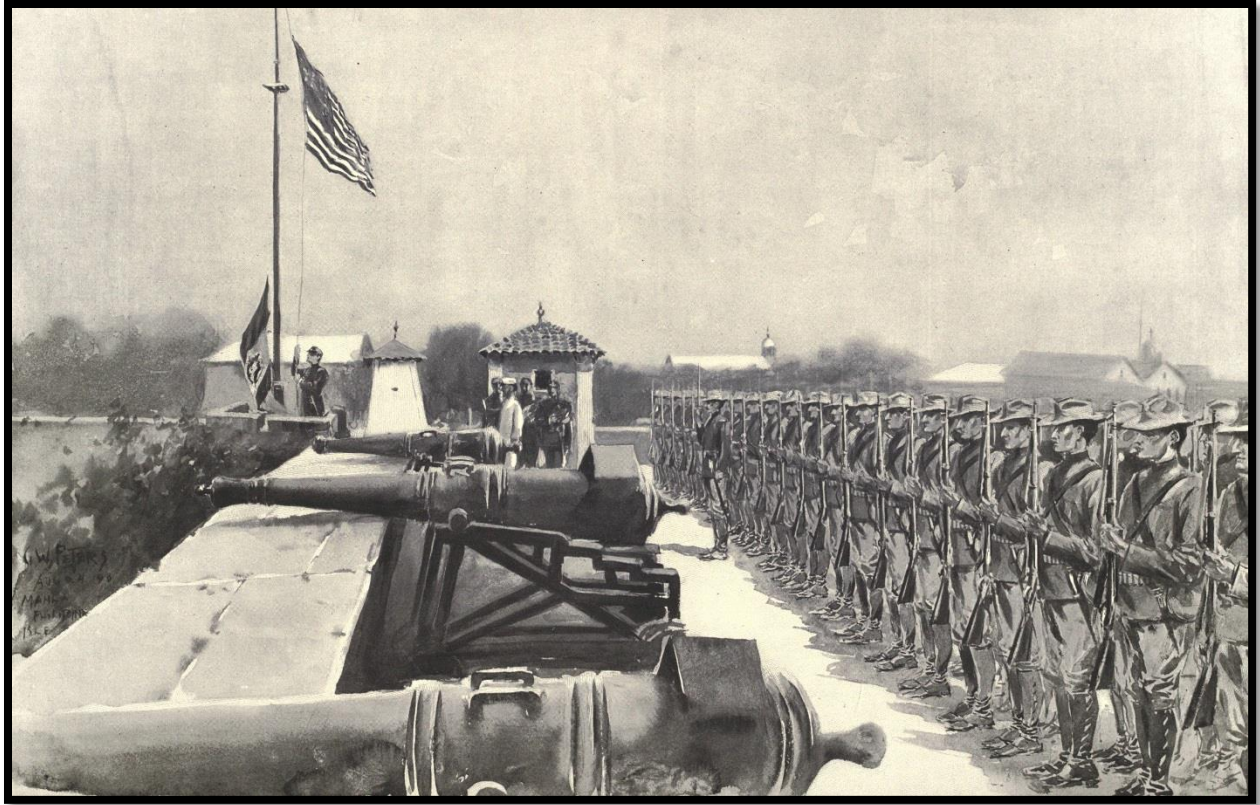


Figure 33: The American flag being raised over Fort Santiago on August 13, 1898 as depicted in Harper's Pictorial History of the War with Spain.

You can imagine a soldier or officer arriving at the Presidio on his way to the Philippines and getting a foreshadowing of his service in places that were built by the Spanish Empire and were now occupied by American soldiers. This would apply not only to the Philippines but also to other deployments at this time into Central America, during an even more forgotten set of wars, known collectively as the Banana Wars, when the United States intervened and occupied various countries including: Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama and Mexico. Three future commanders of the Presidio served in these wars: Walter Kreuger, John DeWitt, and Robert Eichelberger (Thompson 1997). Having the Presidio fit into a larger network of deployments and be a kind of transition point could be instrumental for the troops and help acclimate them to what was coming.

