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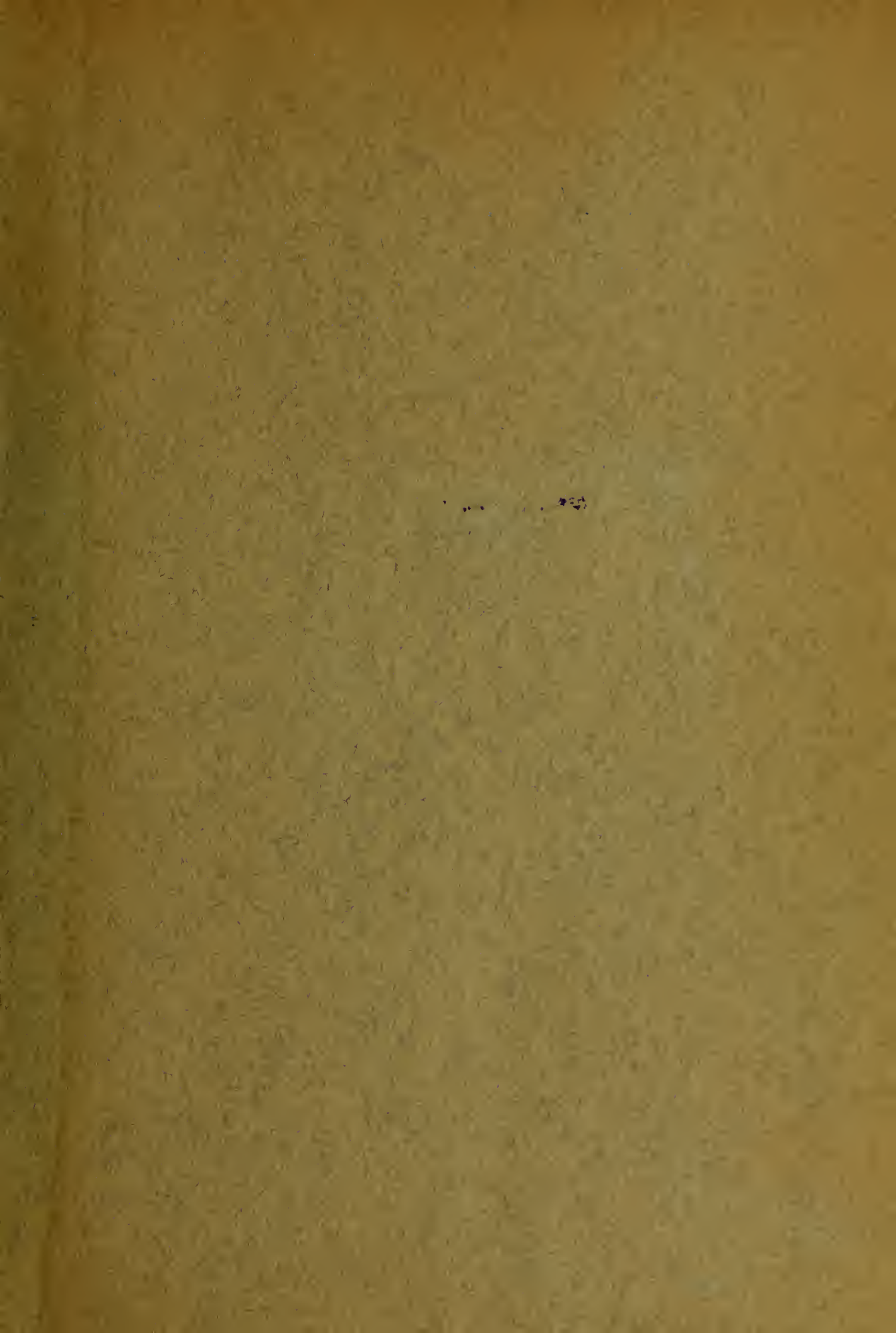
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HISTORY
OF THE
STATE OF CALIFORNIA
AND
BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD
OF
OAKLAND AND ENVIRONS

ALSO

Containing Biographies of Well-Known Citizens of the Past and Present.

BY

J. M. GUINN, A. M.

Secretary and Late President of the Historical Society of Southern California, and Member
of the American Historical Association of Washington, D. C.

ILLUSTRATED

COMPLETE IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.

HISTORIC RECORD CO.

LOS ANGELES.

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PREFACE.

FEW states of the Union have a more varied, a more interesting or a more instructive history than California, and few have done so little to preserve their history. In this statement I do not contrast California with older states of the Atlantic seaboard, but draw a parallel between our state and the more recently created states of the far west, many years younger in statehood than the Golden State of the Pacific.

When Kansas and Nebraska were uninhabited except by buffaloes and Indians, California was a populous state pouring fifty millions of gold yearly into the world's coffers. For more than a quarter of a century these states, from their public funds, have maintained state historical societies that have gathered and are preserving valuable historical material, while California, without a protest, has allowed literary pot hunters and speculative curio collectors to rob her of her historical treasures. When Washington, Montana and the two Dakotas were Indian hunting grounds, California was a state of a quarter million inhabitants; each of these states now has its State Historical Society supported by appropriations from its public funds.

California, of all the states west of the Mississippi river, spends nothing from its public funds to collect and preserve its history.

To a lover of California, this is humiliating; to a student of her history exasperating. While preparing this History of California I visited all the large public libraries of the state. I found in all of them a very limited collection of books on California, and an almost entire absence of manuscripts and of the rarer books of the earlier eras. Evidently the demand for works pertaining to California history is not very insistent. If it were, more of an effort would be put forth to procure them.

The lack of interest in our history is due largely to the fact that California was settled by one nation and developed by another. In the rapid development of the state by the conquering nation, the trials, struggles and privations of the first colonists who were of another nation have been ignored or forgotten. No forefathers' day keeps their memory green, no observance celebrates the anniversary of their landing. To many of its people the history of California begins with the discovery of gold, and all before that time is regarded as of little importance.

The race characteristics of the two peoples who have dominated California, differ widely; and from this divergence arises the lack of sympathetic unison. Perhaps no better expression for this difference can be given than is found in the popular by-words of each. The "poco tiempo" (by and by) of the Spaniard is significant of a people who are willing to wait—who would defer action till *mañana*—to-morrow—rather than act with haste to-day. The "go ahead" of the American is indicative of hurry, of rush, of a strenuous existence, of a people impatient of present conditions.

In narrating the story of California, I have endeavored to deal justly with the different eras and episodes of its history; to state facts; to tell the truth without favoritism or prejudice: to give

PREFACE.

credit where credit is due and censure where it is deserved. In the preparation of this history I have endeavored to make it readable and reliable.

The subject matter is presented by topic and much of it in monographic form. I have deemed it better to treat fully important topics even if by so doing some minor events be excluded. In gathering material for this work, I have examined the collections in a number of libraries, public and private, have consulted state, county and city archives, and have scanned thousands of pages of newspapers and magazines. Where extracts have been made from authorities, due credit has been given in the body of the work. I have received valuable assistance from librarians, from pioneers of the state, from city and county officials, from editors and others. To all who have assisted me I return my sincere thanks.

J. M. GUINN.

Los Angeles, December 1, 1908.

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J. M. Guinn

CALIFORNIA.

CHAPTER I.

SPANISH EXPLORATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

FOR centuries there had been a vague tradition of a land lying somewhere in the seemingly limitless expanse of ocean stretching westward from the shores of Europe. The poetical fancy of the Greeks had located in it the Garden of Hesperides, where grew the Golden Apples. The myths and superstitions of the middle ages had peopled it with gorgons and demons and made it the abode of lost souls.

