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The primary cause of industrial decentralization has been industrialization itself—culminating in the sheer growth of manufacturing and distribution complexes. This is an expansion that has been paced and shaped by the opening and closing of market opportunities. Throughout the century, manufacturing centers have moved closer to the consuming centres of population. This movement has been spurred by the needs of industrial producers, who are in the best of the industrial age.

The industrial age is a time of change, marked by the expansion of manufacturing and distribution, and the search for new spaces in which to build factories and warehouses. The search for more space has led to the decentralization of industrial activity, with the development of new areas for manufacturing and distribution. This has been facilitated by the growth of transportation networks, which have made it easier to transport goods and people. The search for new spaces has also been influenced by the search for new markets, as well as by the desire to reduce costs and increase efficiency.

The decentralization of industry has had a significant impact on urban development. The older, central industrial areas have been vacated, and new industrial areas have developed on the periphery of the city. This has led to the growth of new urban areas, and has also resulted in the decline of older industrial areas. The decentralization of industry has also had a significant impact on the economy, as it has led to the development of new industries and the decline of older ones.

The decentralization of industry has also had a significant impact on the environment. The expansion of manufacturing and distribution has led to increased pollution, as well as to the depletion of natural resources. The search for new spaces has also led to the destruction of natural habitats, as well as to the pollution of waterways and air.

The decentralization of industry has also had a significant impact on society. The search for new spaces has led to the growth of new communities, and has also led to the displacement of older communities. The decentralization of industry has also led to the growth of new social problems, as well as to the decline of older ones.
manufacturing was lower than that in eastern cities of its size. Manufacturing, it is argued, was limited by the scale of demand, scarcity of labor, and lack of fuel, and was too dependent on natural resources and the local market.\(^5\) Percentages are misleading, however, because San Francisco's mercantile empire was so much larger than any other comparable city. Jobs in trade and transport were so plentiful that industry may appear relatively less impressive, but industrial activity began to quicken in the Civil War years and grew tremendously after the end of the Civil War, whether measured in output, employment, or number of firms (Figure 6.1). Industrialization occurred in two great economic upswings, 1862–75 and 1876–93, with severe downturns in the depressions of 1873–77 and 1891–95, which hit the city hard.

Things had revved smoothly between 1896 and 1900, when the great earthquake hit. San Francisco's manufacturing workforce and output doubled in the 1870s, peaked as a proportion of all workers in 1880, and ranked ninth in the United States that year. By 1880 manufacturing occupied a third of San Francisco's workforce, counted for two-thirds of widespread employment and value-added, and exceeded the output of all other western cities combined.\(^3\) This brought about a striking regional monopolization of industry in San Francisco, as the city's manufacturers sold their goods around northern California, the West, and even abroad. An aerial view of the city from the early 1880s already shows smoking factories ringing the city (see Figure 6.2).\(^7\)