It is unsurprising, considering the Officers' Club was the last colonial adobe structure standing, that it was the first place the Spanish Coat of Arms was used at the Presidio. It is none the less significant. Captain Barney Meeden, in his article on the restoration effort, noted the Officers' Club, which was "once the seat of the Spanish Military Power in the Bay Region, [now] stands as a link between the long gone days of the Spanish explorers and the present time. For a century

it has been the social center for officers stationed on the West Coast, has been the rendezvous for those setting out for or returning from distant stations in the Orient, from Hawaii, Philippine Islands, Panama, and Alaska.” In a later insert to the original article he compared the Officers’ Club to other Spanish Colonial buildings he saw while stationed in Panama and Mexico (Meeden 1934). In this passage you see both the deep temporal connection to the Spanish roots of the Presidio’s founding and the horizontal connections across the globe to places Presidio soldiers were stationed, including many overseas posts in the former Spanish empire.

The coat of arms was not some casual decoration inconspicuously hanging on the wall. In 1939 the post quartermaster, Maj. George Chandler, noted discrepancies in the coat of arms affixed to the wall over the fireplace in the Officers’ Club ballroom. He prepared a thorough description of the problem, but apparently there was no response, so from retirement Chandler penned another letter, again informing the Presidio of the errors. He said that the shield and the crown were incorrectly delineated and elements in the shield were reversed. "I don't recall ever having seen an officer shot for wearing medals or sabers on the wrong side, but the rules are clear; and the arms of Spain are Castile and Leon, and not Leon and Castile" (Chandler, December 15, 1939, and March 21, 1940 in PARC).

Beyond the coat of arms the Spanish Colonial heritage was revived in other ways. Each room in the Officers’ Club was named after one of the Spanish or Mexican officers at the Presidio. In what became the Ortega Bar, a large mural was painted that depicted a highly romanticized version of the Spanish presidio. The mural was painted in the 1950s and depicts several contemporary US Army personnel inserted into the colonial scene in the analogous roles they would have held were they part of the Spanish regime.

The Spanish Colonial connection manifested itself in other ceremonial ways as well. The first was the treatment of the regimental parade ground in front of the Officers’ Club – the same parcel of land that was once the *plaza de armas* or open area in the middle of the colonial square. Here was a place of tradition and ceremonial importance. Whereas marching and training occurred at this time on one of the other parade grounds, this regimental parade ground was reserved for special performances, like the one for Prince Takamatsu. All other times it was forbidden for anyone to walk across this parade ground, or even to step foot onto it, according to “ancient custom” (see Figure 34). The one exception was for the most junior officer on duty, who being the lowest ranking officer was often given some minor privilege that even higher ranking officers did not have. At the Presidio the junior officer’s privilege was being the only person on post with permission to walk onto the Spanish *plaza de armas*.



Figure 34: Sign at the corner of Moraga Avenue and Mesa Street conveying the prohibition and privilege to walk across the parade ground in 1940 (courtesy of the San Francisco Chronicle).

The third example is a faux tradition commemorating the founding of the Presidio by the Spanish, what is essentially a celebration of the Presidio's birthday. This ceremony was established in the 1930s and connected the military command with the descendants of the colonial party at an event that culminated with the offering of *la favorita*, the favored daughter of the Spanish colonial descendant community. *La favorita* was presented to the commanding officer of the Presidio at a ceremony held at the Officers' Club, often officiated by the city's Catholic Bishop. In this way the command of the Presidio was again connected back to the empire who established the Presidio and positioned themselves in a mock ritual of arranged marriage (see Figure 35).



Figure 35: Photo of La Favorita being escorted into the Officers' Club by the Presidio's Commanding Officer (courtesy of PARC).

In these last three examples the US Army officers are figuratively assuming the roles of their Spanish colonial predecessors through art, through custom, and through ritual. It is with this zeitgeist in mind that the architectural styles introduced shortly after the Spanish American War and the selection of the Spanish Coat of Arms for the Presidio by the US Army Institute of Heraldry makes the most sense. By the 1930s the US Army had been at the Presidio for nearly a century, but perhaps more salient was that US soldiers in the larger network of foreign deployments had been on the front lines of an imperial effort to assume the role and sovereignty Spain once held. And underpinning that, once the military defeated Spain in places like the Philippines, the United States had Supreme Court precedence that established a proper transfer of title and sovereignty from the “great nations of Europe” to the United States who had “unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule.”

Referencing a legacy to establish your own authority and modelling yourself after a successful predecessor happens in a variety of situations as new institutions seek to position themselves

within a lineage that deeply roots their power. Interestingly enough one of the primary stateside assignments for US soldiers at the time of the Philippine American War also illustrates this.