When Columbus proved the existence of a new world beyond the Atlantic, his discovery did not altogether dispel the mysteries and superstitions that for ages had enshrouded the fabled Atlantis, the lost continent of the Hesperides. Romance and credulity had much to do with hastening the exploration of the newly discovered western world. Its interior might hold wonderful possibilities for wealth, fame and conquest to the adventurers who should penetrate its dark unknown. The dimly told traditions of the natives were translated to fit the cupidity or the credulity of adventurers, and sometimes served to promote enterprises that produced results far different from those originally intended.

The fabled fountain of youth lured Ponce de Leon over many a league in the wilds of Florida; and although he found no spring spouting forth the elixir of life, he explored a rich and fertile country, in which the Spaniards planted the first settlement ever made within the territory now held by the United States. The legend of El Dorado, the gilded man of the golden lake, stimulated adventurers to brave the horrors of the miasmatic forests of the Amazon and the Orinoco; and the search for that gold-

covered hombre hastened, perhaps, by a hundred years, the exploration of the tropical regions of South America. Although the myth of Quivira that sent Coronado wandering over desert, mountain and plain, far into the interior of North America, and his quest for the seven cities of Cibola, that a romancing monk, Marcos de Niza, "led by the Holy Ghost," imagined he saw in the wilds of Pimeria, brought neither wealth nor pride of conquest to that adventurous explorer, yet these myths were the indirect cause of giving to the world an early knowledge of the vast regions to the north of Mexico.

When Cortés' lieutenant, Gonzalo de Sandoval, gave his superior officer an account of a wonderful island ten days westward from the Pacific coast of Mexico, inhabited by women only, and exceedingly rich in pearls and gold, although he no doubt derived his story from Montalvo's romance, "The Sergas of Esplandian," a popular novel of that day, yet Cortés seems to have given credence to his subordinate's tale, and kept in view the conquest of the island.

To the energy, the enterprise and the genius of Hernan Cortés is due the early exploration of the northwest coast of North America. In 1522, eighty-five years before the English planted their first colony in America, and nearly a century before the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth rock, Cortés had established a shipyard at Zacatula, the most northern port on the Pacific coast of the country that he had just conquered. Here he intended to build ships to explore the upper coast of the South Sea (as

the Pacific Ocean was then called), but his good fortune, that had hitherto given success to his undertakings, seemed to have deserted him, and disaster followed disaster. His warehouse, filled with material for shipbuilding, that with great labor and expense had been packed on muleback from Vera Cruz, took fire and all was destroyed. It required years to accumulate another supply. He finally, in 1527, succeeded in launching four ships. Three of these were taken possession of by the king's orders for service in the East Indies. The fourth and the smallest made a short voyage up the coast. The commander, Maldonado, returned with glowing reports of a rich country he had discovered. He imagined he had seen evidence of the existence of gold and silver, but he brought none with him.

In 1528 Cortés was unjustly deprived of the government of the country he had conquered. His successor, Nuno de Guzman, president of the royal audiencia, as the new form of government for New Spain (Mexico) was called, had pursued him for years with the malignity of a demon. Cortés returned to Spain to defend himself against the rancorous and malignant charges of his enemies. He was received at court with a show of high honors, but which in reality were hollow professions of friendship and insincere expressions of esteem. He was rewarded by the bestowal of an empty title. He was empowered to conquer and colonize countries at his own expense, for which he was to receive the twelfth part of the revenue. Cortés returned to Mexico and in 1532 he had two ships fitted out, which sailed from Acapulco, in June of that year, up the coast of Jalisco. Portions of the crews of each vessel mutinied. The mutineers were put aboard of the vessel commanded by Mazuela and the other vessels, commanded by Hurtado, continued the voyage as far as the Yaqui country. Here, having landed in search of provisions, the natives massacred the commander and all the crew. The crew of the other vessel shared the same fate lower down the coast. The stranded vessel was afterwards plundered and dismantled by Nuno de Guzman, who was about as much of a savage as the predatory and murderous natives.

In 1533 Cortés, undismayed by his disasters, fitted out two more ships for the exploration of the northern coast of Mexico. On board one of these ships, commanded by Bercerra de Mendoza, the crew, headed by the chief pilot, Jiminez, mutinied. Mendoza was killed and all who would not join the mutineers were forced to go ashore on the coast of Jalisco. The mutineers, to escape punishment by the authorities, under the command of the pilot, Fortuno Jiminez, sailed westerly away from the coast of the main land. After several days' sailing out of sight of land, they discovered what they supposed to be an island. They landed at a place now known as La Paz, Lower California. Here Jiminez and twenty of his confederates were killed by the Indians, or their fellow mutineers, it is uncertain which. The survivors of the ill-fated expedition managed to navigate the vessel back to Jalisco, where they reported the discovery of an island rich in gold and pearls. This fabrication doubtlessly saved their necks. There is no record of their punishment for mutiny. Cortés' other ship accomplished even less than the one captured by the mutineers. Grixalvo, the commander of this vessel, discovered a desolate island, forty leagues south of Cape San Lucas, which he named Santo Tomas. But the discovery that should immortalize Grixalvo, and place him in the category with the romancing Monk, de Niza and Sandoval of the Amazonian isle, was the seeing of a merman. It swam about the ship for a long time, playing antics like a monkey for the amusement of the sailors, washing its face with its hands, combing its hair with its fingers; at last, frightened by a sea bird, it disappeared.

Cortés, having heard of Jiminez's discovery, and possibly believing it to be Sandoval's isle of the Amazons, rich with gold and pearls, set about building more ships for exploration and for the colonization of the island. He ordered the building of three ships at Tehautepec. The royal audiencia having failed to give him any redress or protection against his enemy, Nuno de Guzman, he determined to punish him himself. Collecting a considerable force of cavaliers and soldiers, he marched to Chiametla. There he found his vessel, La Concepcion, lying

on her beam ends, a wreck, and plundered of everything of value. He failed to find Guzman, that worthy having taken a hasty departure before his arrival. His ships having come up from Tehautepec, he embarked as many soldiers and settlers as his vessels would carry, and sailed away for Jiminez's island. May 3, 1535, he landed at the port where Jiminez and his fellow mutineers were killed, which he named Santa Cruz. The colonists were landed on the supposed island and the ships were sent back to Chiametla for the remainder of the settlers. His usual ill luck followed him. The vessels became separated on the gulf in a storm and the smaller of the three returned to Santa Cruz. Embarking in it, Cortés set sail to find his missing ships. He found them at the port of Guayabal, one loaded with provisions, the other dismantled and run ashore. Its sailors had deserted and those of the other ship were about to follow. Cortés stopped this, took command of the vessels and had them repaired. When the repairs were completed he set sail for his colony. But misfortune followed him. His chief pilot was killed by the falling of a spar when scarce out of sight of land. Cortés took command of the vessels himself. Then the ships encountered a terrific storm that threatened their destruction. Finally they reached their destination, Santa Cruz. There again misfortune awaited him. The colonists could obtain no sustenance from the barren soil of the desolate island. Their provisions exhausted, some of them died of starvation and the others killed themselves by over-eating when relief came.

Cortés, finding the interior of the supposed island as desolate and forbidding as the coast, and the native inhabitants degraded and brutal savages, without houses or clothing, living on vermin, insects and the scant products of the sterile land, determined to abandon his colonization scheme. Gathering together the wretched survivors of his colony, he embarked them on his ships and in the early part of 1537 landed them in the port of Acapulco.

At some time between 1535 and 1537 the name California was applied to the supposed island, but whether applied by Cortés to encourage his disappointed colonists, or whether

given by them in derision, is an unsettled question. The name itself is derived from a Spanish romance, the "Sergas de Esplandian," written by Ordonez de Montalvo and published in Seville, Spain, about the year 1510. The passage in which the name California occurs is as follows: "Know that on the right hand of the Indies there is an island called California, very near the terrestrial paradise, which was peopled with black women, without any men among them, because they were accustomed to live after the fashion of Amazons. They were of strong and hardened bodies, of ardent courage and great force. The island was the strongest in the world from its steep rocks and great cliffs. Their arms were all of gold and so were the caparison of the wild beasts which they rode, after having trained them, for in all the island there is no other metal." The "steep rocks and great cliffs" of Jiminez's island may have suggested to Cortés or to his colonists some fancied resemblance to the California of Montalvo's romance, but there was no other similarity.