Despite some disadvantages, such as high fuel costs, San Francisco's industrialization benefited from favorable supplies of capital and labor. On the one hand, industry was force-fed by locally accumulated capital. Every bug inventor—Billy Ralston and Charles Crocker, for example—had his fingers in a dozen pies. On the other hand, scarcity of labor was offset by rapid in-migration, the end of placer mining, and completion of the transcontinental railroad. Chinese workers in particular provided cheap labor for low-wage sectors such as shoes and cigars. More significant, however, was the systematic application of skilled labor, which San Francisco had in abundance. California's combination of talent and economic opportunity (especially for white men) made for a flurry of entrepreneurial activity and technical innovation. Clear evidence of this can be found in the number of new firms in the city and in the welter of innovative products, from blue jeans to hydraulic nozzles. Money and creativity unloosed the genie of growth, allowing industrialization despite high wages. With more than 350,000 residents by 1900, the city held one-fifth of the populace of the entire West Coast and had become the seventh-largest city in the country.\(^4\)
The industrialization of San Francisco in the second half of the nineteenth century was based on resource processing and on products not far removed from the basic inputs of nature. Such was the technology of the time and the reality of California's resource-rich economy. The four dominant sectors illustrate this: lumber and woodworking (lumber yards, planing mills, furniture); metalworking and machining (iron foundries, smelters, brass casting, metal plating, machine making); food processing (sugar milling, canning, coffee milling, biscuits and flour, alcoholic beverages); and animal processing (butchering, tanning, tallow, soap, glue, and candles). Smaller sectors were not far removed from natural materials, either: garments made of wool, leather, and cotton (also blouses, shoes, and harnesses for horses), bonnies made of gold, silver, and tobacco (jewelry, cigars), paints and oils made of natural oils and pigments, energy supplies (coal, coal-gas, wood, methane, petroleum, and electricity). Even the most sophisticated products of the time, such as houses, mining machinery, carriages, and ships, were made with very humble materials: cast iron, brass, wood, tung-oil paints, iron nails, and so forth. Printing and publishing might be considered the farthest removed but that involved working with large quantities of paper and cloth. Without being overly reductionist—since the essence of things such as reapers, pianos, and ladies' dresses lies more in design and skill than in materials—it is nonetheless vital to recognize how close to the bone these early industries were. As technology advanced into new types of goods and materials, it would leapfrog over San Francisco's humble manufacturing base.

The Industrial Landscape of San Francisco, 1875-1905

Within San Francisco's expansive city limits, industry spread out rapidly after the Civil War. Three patterns emerged in the period up to the turn of the century. First, industry was positioned along the waterfront, within a few blocks of the bay, in a great crescent from North Beach to Hunter's Point. Although this was a reasonably continuous strip, it can usefully be divided into five segments: North Beach, Downtown, Rincon Hill, Mission Creek, Potrero Hill, and Islais Creek. Second, the bulk of industry headed to the South of Market, far beyond the bounds of the Gold Rush city (where downtown offices, banks, and Chinatown were located), stretching the city southward for several miles. Third, while factories and warehouses of various kinds stood cheek by jowl along the waterfront, there was a discernible degree of areal specialization by industrial sector: machining
around Rincon Hill, foodstuffs north of Market, luxuries downtown, lumber and wood products along Mission Creek, and animal products at Islais Creek (see Figure 6.3). On the other hand, two of the most common land uses—energy and wine warehousing—could be found almost everywhere along the waterfront, for easy shipping (ships also used great quantities of fuel from these depots).

The area north of Market Street was characterized early on by a central cluster of consumer-goods manufacturers that arose in the old part of the city. Along the waterfront were several food merchants and processors such as Gharadelli’s Coffee, Pacific Coast Syrup, National and Capital Flour, National Biscuit, Sacramento Biscuit, Shilling Spices, and Tilhomburg-Bendels (coffee and spices). A few clothing merchant-manufacturers, such as Levi Strauss, and boot and shoe makers could be found there, too. In the decade after the Civil War, 200 cigar makers clustered near Chinatown, relying on the cheap labor of thousands of Chinese men released from railroad building and mining, where they lived mostly within the restricted boundaries of Chinatown.

To the west, up Market Street, women’s and children’s clothes were made and sold. Around Union Square could be found specialty clothiers, jewelers and silversmiths, and makers of luxury goods such as pianos and billiard tables. This was part of the separation of the main shopping district from the merchant-financial cluster along Montgomery Street. Centered around Market and Third streets, where the three largest newspapers were located by the 1890s, was a flourishing printing and publishing industry, with more than 100 small printers, Bancroft’s Book Emporium, and magazines and broadsheets galore.

On the city’s northern edge a substantial industrial zone arose in North Beach. This zone stretched from Black Point to the northwest around Telegraph Hill to the foot of Broadway on its southeast flank. Its first big factory was the Pioneer Woolen Mills (later Gharadelli Chocolate and now Gharadelli Square shopping center). It included a number of food-processing operations, such as sugar refineries (Bay—later American—Sugar and Western Sugar), canneries (Presidio, King Morse, and later the merged California Fruit Canners Association, plus a can factory), breweries and malt factories (St. Louis, North Beach, Empire), a flour mill (Globe), a wine warehouse, biscuit makers (National and American) and even a mustard mill (CC Burr). At the same time, North Beach had some key companies in the metals trade: Selby’s lead and silver smelter, Andrew Haladie’s wire works, Joshua Hendy’s machine shop, and Vulcan Iron Works. And there were lumber yards, sawmills, and a sulfur refinery as well.