In the fall of 1890 Congress established three national parks in California: Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant (now Kings Canyon). The following spring, after the Sierra Mountains thawed, Cavalry units from the Presidio mounted their horses and made their way to Yosemite. Presidio soldiers stumbled upon Yosemite Valley forty years prior when they were pursuing Indians who had been causing troubles for miners in the gold fields and they “discovered” Yosemite. Forty years later, the government sent the cavalry to Yosemite to enforce the protections of this new kind of federal land by forcibly relocating ranchers, poachers, and logging companies. The cavalry also built roads and other amenities to facilitate tourism. From 1891 to 1914 the stewards and first superintendents of these national parks were drawn from the US Cavalry (Meyerson 2001). The once wary locals had grown accustomed to their authority and trusted their decisions. In the early 1900s with the demands being placed on the Army overseas in the long Philippine-American War, Congress began rethinking the use of the US Army for protecting the land and its resources. Several new agencies were being created, including the US Forest Service and National Park Service. The US Forest Service first donned uniforms in 1907, when interestingly enough it was Gifford Pinchot that led the service and instigated the uniform. The National Park Service soon followed suit. Each uniform was modelled after the US Army uniform of the soldiers they replaced (see Figure 36). Initially there was some concern that the uniform might look too similar to the Army and draw the ire of the military. So Assistant Secretary of the Interior Carmi Thompson, wrote a letter to Secretary of War Henry Stimson in 1912 asking if the resemblance was a problem. Once it was established there was no objection from the military on the uniforms similarity, the National Park Service uniform was tailored to look virtually indistinguishable from the Army uniform after which it was modelled (Workman 1991).

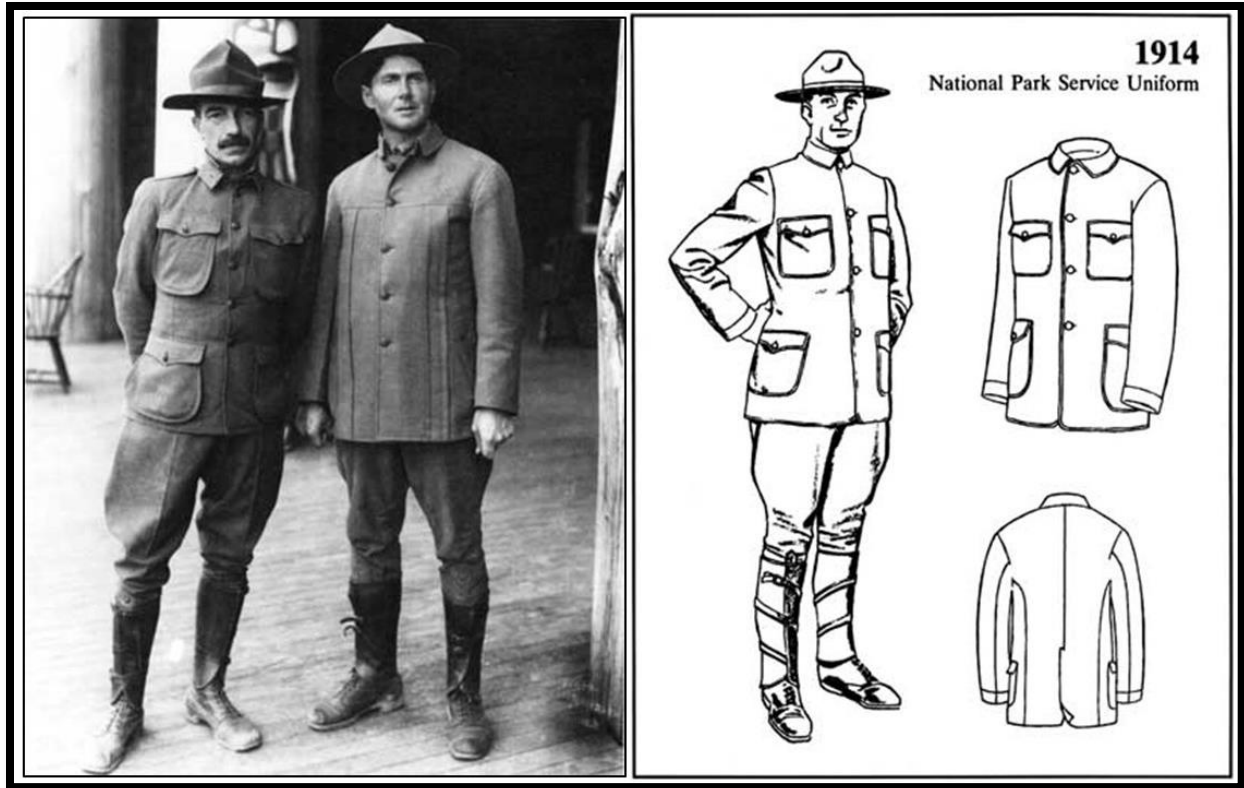


Figure 36: Man in photograph at left is modelling the 1910 US Army uniform. The man next to him is modelling the 1911 uniform for rangers in national parks. By 1914 the national park service uniform was tailored to look even more like the Army uniforms (courtesy of National Park Service, Harpers Ferry Center).