For years Cortés had been fitting out expeditions by land and sea to explore the unknown regions northward of that portion of Mexico which he had conquered, but disaster after disaster had wrecked his hopes and impoverished his purse. The last expedition sent out by him was one commanded by Francisco Ulloa, who, in 1539, with two ships, sailed up the Gulf of California, or Sea of Cortés, on the Sonora side, to its head. Thence he proceeded down the inner coast of Lower California to the cape at its southern extremity, which he doubled, and then sailed up the outer coast to Cabo del Engano, the "Cape of Deceit." Failing to make any progress against the head winds, April 5, 1540, the two ships parted company in a storm. The smaller one, the Santa Agueda, returned safely to Santiago. The larger, La Trinidad, after vainly endeavoring to continue the voyage, turned back. The fate of Ulloa and of the vessel too, is uncertain. One authority says he was assassinated after reaching the coast of Jalisco by one of his soldiers, who, for some trivial cause, stabbed him to death; another account says that nothing is known of his fate, nor is it certainly known

whether his vessel ever returned. The only thing accomplished by this voyage was to demonstrate that Lower California was a peninsula. Even this fact, although proved by Ulloa's voyage, was not fully admitted by geographers until two centuries later.

In 1540 Cortes returned to Spain to obtain, if possible, some recognition and recompense from the king for his valuable services. His declining years had been filled with bitter disappointments. Shipwreck and mutiny at sea; disaster and defeat to his forces on land; the treachery of his subordinates and the jealousy of royal officials continually thwarted his plans and wasted his substance. After expending nearly a million dollars in explorations, conquests and attempts at colonization, fretted and worried by the indifference and the ingratitude of a monarch for whom he had sacrificed so much, disappointed, disheartened, impoverished, he died at an obscure hamlet near Seville, Spain, in December, 1547.

The next exploration that had something to do with the discovery of California was that of Hernando de Alarcon. With two ships he sailed from Acapulco, May 9, 1540, up the Gulf of California. His object was to co-operate with the expedition of Coronado. Coronado, with an army of four hundred men, had marched from Culiacan, April 22, 1540, to conquer the seven cities of Cibola. In the early part of 1537 Alvaro Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and three companions (the only survivors of six hundred men that Panfilo de Narvaes, ten years before, had landed in Florida for the conquest of that province) after almost incredible sufferings and hardships arrived in Culiacan on the Pacific coast. On their long journey passing from one Indian tribe to another they had seen many wondrous things and had heard of many more. Among others they had been told of seven great cities in a country called Cibola that were rich in gold and silver and precious stones.

A Franciscan friar, Marcos de Niza, having heard their wonderful stories determined to find the seven cities. Securing the service of Estevanico, a negro slave, who was one of Cabeza de Vaca's party, he set out in quest of the cities. With a number of Indian porters and

Estevanico as a guide, he traveled northward a hundred leagues when he came to a desert that took four days to cross. Beyond this he found natives who told him of people four days further away who had gold in abundance. He sent the negro to investigate and that individual sent back word that Cibola was yet thirty days' journey to the northward. Following the trail of his guide, Niza travelled for two weeks crossing several deserts. The stories of the magnificence of the seven cities increased with every tribe of Indians through whose country he passed. At length, when almost to the promised land, a messenger brought the sad tidings that Estevanico had been put to death with all of his companions but two by the inhabitants of Cibola. To go forward meant death to the monk and all his party, but before turning back he climbed a high mountain and looked down upon the seven cities with their high houses and teeming populations thronging their streets. Then he returned to Culiacan to tell his wonderful stories. His tales fired the ambition and stimulated the avarice of a horde of adventurers. At the head of four hundred of these Coronado penetrated the wilds of Pimeria (now Arizona). He found seven Indian towns but no lofty houses, no great cities, no gold or silver. Cibola was a myth. Hearing of a country called Quivira far to the north, richer than Cibola, with part of his force he set out to find it. In his search he penetrated inland as far as the plains of Kansas, but Quivira proved to be as poor as Cibola, and Coronado returned disgusted. The Friar de Niza had evidently drawn on his imagination which seemed to be quite rich in cities.

Alarcon reached the head of the Gulf of California. Seeing what he supposed to be an inlet, but the water proving too shallow for his ships to enter it, he manned two boats and found his supposed inlet to be the mouth of a great river. He named it Buena Guia (Good Guide) now the Colorado. He sailed up it some distance and was probably the first white man to set foot upon the soil of Upper California. He heard of Coronado in the interior but was unable to establish communication with him. He descended the river in his boats, embarked on his vessels and returned to Mexico. The Viceroy

Mendoza, who had fitted out the expedition of Alarcon, was bitterly disappointed on the return of that explorer. He had hoped to find the ships loaded with the spoils of the seven cities.

The report of the discovery of a great river did not interest his sordid soul. Alarcon found himself a disgraced man. He retired to private life and not long after died a broken hearted man.

CHAPTER II.

ALTA OR NUEVA CALIFORNIA.

WHILE Coronado was still wandering in the interior of the continent searching for Quivira and its king, Tatarax, who wore a long beard, adored a golden cross and worshipped an image of the queen of heaven, Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortés' former lieutenants, arrived from Guatemala, of which country he was governor, with a fleet of twelve ships. These were anchored in the harbor of Navidad. Mendoza, the viceroy, had been intriguing with Alvarado against Cortés; obtaining an interest in the fleet, he and Alvarado began preparations for an extensive scheme of exploration and conquest. Before they had perfected their plans an insurrection broke out among the Indians of Jalisco, and Pedro de Alvarado in attempting to quell it was killed. Mendoza fell heir to the fleet. The return of Coronado about this time dispelled the popular beliefs in Cibola and Quivira and put an end to further explorations of the inland regions of the northwest.

It became necessary for Mendoza to find something for his fleet to do. The *Islas de Poiniente*, or *Isles of the Setting Sun* (now the Philippines), had been discovered by Magellan. To these Mendoza dispatched five ships of the fleet under command of Lopez de Villalobos to establish trade with the natives. Two ships of the fleet, the *San Salvador* and the *Vitoria*, were placed under the command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, reputed to be a Portuguese by birth and dispatched to explore the northwest coast of the Pacific. Cabrillo sailed from Navidad, June 27, 1542. Rounding the southern extremity of the peninsula of Lower California, he sailed up its outer coast. August 20 he reached *Cabo del Engano*, the most northerly point of Ulloa's exploration. On the 28th of September, 1542, he

entered a bay which he named *San Miguel* (now *San Diego*), where he found "a land locked and very good harbor." He remained in this harbor until October 3. Continuing his voyage he sailed along the coast eighteen leagues, discovering two islands about seven leagues from the main land. These he named *San Salvador* and *Vitoria* after his ships (now *Santa Catalina* and *San Clemente*). On the 8th of October he crossed the channel between the islands and main land and anchored in a bay which he named *Bahia de los Fumos y Fuegos*, the *Bay of Smokes and Fires* (now known as the *Bay of San Pedro*). Heavy clouds of smoke hung over the headlands of the coast; and inland, fierce fires were raging. The Indians either through accident or design had set fire to the long dry grass that covered the plains at this season of the year.