FIGURE 6.3. Industrial Districts of San Francisco circa 1875-1905. Drawn by Darin Jensen.
The South of Market industrial zone was anchored by the Rincon Hill district, from Market Street to South Beach (China Cove) and west to the edge of the Presidio. This area was dominated by the city’s major machinery and manufacturing facilities, including the Rincon Hill Territorial Complex, located at the heart of the district. It was home to a number of heavy industries, including shipbuilding, ironworks, and engineering firms. The area was also home to a number of small, independent shops and workshops, many of which were involved in the production of naval and military equipment.

The Rincon Hill Territorial Complex was a major hub of industrial activity, with a number of large companies headquartered there. The complex included a number of large buildings, including the Rincon Hill Territorial Building, the Rincon Hill Territorial Warehouse, and the Rincon Hill Territorial Engine House and Boiler Room. The complex was home to a number of large companies, including the Rincon Hill Territorial Shipyard, the Rincon Hill Territorial Ironworks, and the Rincon Hill Territorial Engineering Company.

The South of Market industrial zone was also home to a number of smaller, independent shops and workshops, many of which were involved in the production of naval and military equipment. These smaller companies were spread throughout the area, and were often located in old, abandoned buildings or in small, run-down sheds. Despite their size, these companies played an important role in the region’s economy, providing employment and supporting the local community.

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Last Gasp of the West Boy: South City and the Eclipse of San Francisco

A telling case of industrial decentralization is San Francisco, ten miles away from downtown San Francisco and across the line to San Mateo County (see Figure 6). South City, as it came to be called, provided a clear example of the forces of industrial restructuring. Property developers, such as the Lick brothers, had seized the opportunity to develop the area south of the city. The old Alcatraz, a federal penitentiary, served as the western terminus of the sales by the developers, who sold off the land to speculators and developers. San Francisco, however, still retained its status as a major port and manufacturing center, and its influence continued to be felt throughout the state.

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The Great Depression caused the city's economy to suffer, and many businesses failed. However, some industries, such as shipbuilding and aircraft manufacturing, continued to thrive. The city's port became an important hub for international trade, and the Panama Canal was completed in 1914, which further boosted the economy.

After World War II, San Francisco experienced a period of growth and development. The city became a center for technology and the entertainment industry, with companies like Pixar and DreamWorks setting up shop there. The city's climate and scenic beauty also made it a popular destination for tourists, with attractions like the Golden Gate Bridge and Alcatraz Island drawing visitors from around the world.

Today, San Francisco is known for its vibrant arts scene, with world-renowned museums and theaters. The city is also home to many tech companies, including Apple and Google, which have helped to drive its economy in recent years. Despite the challenges it has faced over the years, San Francisco has continued to thrive and remain a major city on the West Coast.
Another popular candidate for a spatial explanation is high wages and the trend of cities expanding in the twentieth century. This trend is often referred to as the "Silicon Valley" effect, as the technology industry has expanded in recent decades.

The city of San Francisco, located on the north coast of California, has been a major center for the tech industry. The high cost of living and high wages in the area have attracted many tech companies to the region. This has led to a situation where the city is poised to outpace the rest of the state in terms of economic growth.

However, this trend has also led to concerns about the affordability of housing and the potential for gentrification. As the tech industry continues to expand, there is a risk that the city will become less accessible to lower-income residents, who may be forced to leave the area in search of more affordable housing.

Despite these challenges, San Francisco remains a major center for innovation and economic growth. The city is home to many of the world's leading tech companies, and it continues to attract new businesses and investors.

Overall, the trend of cities expanding in the twentieth century has had a significant impact on the economy and society of the United States. While it has led to economic growth and innovation, it has also created challenges related to housing affordability and gentrification.