One hundred years later the National Park Service still don roughly the same uniform. The flat brimmed hat and olive drab uniform has become iconic for the agency and for the parks. It is one of the most recognizable symbols in government service today. Few recall that one hundred years ago it was the uniform of the US Army. The same flat brimmed hat with khaki and olive drab uniform the soldiers wore on horseback during their long trek to the Sierras. From the 1918 General Orders for soldiers at the Presidio cited earlier: “service hat with cord, peaked, four indentations; olive drab coat or shirt; service breeches; russet leather shoes.” The new agency simply adapted the Army’s uniform and in doing so positioned themselves in the already established lineage of the Army in the National Parks.

This is a specific and particular example of the larger phenomena I am looking at in this chapter. There are much longer and deeper examples of this phenomena that I am attempting to draw in looking at the kind of social structure, values, and identities that led the Catholic Church to establish the Doctrine of Discovery and then many centuries later how that precedent led the Supreme Court to build on that line of thought for the Johnson v. M’Intosh case, which took

“discovery” and adapted it first to manifest destiny in the American continent and subsequently to benevolent assimilation in the Philippines. In both of these American situations the actual institution of the church had no real bearing on the decisions of the US government. The structure, values, and established identities (e.g. civilized and uncivilized people), however, remained in effect to form the basic categories and possibilities of being an expanding nation in the world.

It was the manifestation of will over many generations, yet it went through permutations that could not be foreseen, because its social reproduction resulted in adaptations. These adaptations and translations are the means and by products of reproduction.

Reproduction and referencing are, in my mind, employed to directly respond to the need to establish legitimacy for human action and agency. Referencing an institutional lineage is a response to that need for legitimacy. Mary Douglas asserted that: “There needs to be an analogy by which the formal structure of a crucial set of social relations is found in the physical world, or in the supernatural world, or in eternity, anywhere, so long as it is not seen as a socially contrived arrangement” (Douglas 1986). I would add that this same need for legitimacy can be established through lineage or precedent, as is exemplified in the Johnson case, wherein the Supreme Court both established their own precedent and absolved themselves of the responsibility of doing so by both adopting and denouncing the principles of colonialism by “acceding to that great and broad rule” (21 U.S. 543).

In addition to legitimacy, there is the desire for success. This leads to institutional isomorphism especially when the relationship between means and ends is uncertain and the number of successful actors in the field is limited. This institutional isomorphism led the Spanish Empire to look to Rome for a successful institution to colonize lands beyond their realm. Spain adapted presidios first to cross the Mediterranean then to expand the empire across the Atlantic. The US Army not only reoccupied the Presidio and retained its name, but in directly taking up the mantle of empire from Spain used art, custom, and ritual, to situate themselves in that lineage as the physical institutions of Spain themselves were being adapted as tools to implement the benevolent assimilation of the Philippines.

Given these ingredients of legitimacy and success, an institution will continue to influence the trajectory of generations who face similar uncertainties. This is also, in my opinion, the answer to repeated questions about why so many total institutions, which confine their members, resemble prisons. It is because prisons or penitentiaries have been legitimized and so they can

be referenced to establish legitimacy and they are perceived to be successful, at least by those who model themselves on that kind of success. Penitentiaries in turn established their legitimacy in their early relationship to conceptual institutions of the church and their ideas of penance and the treatment of the penitent.

Finally, considering the legitimacy and success of the US military on the global stage at this point in world history, I will assert that the US military institution(s) are being referenced and used as models for other nations. It also isn't just passive borrowing. This happens in proactive ways, when the US sends advisors and trainers to foreign nations to build their strength of force and model them on our military institutions (both physical and conceptual). Without getting into the semantics of whether the US is or is not an empire in its own right, it successfully protects and controls large portions of the globe through complex arrangements for basing rights in strategic locations around the world. There is a very limited field of historical actors that have had this kind of success. Given how long it takes to establish that kind of success, the field will remain limited for a long time. So, Roman, Spanish, British, and now American institutions will continue to be referenced, modelled, and adapted by future generations in ways that cannot be foreseen, but need to be studied.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

In response to the question I started out with: how do people manifest their will over stretches of time that exceed their lives and begin to set a trajectory for future generations, I would answer, with the creation and adaption of institutions.