After sailing six leagues further up the coast he anchored in a large *ensenada* or bight, now the *Bay of Santa Monica*. It is uncertain whether he landed at either place. The next day he sailed eight leagues to an Indian town which he named the *Pueblo de las Canoas* (the town of *Canoes*). This town was located on or near the present site of *San Buenaventura*. Sailing northwestward he passed through the *Santa Barbara Channel*, discovering the islands of *Santa Cruz*, *Santa Rosa* and *San Miguel*. Continuing up the coast he passed a long narrow point of land extending into the sea, which from its resemblance to a galley boat he named *Cabo de la Galera*, the *Cape of the Galley* (now called *Point Concepcion*). Baffled by head winds, the explorers slowly beat their way up the coast. On the 17th of November, they cast anchor in a large bay which they named *Bahia de los Pinos*, the *Bay of Pines* (now the *Bay of Monterey*). Finding it impossible to land on

account of the heavy sea, Cabrillo continued his voyage northward. After reaching a point on the coast in 40 degrees north latitude, according to his reckoning, the increasing cold and the storms becoming more frequent, he turned back and ran down the coast to the island of San Miguel, which he reached November 23. Here he decided to winter.

While on the island in October, he had broken his arm by a fall. Suffering from his broken arm he had continued in command. Exposure and unskillful surgery caused his death. He died January 3, 1543, and was buried on the island. His last resting place is supposed to be on the shore of Cuyler's harbor, on the island of San Miguel. No trace of his grave has ever been found. His companions named the island Juan Rodriguez, but he has been robbed of even this slight tribute to his memory. It would be a slight token of regard if the state would name the island Cabrillo. Saint Miguel has been well remembered in California and could spare an island.

Cabrillo on his death bed urged his successor in command, the pilot Bartolome Ferrolo, to continue the exploration. Ferrolo prosecuted the voyage of discovery with a courage and daring equal to that of Cabrillo. About the middle of February he left the harbor where he had spent most of the winter and after having made a short voyage in search of more islands he sailed up the coast. February 28, he discovered a cape which he named Mendocino in honor of the viceroy, a name it still bears. Passing the cape he encountered a fierce storm which drove him violently to the northeast, greatly endangering his ships. On March 1st, the fog partially lifting, he discovered a cape which he named Blanco, in the southern part of what is now the state of Oregon. The weather continuing stormy and the cold increasing as he sailed northward, Ferrolo reluctantly turned back. Running down the coast he reached the island of San Clemente. There in a storm the ships parted company and Ferrolo, after a search, gave up the Vitoria as lost. The ships, however, came together at Cerros island and from there, in sore distress for provisions, the explorers reached Navidad April 18, 1543. On the discov-

eries made by Cabrillo and Ferrolo the Spaniards claimed the territory on the Pacific coast of North America up to the forty-second degree of north latitude, a claim that they maintained for three hundred years.

The next navigator who visited California was Francis Drake, an Englishman. He was not seeking new lands, but a way to escape the vengeance of the Spaniards. Francis Drake, the "Sea King of Devon," was one of the bravest men that ever lived. Early in his maritime life he had suffered from the cruelty and injustice of the Spaniards. Throughout his subsequent career, which reads more like romance than reality, he let no opportunity slip to punish his old-time enemies. It mattered little to Drake whether his country was at peace or war with Spain; he considered a Spanish ship or a Spanish town his legitimate prey. On one of his predatory expeditions he captured a Spanish town on the isthmus of Panama named El Nombre de Dios, The Name of God. Its holy name did not protect it from Drake's rapacity. While on the isthmus he obtained information of the Spanish settlements of the South Pacific and from a high point of land saw the South sea, as the Pacific ocean was then called. On his return to England he announced his intention of fitting out a privateering expedition against the Spaniards of the South Pacific. Although Spain and England were at peace, he received encouragement from the nobility, even Queen Elizabeth herself secretly contributing a thousand crown towards the venture.

Drake sailed out of Plymouth harbor, England, December 13, 1577, in command of a fleet of five small vessels, bound for the Pacific coast of South America. Some of his vessels were lost at sea and others turned back, until when he emerged from the Straits of Magellan he had but one left, the Pelican. He changed its name to the Golden Hind. It was a ship of only one hundred tons' burden. Sailing up the South Pacific coast, he spread terror and devastation among the Spanish settlements, robbing towns and capturing ships until, in the quaint language of a chronicler of the expedition, he "had loaded his vessel with a fabulous amount of fine wares of Asia, precious stones, church ornaments,

gold plate and so mooch silver as did ballas the Goulden Hinde."

From one treasure ship, the Caca Fuego, he obtained thirteen chests of silver, eighty pounds weight of gold, twenty-six tons of uncoined silver, two silver drinking vessels, precious stones and a quantity of jewels; the total value of his prize amounted to three hundred and sixty thousand pesos (dollars). Having spoiled the Spaniards of treasure amounting to "eight hundred sixty-six thousand pesos of silver * * * a hundred thousand pesos of gold * * * and other things of great worth, he thought it not good to return by the streight (Magellan) * * * least the Spaniards should there waite and attend for him in great numbers and strength, whose hands, he being left but one ship, he could not possibly escape."

Surfeited with spoils and his ship loaded with plunder, it became necessary for him to find the shortest and safest route home. To return by the way he came was to invite certain destruction to his ship and death to all on board. At an island off the coast of Nicaragua he overhauled and refitted his ship. He determined to seek the Straits of Anian that were believed to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Striking boldly out on an unknown sea, he sailed more than a thousand leagues northward. Encountering contrary winds and the cold increasing as he advanced, he gave up his search for the mythical straits, and, turning, he ran down the northwest coast of North America to latitude 38°, where "hee found a harborrow for his ship." He anchored in it June 17, 1579. This "convenient and fit harborrow" is under the lee of Point Reyes and is now known as Sir Francis Drake's Bay.

Fletcher, the chronicler of Drake's voyage, in his narrative, "The World Encompassed," says: "The 3rd day following, viz., the 21st, our ship having received a leake at sea was brought to anchor neerer the shoare that her goods being landed she might be repaired; but for that we were to prevent any danger that might chance against our safety our Generall first of all landed his men with necessary provision to build tents and make a fort for defense of ourselves and godcs; and that we might under the shel-

ter of it with more safety (whatsoever should befall) end our business."

The ship was drawn upon the beach, careened on its side, caulked and refitted. While the crew were repairing the ship the natives visited them in great numbers. From some of their actions Drake inferred that they regarded himself and his men as gods. To disabuse them of this idea, Drake ordered his chaplain, Fletcher, to perform divine service according to the English Church Ritual and preach a sermon. The Indians were greatly delighted with the psalm singing, but their opinion of Fletcher's sermon is not known.

From certain ceremonial performance Drake imagined that the Indians were offering him the sovereignty of their land and themselves as subjects of the English crown. Drake gladly accepted their proffered allegiance and formally took possession of the country in the name of the English sovereign, Queen Elizabeth. He named it New Albion, "for two causes: the one in respect of the white bankes and cliffes which ly towardes the sea; and the other because it might have some affinitie with our own country in name which sometimes was so called."

Having completed the repairs to his ship, Drake made ready to depart, but before leaving "Our Generall with his company made a journey up into the land. The inland we found to be farre different from the shoare; a goodly country and fruitful soyle, stored with many blessings fit for the use of man; infinite was the company of very large and fat deere which there we saw by thousands as we supposed in a heard."* They saw great numbers of small burrowing animals, which they called conies, but which were probably ground squirrels. Before departing, Drake set up a monument to show that he had taken possession of the country. To a large post firmly set in the ground he nailed a brass plate on which was engraved the name of the English Queen, the date of his arrival and the statement that the king and people of the country had voluntarily become vassals of the English crown; a new sixpence was fastened to the plate to show the Queen's likeness.

*World Encompassed.