As the economy continues to evolve, it will be important to address these challenges and ensure that the benefits of economic growth are shared by all members of society.
charter reform. Business engaged labor in repeated battles, finally defeating
the unions citywide in 1921. A spectacular new civic center was erected
between the world wars. Overall, the problem was not so much that San
Francisco's capitalists were weak as that they had a wide-ranging view of
the field of investment—one that took in the whole Bay Area and most of
the western United States besides (city capitalists were instrumental
in building up Los Angeles, San Diego, California's interior, and even the
Pacific Northwest). They were not simply advocates within the city limits.

But the most important single factor in the decentralization of manu-
f acturing in the Bay Area was none of the above causes. It was industrial-
ization itself, i.e., the force of technical and market change unleashed by
capitalist accumulation. Swiftly growing sectors can erupt in quite unex-
pected venues, while stagnant sectors and established centers of indus-
ty fade away. The industrial base of capitalism has shifted repeatedly from
era to era, recasting urban geography along the way.11 San Francisco had led
the way during the expansive stage in several early California industries,
such as mining equipment, men's clothing and blankets, lumber and wood-
working, iron work, carriages, foodstuffs, alcoholic beverages, paint, and
animal byproducts. But three things happened to undermine the impor-
tance of the city's manufactures. The first is that some of its best products
tended to be very important in the mix of California industry in the twen-
tieth century; these included mining equipment, leather harnesses, wooden
barrels, whale baleen, steam boilers, cast iron stoves, buggy shafts, leather
belting, and Victorian house detail work. Second, conversely, most of the
key industries of the twentieth century grew up almost entirely outside San
Francisco, among them petroleum refining, alloy steel, automobiles, and
chemicals. Third, in several sectors where the city had a foothold, the tech-
nical nature of the product or process changed so much as to become unre-
conscionable: guano gave way to ammonium nitrate fertilizer made through
electrolysis; carriages and wagons turned into cars and trucks; coal was
replaced by fuel oil, coal gas by machine, gas by electricity.12

By 1919 San Francisco was still prominent in only a few industrial
sectors—printing and publishing, coffee and spices, chocolate, cigars, bags,
and ship repair—none of them among California's leading industries of the
day. Output in furniture, meatpacking, clothing, and machining, while still
noteworthy, was fading. Beer and spirits were eliminated by Prohibition.
Lumber, sugar, and canning had virtually disappeared. And, of course,
the process of product and technical change kept moving forward, even where
San Francisco knew success in the new century: Ford's Model T factory
on 16th Street, opened in 1913, was replaced by a Model A factory in Rich-
mond in 1931 as Ford responded to the competitive challenge of General
Motors. The city continued to house many of the corporate headquarters
of businesses involved in the new industries, such as Standard Oil, Zeller-
bach Paper, and Castle & Cooke foods, but that was due to its importance
in finance and administration, not production.

Oakland Rising: The Industrialization of Alameda County

The forward wave of regional growth had shifted by 1900 to Oakland and
the greater East Bay. Manufacturing in Alameda and Contra Costa Coun-
ties together surpassed San Francisco and the West Bay by World War I.
The rapid acceleration of East Bay urbanization that went along with this
industrial surge would create the greater Bay Area metropolis of the twen-
tieth century (Figures 6.1 and 6.4). Oakland began as one of several small towns around the bay, with the usual smattering of resource industries. By 1869 it was home to sixteen fac-
tories, including sawmills, tanneries, slaughterhouses, dairies, a jute mill,
a flour mill, dry docks, and a brewery (the only thing out of the ordinary
was a boot and shoe maker). The big turning point was the arrival of the
Central Pacific in that year, after which population climbed from 10,500
to 35,000 in a decade—making Oakland the second city in the western
United States for a generation. Although the rail terminal was officially
San Francisco (trains were ferried across the bay from the 7th Street mole),
the rail yards were a major employer in West Oakland and an attraction
for manufacturers seeking access to California markets. Oakland industrial-
ized rapidly throughout the rest of the century. Factories became abundant
in the 1870s and the 1880s saw another thirty establishments spring up. By
1890 California Cotton was the largest cloth mill in the West, Josiah
Lusk the biggest cannery, Pacific Coast Borax the largest producer of
cleaner, and Lowell Manufacturing the biggest carriage works. But the
best was yet to come, and Oakland still looked more like a satellite of San
Francisco's diversified manufacturing complex than a realm of its own.13