The idea of institutions that create legacies is certainly not a new one. In my opinion that is what Max Weber was exploring in the beginning of the 20th Century through his famous work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Weber 2003). In Weber's assessment, the social structure and enduring values of the Protestant Church, with particular focus on the Lutheran concept of an earthly vocation, were shaped in such a way to unintentionally but ultimately be conducive for individual success under capitalism. In particular, the idea of being defined by and rewarded for your vocation in the church under Protestantism during the 17th Century was very similar to being defined by and rewarded for your job in the market under Capitalism during the 20th Century. There was an alignment from one institution to the next, even if the precise categories were different. What makes that work remarkable was that Weber was connecting religion to economy in a way that showed the translation of structure and values from one to the next.

Weber used this historical perspective to explain the relative success of Protestants versus other cultures in the emerging world system of Capitalism. In short, he posited that the market system could more easily graft itself onto the Protestant belief system than others at the time. And, that furthermore this grafting was successful even if the active traditions, or living root, of religious faith had died in many Protestant communities. The structure, or in Weber's terminology, the "ethic" endured. So, it is the alignment or fit between institutions over time that bear on their perceived legitimacy and ultimate success. In my opinion, what he is describing by ethic is the kind of institutionalized thought that is rooted so deeply in the mind that it informs the intrinsic values and unquestioned categories passed from one generation to the next. In other words it is these institutions that establish the possibilities for being in the world for individuals.

Institutional places are the locus for the manifestation of the possibilities of being, as the immediate site where those conceptions of the possible are shaped and reflected. It is both setting and product. What military sites like the Presidio offer is a place to see the institution's social reproduction in place. To see the means through which institutional values are reinforced in physical form.

Just like the abandoned buildings at the Presidio that I discovered, institutional buildings and sites really are like shells on the beach. Each shows the physical form left behind, which reflects the life of the community who were the builders and the dwellers. What makes the study of military institutions like the Presidio of continued significance is that while the buildings may now be empty, or repurposed for new uses, those buildings are just the cast off shells. The actual institution is not merely physical. It is also social and conceptual; it lives and continues to reproduce itself elsewhere. All around the globe.

It's clear that the military effects dramatic change in times of war and against enemies abroad. But, when you consider the extraordinary numbers of people whose biographical paths have passed through these military institutions in times of war and peace it's also clear these institutions are agents of social change at home as its members return to the larger society. Given the demographic diversity within the military, whether that diversity be borne out of region, religion, class, sex, race, ethnicity, or sexuality, the breadth of the effect at home is expanded as that diverse internal community returns to influence their diverse external communities with the concepts they absorbed inside. Understanding this phenomena over time is a potentially vast project, but one that is ripe for analysis considering the number of sites available for study and the rich archives the institution leaves. There are enough clues to examine institutional projects and the places they create as well as to follow biographical paths in and out. The legitimate regulation of human behavior requires a place, or stage, and typically leaves an extensive paper trail, or script.

Even in looking within the institution there is still much work to be done at the Presidio. One rich vein left to be fully mined are the ways the well-established ranked identities have intersected with socially instituted categories around region, race, sex, and sexuality over the generations. I touched on this in the discussion of prevailing gender roles and the role of laundresses, but there is so much more to be explored through this institutional lens. But, here I assert that it is because of the strong social structure of the military, and its success at reproducing itself generation after generation, that the military has been used as an integrative tool of the government. Due to its well regimented community, it is a place where the government can institute changes (e.g. the full racial integration of the forces in 1948) and count on the strength of institution and its levers of control to undertake that additional challenge in again creating uniformity out of diversity at the lower ranks. The levers of control include the strong institutional identities, which can act as a countervailing force against the socially contrived identities. For when an African American soldier is allowed to be promoted to an officer there is a whole structure in place to reinforce the import and consequences of that decision. This impact to the social structure clearly impacts individuals within the institution but it also can impact the wider social categories.

The military institution has been used this way many times through American history, notable examples include: the regional integration between North and South that was necessary in the decades after the Civil War; the various ways African Americans have been integrated in the military, including the ramifications in citizenship status in the 19th century; the incorporation of women in the forces, particularly when female nurses were as a class promoted to officer rank in the early 20th century or participated in combat in the 21st century; and even to the shallowly progressive moves towards equality of opportunity for gays and lesbians with the “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” policy, and more recent moves that dropped the requirement for gays and lesbians to be closeted during service.