After a stay of thirty-six days, Drake took his departure, much to the regret of the Indians. He stopped at the Farallones islands for a short time to lay in a supply of seal meat; then he sailed for England by the way of the Cape of Good Hope. After encountering many perils, he arrived safely at Plymouth, the port from which he sailed nearly three years before, having "encompassed" or circumnavigated the globe. His exploits and the booty he brought back made him the most famous naval hero of his time. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth and accorded extraordinary honors by the nation. He believed himself to be the first discoverer of the country he called New Albion. "The Spaniards never had any dealings or so much as set foote in this country; the utmost of their discoveries reaching only to many degrees southward of this place."* The English founded no claim on Drake's discoveries. The land hunger that characterizes that nation now had not then been developed.

Fifty years passed after Cabrillo's visit to California before another attempt was made by the Spaniards to explore her coast. Through all these years on their return voyage far out beyond the islands the Manila galleons, freighted with the wealth of "Ormus and Ind," sailed down the coast of Las Californias from Cape Mendocino to Acapulco. Often storm-tossed and always scourged with that dread malady of the sea, the scurvy, there was no harbor of refuge for them to put into because his most Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, had no money to spend in exploring an unknown coast where there was no return to be expected except perhaps the saving of a few sailors' lives.

In 1593, the question of a survey of the California coast for harbors to accommodate the increasing Philippine trade was agitated and Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, in a letter dated at Mexico, April 8, 1593, thus writes to his majesty: "In order to make the exploration or demarcation of the harbors of this main as far as the Philippine islands, as your majesty orders, money is lacking, and if it be not taken from the royal strong box it cannot be supplied,

*The World Encompassed.

as for some time past a great deal of money has been owing to the royal treasury on account of fines forfeited to it, legal cost and the like." Don Luis fortunately discovers a way to save the contents of the royal strong box and hastens to acquaint his majesty with his plan. In a letter written to the king from the City of Mexico, April 6, 1594, he says: "I ordered the navigator who at present sails in the flag ship, who is named Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, and who is a man of experience in his calling, one who can be depended upon and who has means of his own, although he is a Portuguese, there being no Spaniards of his profession whose services are available, that he should make the exploration and demarcation, and I offered, if he would do this, to give him his remuneration in the way of taking on board merchandise; and I wrote to the governor (of the Philippines) that he should allow him to put on board the ship some tons of cloth that he might have the benefit of the freight-money." The result of Don Luis's economy and the outcome of attempting to explore an unknown coast in a heavily laden merchant ship are given in a paragraph taken from a letter written by a royal officer from Acapulco, February 1, 1596, to the viceroy Conde de Monterey, the successor of Velasco: "On Wednesday, the 31st of January of this year, there entered this harbor a vessel of the kind called in the Philippines a viroco, having on board Juan de Morgana, navigating officer, four Spanish sailors, five Indians and a negro, who brought tidings that the ship San Agustin, of the exploring expedition, had been lost on a coast where she struck and went to pieces, and that a barefooted friar and another person of those on board had been drowned and that the seventy men or more who embarked in this small vessel only these came in her, because the captain of said ship, Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeño, and the others went ashore at the port of Navidad, and, as they understand, have already arrived in that city (Mexico). An account of the voyage and of the loss of the ship, together with the statement made under oath by said navigating officer, Juan de Morgana, accompany this. We visited officially the vessel, finding no kind of merchandise on board,

and that the men were almost naked. The vessel being so small it seems miraculous that she should have reached this country with so many people on board." A viroco was a small vessel without a deck, having one or two square sails, and propelled by sweeps. Its hull was formed from a single tree, hollowed out and having the sides built up with planks. The San Agustin was wrecked in what is now called Francis Drake's Bay, about thirty miles north of San Francisco. To make a voyage from there to Acapulco in such a vessel, with seventy men on board, and live to tell the tale, was an exploit that exceeded the most hazardous undertakings of the Argonauts of '49.

The viceroy, Conde de Monte Rey, in a letter dated at Mexico, April 19, 1596, gives the king tidings of the loss of the San Agustin. He writes: "Touching the loss of the ship, San Agustin, which was on its way from the islands of the west (the Philippines) for the purpose of making the exploration of the coast of the South Sea, in accordance with your Majesty's orders to Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, I wrote to Your Majesty by the second packet (mailship) what I send as duplicate with this." He then goes on to tell how he had examined the officers in regard to the loss of the vessel and that they tried to inculcate one another. The navigating officer even in the viroco tried to explore the principal bays which they crossed, but on account of the hunger and illness they experienced he was compelled to hasten the voyage. The viceroy concludes: "Thus I take it, as to this exploration the intention of Your Majesty has not been carried into effect. It is the general opinion that this enterprise should not be attempted on the return voyage from the islands and with a laden ship, but from this coast and by constantly following along it." The above account of the loss of the San Agustin is taken from Volume II, Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, and is the only correct account published. In September, 1595, just before the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, was superseded by Conde de Monte Rey, he entered into a contract with certain parties of whom Sebastian Viscaino, a ship captain, was the principal, to make an expedition up the Gulf

of California "for the purpose of fishing for pearls." There was also a provision in the contract empowering Viscaino to make explorations and take possession of his discoveries for the crown of Spain. The Conde de Monte Rey seems, from a letter written to the King, to have seriously doubted whether Viscaino was the right man for so important an expedition, but finally allowed him to depart. In September, 1596, Viscaino sailed up the gulf with a fleet of three vessels, the flag ship San Francisco, the San José and á Lancha. The flag ship was disabled and left at La Paz. With the other two vessels he sailed up the gulf to latitude 29°. He encountered severe storms. At some island he had trouble with the Indians and killed several. As the long boat was departing an Indian wounded one of the rowers with an arrow. The sailor dropped his oar, the boat careened and upset, drowning twenty of the twenty-six soldiers and sailors in it.

Viscaino returned without having procured any pearls or made any important discoveries. He proposed to continue his explorations of the Californias, but on account of his misfortunes his request was held in abeyance. He wrote a letter to the king in 1597, setting forth what supplies he required for the voyage. His inventory of the items needed is interesting, but altogether too long for insertion here. Among the items were "\$35,000 in money"; "eighty arrobas of powder"; "twenty quintals of lead"; "four pipes of wine for mass and sick friars"; "vestments for the clergy and \$2,000 to be invested in trifles for the Indians for the purpose of attracting them peaceably to receive the holy gospel." Viscaino's request was not granted at that time. The viceroy and the royal audiencia at one time ordered his commission revoked. Philip II died in 1598 and was succeeded by Philip III. After five years' waiting, Viscaino was allowed to proceed with his explorations. From Acapulco on the 5th of May, 1602, he writes to the king that he is ready to sail with his ships "for the discovery of harbors and bays of the coast of the South Sea as far as Cape Mendocino." "I report," he says, "merely that the said Viceroy (Conde de Monterey) has entrusted to me the accomplishment of the same

in two ships, a lancha and a barcoluengo, manned with sailors and soldiers and provisioned for eleven months. To-day being Sunday, the 5th of May, I sail at five o'clock in the names of God and his blessed mother and your majesty."

Viscaino followed the same course marked out by Cabrillo sixty years before. November 10, 1602, he anchored in Cabrillo's Bay of San Miguel. Whether the faulty reckoning of Cabrillo left him in doubt of the points named by the first discoverer, or whether it was that he might receive the credit of their discovery, Viscaino changed the names given by Cabrillo to the islands, bays and headlands along the California coast. Cabrillo's Bahia San Miguel became the Bay of San Diego; San Salvador and Vitoria were changed to Santa Catalina and San Clemente, and Cabrillo's Bahia de los Fumos y Fuegos appears on Viscaino's map as the Ensenada de San Andres, but in a description of the voyage compiled by the cosmographer, Cabrero Bueno, it is named San Pedro. It is not named for the Apostle St. Peter, but for St. Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, whose day in the Catholic calendar is November 26, the day of the month Viscaino anchored in the Bay of San Pedro.