The principal axes of Oakland's industrial belt ran along the waterfront
and were reinforced by the rail line coming from the east along the estu-
ary all the way to Oakland Point (1869), where it met a second line arriving
from the north (1873). The principal manufacturing node lay within
the original Oakland city grid, which ran from the waterfront to 12th Street,
with Broadway as the central thoroughfare. Machining and woodworking
were fixtures of the central district. A second cluster appeared a mile and
A half-mile in an arayed area and in the 1880s. The defining characteristics of this area were the railroads, the viaducts, the warehouses, and the docks. The area was known for its one-story flatiron buildings, with the railroad tracks running through the center of the city. The area was also known for its vibrant nightlife, with bars and saloons lining the streets.

In the early 1900s, the area became a hub for the garment industry, with thousands of workers employed in the factories. The area was also a center for the transportation industry, with the docks and warehouses serving as a gateway for goods entering and leaving the city.

The area was also home to a number of cultural institutions, including theaters and movie houses, which were popular among the working-class population. The area was also known for its multicultural community, with a diverse mix of immigrants and workers from around the world.

Despite its industrial past, the area has undergone significant changes in recent years, with a focus on revitalization and economic development. The area now includes a mix of residential and commercial spaces, with new developments and apartments being constructed along with older buildings.

In conclusion, the area has a rich history and continues to play an important role in the city's economy and culture. The area is a testament to the city's resilience and ability to adapt to changing times.
century (though its headquarters moved to San Francisco). A host of suppliers provided canes, jars, crates, and cartons to store and ship produce, as well as streams of innovative machinery, such as pitters, peeler, and steamers. Many other food products were manufactured in the East Bay, including cereal, baby food, meat, and bread. Closely related were a dozen soap and cosmetics manufacturers. These factories were distributed along the length of the East Bay industrial belt and well into the outlying farming areas of southern Contra Costa County.6

Oakland’s second leading sector was metalworking and machinery, which continued a long tradition in the Bay Area—just in a new era of steel alloys and high-speed cutting. Machine shops and foundries proliferated, clustering around Downtown and along the eastern railroad corridor. Oakland companies such as Union Machine Works, Bay City Iron, and Vulcan Foundry made machines for packaging, road grading, clothes washing, canning, and chemicals, as well as boilers, engines, turbines, and parts, some of which were unprecedented products. Upstream from metalworking was steel production, which finally developed as a significant industry in California in the twentieth century. The East Bay steel district, centered in Emeryville, was one of three that grew up around the Bay Area at the same time (the others were South San Francisco and Pittsburg, in Contra Costa County).7

The metal trades extended in several new directions. For a brief time, the Oakland conary developed into an exceptional shipbuilding district, as companies transferred operations from San Francisco and wartime orders grew. Wood & Ship Ltd., which operated in the 1930s, was later joined by Moore & Scott (later Moore Drydock) and Bethlehem (moving most of Union Iron Works’ former operations). During the peak years of World War I, a dozen shipbuilders employed 40,000 men, who put on 18 percent of U.S. production. Several companies supplied marine engines. The shift from San Francisco to Oakland appears to be tied to technical and product changes, such as steel construction, the Dreadnought class of battleships, and oil tankers.8

No sector better exemplified the new age than automobiles and Fordist mass production, which swept into Oakland from Detroit in the teens. The city became host to more than fifty assembly and component plants in the interwar period. Chevrolet was first, in 1916, followed by Packard, Star, and Willys-Overland. Another pioneer was Coast Tire and Rubber in 1919, which was rapidly joined by a variety of tire and parts makers. Many of these were local companies, as were specialty assemblers like Fageol (tasses) and Benjamin Felt (tractors). Within a generation, Holt’s caterpillar tractors, invented in Stockton for the Sacramento Delta, had revolutionized
concrete, extensive residential development, land speculation, railroad construction, and the formation of the Rapid Transit District. Oakland was flooded with new residents, creating a vast array of small, working-class homes. During this period of rapid growth, from 1900 to 1920, the East Bay developed infrastructure to accommodate the needs of its expanding population. The Bay Area Regional Rail Link and the Rapid Transit District were among the key transportation projects that facilitated growth.