One reason the social structure of the military is so strong is because it, and the institutional values that support it, are reflected in the built landscape and through performance. The stage and actors work together to make a place like the Presidio become a place of institution.

Using the lens of institutions requires multi-scalar analysis. At the macro-level this happens between major institutions and along the chain of their historical lineages. The meso-level then examines the overlap and interactions between contemporary institutions, and include complimentary and adversarial relationships between institutions across the field. Finally, the micro-level looks within a particular institution, following the biographical paths of members, and examining the path/project intersections.

At each level it is necessary to keep in tension the ideas of Mary Douglas (1986), who emphasize conceptual institutions in their attempt to demonstrate how the most elementary cognitive process depends on social institutions, and Erving Goffman (1961) who set the agenda on physical institutions where groups of individuals, separated from the wider society, lead an enclosed and formally administered existence.

In addition to bridging the divide between conceptual/physical institutions and establishing the utility of the lens of institutional analysis, I also intended to operationalize Pred’s concept of paths and projects to better understand the institution at a microscale at the Presidio. So here I would like to recall the biographical paths of several characters I have quickly sketched out in this manner thus far:

- Officers Row, the neighborhood that was turned around to face the city, held a surprising numbers of lives, and exemplified the ranked micro-physics of power;
- the Enlisted Men's Barracks, where deprivation was enacted, the values of uniformity were performed, and the structure was subverted;
- Salvatore Pennisi, the Italian POW who came to the Presidio and saw similarities between the US and Italian armies in taking away "that little thing";
- Luis Arguello, the second generation Presidio Commandant who didn't need a written plan to build a presidio, just the institutionalized labor of the Indians;
- the Officers' Club, the colonial adobe which was the site for gendered friction in the structure and was ultimately adopted as third place for officers;
- Joaquin Pena, the old Mexican artilleryman who refused to leave his enemies' post and has his property claims dismissed by the institution owners;
- Don Herrington, the World War II vet who wanted the Vietnam era soldiers to have a welcoming place, so he "went all out" to create that environment;
- the Presidio forest, whose premise of beautification is a façade to reinforce institutional values that helped establish the Presidio as a place of institution;
- Mountain Lake, whose sedimentation and historical ecology is a reflection of the changing environment far beyond the "cultural" square during colonization ;
- Irvin McDowell, the Union reconstructor with individual power to remake the Presidio in a manner that reinforced the power of the institution;
- the native plants, which are used to restore and expand native habitat, but are also part of a continuing effort to control nature and project onto it our values;
- the colonial squares, the geometric shape of colonization that were seeded in the area, some that grew into attenuated grids and one that did not;
- Tilacse, the Huchiun man who twice approached the agents of colonialism, then ran away only to be forcibly returned due to his indelible institutional identity;
- the Mission Chapel mural, which was a product of the hybrid mission culture and reflected multiple symbolic meanings before being hidden for 200 years;
- the unknown soldier, who was initiated to the Army and took part in the performative aspects of place making as the "only military thing we do";
- the Spanish coat of arms, which connected the Presidio to the former Spanish empire both temporally and spatially through art, custom, and ritual; and
- me, the AmeriCorps volunteer turned homeless government employee who slowly realized the buildings were a reflection of the social structure.

With this useful tool I was able to not only understand the institution, but the place. That is critical because the two are inseparable. Place holds the institution and is a manifestation of its values. The institutionalized place becomes intimately associated with each member, even when they move beyond its walls and through the world taking a sense of place with them. I continue to

believe that place is the homeland of human thoughts and works to shape those thoughts, especially as place is continually shaped to achieve a more harmonious fit for the community.

Finally, I hope this study demonstrated the usefulness of an approach that employs storytelling as an integrative device for multiple lines of evidence and to elucidate values. For as William Cronon said “To try to escape the value judgments that accompany storytelling is to miss the point of history itself, for the stories we tell, like the questions we ask, are all finally about value” (1992). As I have said previously I think it is not only useful, but necessary to bridge the divide between the people and places we study and us. It humanizes our research and shows we are not so different from them or so far from there. We, like them, are striving to understand and make narrative sense of our world and looking to pass on what we have learned. Furthermore, I hope it showed the value of inserting the author into those stories to more fully integrate him (in this case) with the world out there.

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