Sailing up the coast, Viscaino passed through the Santa Barbara channel, which was so named by Antonio de la Ascencion, a Carmelite friar, who was chaplain of one of the ships. The expedition entered the channel December 4, which is the day in the Catholic calendar dedicated to Santa Barbara. He visited the mainland near Point Concepcion where the Indian chief of a populous rancheria offered each Spaniard who would become a resident of his town ten wives. This generous offer was rejected. December 15, 1602, he reached Point Pinos, so named by Cabrillo, and cast anchor in the bay formed by its projection. This bay he named Monterey, in honor of the viceroy, Conde de Monte Rey. Many of his men were sick with the scurvy and his provisions were becoming exhausted; so, placing the sick and disabled on the San Tomas, he sent them back to Acapulco; but few of them ever reached their destination. On the 3d of January, 1603, with two ships, he proceeded on

his search for Cape Mendocino, the northern limit of his survey. The Manila galleons on their return voyage from the Philippines sailed up the Asiatic coast to the latitude of Japan, when, taking advantage of the westerly winds and the Japan current, they crossed the Pacific, striking the North American coast in about the latitude of Cape Mendocino, and from there they ran down the coast of Las Californias and across the gulf to Acapulco. After leaving Point Reyes a storm separated his ships and drove him as far north as Cape Blanco. The smaller vessel, commanded by Martin de Aguilar, was driven north by the storm to latitude 43°, where he discovered what seemed to be the mouth of a great river; attempting to enter it, he was driven back by the swift current. Aguilar, believing he had discovered the western entrance of the Straits of Anian, sailed for New Spain to report his discovery. He, his chief pilot and most of his crew died of scurvy before the vessel reached Navidad. Viscaino, after sighting Cape Blanco, turned and sailed down the coast of California, reaching Acapulco March 21, 1603.

Viscaino, in a letter to the King of Spain, dated at the City of Mexico, May 23, 1603, grows enthusiastic over California climate and productions. It is the earliest known specimen of California boom literature. After depicting the commodiousness of Monterey Bay as a port of safety for the Philippine ships, he says: "This port is sheltered from all winds, while on the immediate shores there are pines, from which masts of any desired size can be obtained, as well as live oaks and white oaks, rosemary, the vine, the rose of Alexandria, a great variety of game, such as rabbits, hare, partridges and other sorts and species found in Spain. This land has a genial climate, its waters are good and it is fertile, judging from the varied and luxuriant growth of trees and plants; and it is thickly settled with people whom I found to be of gentle disposition, peaceable and docile. * * * Their food consists of seeds which they have in great abundance and variety, and of the flesh of game such as deer, which are larger than cows, and bear, and of neat cattle and bisons and many other animals. The Indians are of good stature and

fair complexion, the women being somewhat less in size than the men, and of pleasing countenance. The clothing of the people of the coast lands consists of the skins of the sea wolves (otter) abounding there, which they tan and dress better than is done in Castile; they possess also in great quantity flax like that of Castile, hemp and cotton, from which they make fishing lines and nets for rabbits and hares. They have vessels of pine wood, very well made, in which they go to sea with fourteen paddlemen of a side, with great dexterity in very stormy weather. * * * They are well acquainted with gold and silver and said that these were found in the interior."

The object of Viscaino's boom literature of three hundred years ago was the promotion of a colony scheme for the founding of a settlement on Monterey Bay. He visited Spain to obtain the consent of the king and assistance in planting a colony. After many delays, Philip III, in 1606, ordered the viceroy of New Spain to fit out immediately an expedition to be commanded by Viscaino for the occupation and settlement of the port of Monterey. Before the expedition could be gotten ready Viscaino died and his colonization scheme died with him. Had he lived to carry out his scheme, the settlement of California would have antedated that of Jamestown, Va., by one year.

CHAPTER III.

COLONIZATION OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

A HUNDRED and sixty years passed after the abandonment of Viscaino's colonization scheme before the Spanish crown made another attempt to utilize its vast possessions in Alta California. The Manila galleons sailed down the coast year after year for more than a century and a half, yet in all this long space of time none of them so far as we know ever entered a harbor or bay on the upper California coast. Spain still held her vast colonial possessions in America, but with a loosening grasp. As the years went by she had fallen from her high estate. Her power on sea and land had weakened. Those brave old sea kings, Drake, Hawkins and Frobisher, had destroyed her invincible Armada and burned her ships in her very harbors. The English and Dutch privateers had preyed upon her commerce on the high seas and the buccaneers had robbed her treasure ships and devastated her settlements on the islands and the Spanish main, while the freebooters of many nations had time and again captured her galleons and ravished her colonies on the Pacific coast. The energy and enterprise that had been a marked characteristic of her people in the days of Cortés and Pizarro were ebbing away. The age of luxury that began

with the influx of the wealth which flowed into the mother country from her American colonies engendered intrigue and official corruption among her rulers, demoralized her army and prostrated her industries. While her kings and her nobles were revelling in luxury the poor were crying for bread. Proscriptive laws and the fear of her Holy Inquisition had driven into exile many of the most enterprising and most intelligent of her people. These baneful influences had palsied the bravery and spirit of adventure that had been marked characteristics of the Spaniards in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Other nations stood ready to take advantage of her decadence. Her old-time enemy, England, which had gained in power as Spain had lost, was ever on the alert to take advantage of her weakness; and another power, Russia, almost unknown among the powers of Europe when Spain was in her prime, was threatening her possessions in Alta California. To hold this vast country it must be colonized, but her restrictions on commerce and her proscriptive laws against foreign immigrants had shut the door to her colonial possessions against colonists from all other nations. Her sparse settlements in Mexico could spare no colonists. The native in-

habitants of California must be converted to Christianity and made into citizens. Poor material indeed were these degraded savages, but Spain's needs were pressing and missionary zeal was powerful. Indeed, the pristine courage and daring of the Spanish soldier seemed to have passed to her missionary priest.

The Jesuits had begun missionary work in 1697 among the degraded inhabitants of Lower California. With a perseverance that was highly commendable and a bravery that was heroic, under their devoted leaders, Salvatierra, Kino, Ugarte, Piccolo and their successors, they founded sixteen missions on the peninsula. Father Kino (or Kuhn), a German Jesuit, besides his missionary work, between 1694 and 1702, had made explorations around the head of the Gulf of California and up the Rio Colorado to the mouth of the Gila, which had clearly demonstrated that Lower California was a peninsula and not an island. Although Ulloa had sailed down the inner coast and up the outer coast of Lower California and Domingo del Castillo, a Spanish pilot, had made a correct map showing it to be a peninsula, so strong was the belief in the existence of the Straits of Anian that one hundred and sixty years after Ulloa's voyage Las Californias were still believed to be islands and were sometimes called *Islas Carolinas*, or the Islands of Charles, named so for Charles II. of Spain. Father Kino had formed the design of establishing a chain of missions from Sonora around the head of the gulf and down the inner coast of Lower California to Cape San Lucas. He did not live to complete his ambitious project. The Jesuit missions of Baja California never grew rich in flocks and herds. The country was sterile and the few small valleys of fertile land around the missions gave the padres and the neophytes at best but a frugal return for their labors.

For years there had been, in the Catholic countries of Europe, a growing fear and distrust of the Jesuits. Portugal had declared them traitors to the government and had banished them in 1759 from her dominions. France had suppressed the order in her domains in 1764. In 1767, King Carlos III., by a pragmatic sanction or decree, ordered their expulsion from

Spain and all her American colonies. So great and powerful was the influence of the order that the decree for their expulsion was kept secret until the moment of its execution. Throughout all parts of the kingdom, at a certain hour of the night, a summons came to every college, monastery or other establishment where members of the order dwelt, to assemble by command of the king in the chapel or refectory immediately. The decree of perpetual banishment was then read to them. They were hastily bundled into vehicles that were awaiting them outside and hurried to the nearest seaport, where they were shipped to Rome. During their journey to the sea-coast they were not allowed to communicate with their friends nor permitted to speak to persons they met on the way. By order of the king, any subject who should undertake to vindicate the Jesuits in writing should be deemed guilty of treason and condemned to death.