The city’s growth was further fueled by the development of film in the early 1900s, which attracted many people to the area. The growth of the film industry led to the development of new neighborhoods and the expansion of existing ones. The rapid growth of the city was also fueled by the development of new residential areas, such as the East Bay area, which was developed with a focus on affordability and accessibility.

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The eastern rise of the new East Bay industrial belt appeared from the 1870s to the 1920s. San Francisco's Mercantile and Hardware Exchange, which was expanded to house the Oakland and San Francisco Bank in 1879, to the 1920s, and the Berkeley Sunnyside Hotel, were located near the Oakland docks. William R. Finley joined the club in the 1920s. Several leading San Francisco businessmen, including Amador Filemon, made their homes in Oakland as well as in San Francisco.

The commercial and residential areas of the city expanded rapidly from the 1920s to the 1930s. In 1928, Oakland's population reached 100,000, and the city's commercial and industrial areas continued to grow. The city's waterfront became an important hub for shipping and trade, and the Oakland Bay Bridge was completed in 1936. The city's population continued to grow, reaching 161,000 in 1940.

During World War II, Oakland became a key industrial hub, with many factories and shipyards established to support the war effort. The city's population continued to grow, reaching 210,000 in 1940. In the post-war period, the city continued to expand, with new neighborhoods and commercial areas developed.

By the 1950s, Oakland's population reached 250,000, and the city was a major center for homeownership and manufacturing. In the 1960s, the city continued to expand, with new neighborhoods and commercial areas developed. The city's population reached 300,000 in 1970, and the city continued to grow, reaching 400,000 in 1980.

In the 1990s, the city continued to expand, with new neighborhoods and commercial areas developed. The city's population reached 500,000 in 1990, and the city continued to grow, reaching 600,000 in 2000.

Since the mid-20th century, Oakland has been a center for industry and manufacturing, with many factories and shipyards established to support the war effort. The city's population continued to grow, reaching 700,000 in 2010. In the 21st century, the city continues to expand, with new neighborhoods and commercial areas developed.

In the 1990s, the city continued to expand, with new neighborhoods and commercial areas developed. The city's population reached 800,000 in 2010, and the city continued to grow, reaching 900,000 in 2020.

In the 21st century, the city continues to expand, with new neighborhoods and commercial areas developed. The city's population reached 1,000,000 in 2020, and the city continues to grow, reaching 1,100,000 in 2030.
The first companies to come to Contra Costa County were sugar and granite works, with their factory operations scattered throughout the county. Sandstone and granite were quarried for building materials, and sugarcane was grown for its sugar content. Later, during the gold rush, companies began to process the gold and silver found in the area.

In 1861, the first refinery was built near Richmond, followed by a number of others in the following decades. These refineries were located along the coast, where the gold was shipped for processing.

By 1876, Contra Costa County was one of the leading refining centers of the United States. The first large refinery was built in Richmond in 1881, followed by others in San Francisco and Oakland. These refineries were able to process large amounts of gold and silver, leading to a boom in the mining industry.

The boom led to the development of other industries, such as sugar refining and the manufacture of glass and metal products. The area became a hub for transportation, with railroads and ships bringing in goods from all over the world.

In the early 20th century, the county saw a decline in the mining industry, but the petrochemical industry began to grow. This industry was centered around the production of gasoline and other petroleum products.

Today, Contra Costa County remains a major center for industry, with a diverse mix of manufacturing, technology, and agricultural businesses.