The Lower California missions were too distant and too isolated to enforce the king's decree with the same haste and secrecy that was observed in Spain and Mexico. To Governor Gaspar de Portolá was entrusted the enforcement of their banishment. These missions were transferred to the Franciscans, but it took time to make the substitution. He proceeded with great caution and care lest the Indians should become rebellious and demoralized. It was not until February, 1768, that all the Jesuit missionaries were assembled at La Paz; from there they were sent to Mexico and on the 13th of April, at Vera Cruz, they bade farewell to the western continent.

At the head of the Franciscan contingent that took charge of the abandoned missions of Baja California, was Father Junipero Serra, a man of indomitable will and great missionary zeal. Miguel José Serra was born on the island of Majorica in the year 1713. After completing his studies in the Lullian University, at the age of eighteen he became a monk and was admitted into the order of Franciscans. On taking orders he assumed the name of Junipero (Juniper). Among the disciples of St. Francis was a very zealous and devoted monk who bore the name of Junipero, of whom St. Francis once said,

"Would to God, my brothers, that I had a whole forest of such Junipers." Serra's favorite study was the "Lives of the Saints," and no doubt the study of the life of the original Junipero influenced him to take that saint's name. Serra's ambition was to become a missionary, but it was not until he was nearly forty years of age that his desire was gratified. In 1749 he came to Mexico and January 1, 1750, entered the College of San Fernando. A few months later he was given charge of an Indian mission in the Sierra Gorda mountains, where, with his assistant and lifelong friend, Father Palou, he remained nine years. Under his instructions the Indians were taught agriculture and the mission became a model establishment of its kind. From this mountain mission Serra returned to the city of Mexico. He spent seven years in doing missionary work among the Spanish population of the capital and surrounding country. His success as a preacher and his great missionary zeal led to his selection as president of the missions of California, from which the Jesuits had been removed. April 2, 1768, he arrived in the port of Loreto with fifteen associates from the College of San Fernando. These were sent to the different missions of the peninsula. These missions extended over a territory seven hundred miles in length and it required several months to locate all the missionaries.

The scheme for the occupation and colonization of Alta California was to be jointly the work of church and state. The representative of the state was José de Galvez, visitador-general of New Spain, a man of untiring energy, great executive ability, sound business sense and, as such men are and ought to be, somewhat arbitrary. Galvez reached La Paz in July, 1768. At once he began investigating the condition of the peninsular missions and supplying their needs. This done, he turned his attention to the northern colonization. Establishing his headquarters at Santa Ana near La Paz, he summoned Father Junipero for consultation in regard to the founding of missions in Alta California. It was decided to proceed to the initial points, San Diego and Monterey, by land and sea. Three ships were to be dispatched carrying the heavier articles, such as agricultural imple-

ments, church ornaments, and a supply of provisions for the support of the soldiers and priest after their arrival in California. The expedition by land was to take along cattle and horses to stock the country. This expedition was divided into two detachments, the advance one under the command of Rivera y Moncada, who had been a long time in the country, and the second division under Governor Gaspar de Portolá, who was a newcomer. Captain Rivera was sent northward to collect from the missions all the live stock and supplies that could be spared and take them to Santa Maria, the most northern mission of the peninsula. Stores of all kinds were collected at La Paz. Father Serra made a tour of the missions and secured such church furniture, ornaments and vestments as could be spared.

The first vessel fitted out for the expedition by sea was the San Carlos, a ship of about two hundred tons burden, leaky and badly constructed. She sailed from La Paz January 9, 1769, under the command of Vicente Vila. In addition to the crew there were twenty-five Catalanian soldiers, commanded by Lieutenant Fages, Pedro Prat, the surgeon, a Franciscan friar, two blacksmiths, a baker, a cook and two tortilla makers. Galvez in a small vessel accompanied the San Carlos to Cape San Lucas, where he landed and set to work to fit out the San Antonio. On the 15th of February this vessel sailed from San José del Cabo (San José of the Cape), under the command of Juan Perez, an expert pilot, who had been engaged in the Philippine trade. On this vessel went two Franciscan friars, Juan Viscaino and Francisco Gomez. Captain Rivera y Moncada, who was to pioneer the way, had collected supplies and cattle at Velicatá on the northern frontier. From here, with a small force of soldiers, a gang of neophytes and three muleteers, and accompanied by Padre Crespi, he began his march to San Diego on the 24th of March, 1769.

The second land expedition, commanded by Governor Gaspar de Portolá in person, began its march from Loreto, March 9, 1769. Father Serra, who was to have accompanied it, was detained at Loreto by a sore leg. He joined the expedition at Santa Maria, May 5, where it had

been waiting for him some time. It then proceeded to Rivera's camp at Velicatá, sixty miles further north, where Serra founded a mission, naming it San Fernando. Campa Coy, a friar who had accompanied the expedition thus far, was left in charge. This mission was intended as a frontier post in the travel between the peninsular missions and the Alta California settlements. On the 15th of May Portolá began his northern march, following the trail of Rivera. Galvez had named, by proclamation, St. Joseph as the patron saint of the California expeditions. Santa Maria was designated as the patroness of conversions.

The San Antonia, the last vessel to sail, was the first to arrive at San Diego. It anchored in the bay April 11, 1769, after a prosperous voyage of twenty-four days. There she remained at anchor, awaiting the arrival of the San Carlos, the flag ship of the expedition, which had sailed more than a month before her. On the 29th of April the San Carlos, after a disastrous voyage of one hundred and ten days, drifted into the Bay of San Diego, her crew prostrated with the scurvy, not enough able-bodied men being left to man a boat. Canvas tents were pitched and the afflicted men taken ashore. When the disease had run its course nearly all of the crew of the San Carlos, half of the soldiers who had come on her, and nine of the sailors of the San Antonio, were dead.

On the 14th of May Captain Rivera y Moncada's detachment arrived. The expedition had made the journey from Velicatá in fifty-one days. On the first of July the second division, commanded by Portolá, arrived. The journey had been uneventful. The four divisions of the grand expedition were now united, but its numbers had been greatly reduced. Out of two hundred and nineteen who had set out by land and sea only one hundred and twenty-six remained; death from scurvy and the desertion of the neophytes had reduced the numbers nearly one-half. The ravages of the scurvy had destroyed the crew of one of the vessels and greatly crippled that of the other, so it was impossible to proceed by sea to Monterey, the second objective point of the expedition. A council of the officers was held and it was de-

ecided to send the San Antonia back to San Blas for supplies and sailors to man the San Carlos. The San Antonia sailed on the 9th of July and after a voyage of twenty days reached her destination; but short as the voyage was, half of the crew died of the scurvy on the passage. In early American navigation the scurvy was the most dreaded scourge of the sea, more to be feared than storm and shipwreck. These might happen occasionally, but the scurvy always made its appearance on long voyages, and sometimes destroyed the whole ship's crew. Its appearance and ravages were largely due to the neglect of sanitary precautions and to the utter indifference of those in authority to provide for the comfort and health of the sailors. The intercession of the saints, novenas, fasts and penance were relied upon to protect and save the vessel and her crew, while the simplest sanitary measures were utterly disregarded. A blind, unreasoning faith that was always seeking interposition from some power without to preserve and ignoring the power within, was the bane and curse of that age of superstition.

If the mandates of King Carlos III. and the instructions of the visitador-general, José de Galvez, were to be carried out, the expedition for the settlement of the second point designated (Monterey) must be made by land; accordingly Governor Portolá set about organizing his forces for the overland journey. On the 14th of July the expedition began its march. It consisted of Governor Portolá, Padres Crespi and Gomez, Captain Rivera y Moncada, Lieutenant Pedro Fages, Engineer Miguel Constansó, soldiers, muleteers and Indian servants, numbering in all sixty-two persons.

On the 16th of July, two days after the departure of Governor Portolá, Father Junipero, assisted by Padres Viscaino and Parron, founded the mission of San Diego. The site selected was in what is now Old Town, near the temporary presidio, which had been hastily constructed before the departure of Governor Portolá. A hut of boughs had been constructed and in this the ceremonies of founding were held. The Indians, while interested in what was going on, manifested no desire to be converted. They were willing to receive gifts, particularly

of cloth, but would not taste the food of the Spaniards, fearing that it contained poison and attributing the many deaths among the soldiers and sailors to the food. The Indians had a great liking for pieces of cloth, and their desire to obtain this led to an attack upon the people of the mission. On the 14th of August, taking advantage of the absence of Padre Parron and two soldiers, they broke into the mission and began robbing it and the beds of the sick. The four soldiers, a carpenter and a blacksmith rallied to the defense, and after several of their numbers had fallen by the guns of the soldiers, the Indians fled. A boy servant of the padres was killed and Father Viscaino wounded in the hand. After this the Indians were more cautious.

We now return to the march of Portolá's expedition. As the first exploration of the main land of California was made by it, I give considerable space to the incidents of the journey. Crespi, Constansó and Fages kept journals of the march. I quote from those of Constansó and Crespi. Lieutenant Constansó thus describes the order of the march. "The setting-forth was on the 14th day of June* of the cited year of '69. The two divisions of the expedition by land marched in one, the commander so arranging because the number of horse-herd and packs was much, since of provisions and victuals alone they carried one hundred packs, which he estimated to be necessary to ration all the folk during six months; thus providing against a delay of the packets, altho' it was held to be impossible that in this interval some one of them should fail to arrive at Monterey. On the marches the following order was observed: At the head went the commandant with the officers, the six men of the Catalonia volunteers, who added themselves at San Diego, and some friendly Indians, with spades, mattocks, crow-bars, axes and other implements of pioneers, to chop and open a passage whenever necessary. After them followed the pack-train, divided into four bands with the muleteers and a competent number of garrison soldiers for their escort with each band. In the rear guard with the rest of

the troops and friendly Indians came the captain, Don Fernando Rivera, convoying the horse-herd and the mule herd for relays."

* * *

"It must be well considered that the marches of these troops with such a train and with such embarrassments thro' unknown lands and unused paths could not be long ones; leaving aside the other causes which obliged them to halt and camp early in the afternoon, that is to say, the necessity of exploring the land one day for the next, so as to regulate them (the marches) according to the distance of the watering-places and to take in consequence the proper precautions; setting forth again on special occasions in the evening; after having given water to the beasts in that same hour upon the sure information that in the following stretch there was no water or that the watering place was low, or the pasture scarce. The restings were measured by the necessity, every four days, more or less, according to the extraordinary fatigue occasioned by the greater roughness of the road, the toil of the pioneers, or the wandering off of the beasts which were missing from the horse herd and which it was necessary to seek by their tracks. At other times, by the necessity of humoring the sick, when there were any, and with time there were many who yielded up their strength to the continued fatigue, the excessive heat and cruel cold. In the form and according to the method related the Spaniards executed their marches; traversing immense lands more fertile and more pleasing in proportion as they penetrated more to the north. All in general are peopled with a multitude of Indians, who came out to meet them and in some parts accompanied them from one stage of the journey to the next; a folk very docile and tractable chiefly from San Diego onward."

Constansó's description of the Indians of Santa Barbara will be found in the chapter on the "Aborigines of California." "From the channel of Santa Barbara onward the lands are not so populous nor the Indians so industrious, but they are equally affable and tractable. The Spaniards pursued their voyage without opposition up to the Sierra of Santa Lucia, which they contrived to cross with much hardship. At the

*Evidently an error; it should be July 14th.

foot of said Sierra on the north side is to be found the port of Monterey, according to ancient reports, between the Point of Pines and that of Año Nuevo (New Year). The Spaniards caught sight of said points on the 1st of October of the year '69, and, believing they had arrived at the end of their voyage, the commandant sent the scouts forward to reconnoitre the Point of Pines; in whose near vicinity lies said Port in 36 degrees and 40 minutes North Latitude. But the scant tokens and equivocal ones which are given of it by the Pilot Cabrera Bueno, the only clue of this voyage, and the character of this Port, which rather merits the name of Bay, being spacious (in likeness to that of Cadiz), not corresponding with ideas which it is natural to form in reading the log of the aforementioned Cabrera Bueno, nor with the latitude of 37 degrees in which he located it, the scouts were persuaded that the Port must be farther to the north and they returned to the camp which our people occupied with the report that what they sought was not to be seen in those parts."

They decided that the Port was still further north and resumed their march. Seventeen of their number were sick with the scurvy, some of whom, Constansó says, seemed to be in their last extremity; these had to be carried in litters. To add to their miseries, the rains began in the latter part of October, and with them came an epidemic of diarrhea, "which spread to all without exception; and it came to be feared that this sickness which prostrated their powers and left the persons spiritless, would finish with the expedition altogether. But it turned out quite to the contrary." Those afflicted with the scurvy began to mend and in a short time they were restored to health. Constansó thus describes the discovery of the Bay of San Francisco: "The last day of October the Expedition by land came in sight of Punta de Los Reyes and the Farallones of the Port of San Francisco, whose landmarks, compared with those related by the log of the Pilot Cabrera Bueno, were found exact. Thereupon it became of evident knowledge that the Port of Monterey had been left behind; there being few who stuck to the contrary opinion. Nevertheless the commandant resolved to send to reconnoitre the

land as far as Point de los Reyes. The scouts who were commissioned for this purpose found themselves obstructed by immense estuaries, which run extraordinarily far back into the land and were obliged to make great detours to get around the heads of these. * * * Having arrived at the end of the first estuary and reconnoitred the land that would have to be followed to arrive at the Point de Los Reyes, interrupted with new estuaries, scant pasturage and firewood and being recognized, besides this, the uncertainty of the news and the misapprehension the scouts had labored under, the commandant, with the advice of his officers, resolved upon a retreat to the Point of Pines in hopes of finding the Port of Monterey and encountering in it the Packet San José or the San Antonia, whose succor already was necessary; since of the provisions which had been taken in San Diego no more remained than some few sacks of flour of which a short ration was issued to each individual daily."

"On the eleventh day of November was put into execution the retreat in search of Monterey. The Spaniards reached said port and the Point of Pines on the 28th of November. They maintained themselves in this place until the 10th of December without any vessel having appeared in this time. For which reason and noting also a lack of victuals, and that the sierra of Santa Lucia was covering itself with snow, the commandant, Don Gaspar de Portolá, saw himself obliged to decide to continue the retreat unto San Diego, leaving it until a better occasion to return to the enterprise. On this retreat the Spaniards experienced some hardships and necessities, because they entirely lacked provisions, and because the long marches, which necessity obliged to make to reach San Diego, gave no time for seeking sustenance by the chase, nor did game abound equally everywhere. At this juncture they killed twelve mules of the pack-train on whose meat the folk nourished themselves unto San Diego, at which new establishment they arrived, all in health, on the 24th of January, 1770."

The San José, the third ship fitted out by Visitador-General Galvez, and which Governor Portolá expected to find in the Bay of Monte-

rey, sailed from San José del Cabo in May, 1770, with supplies and a double crew to supply the loss of sailors on the other vessels, but nothing was ever heard of her afterwards. Provisions were running low at San Diego, no ship had arrived, and Governor Portolá had decided to abandon the place and return to Loreto. Father Junipero was averse to this and prayed unceasingly for the intercession of Saint Joseph, the patron of the expedition. A novena or nine days' public prayer was instituted to terminate with a grand ceremonial on March 19th, which was the saint's own day. But on the 23rd of March, when all were ready to depart, the packet San Antonia arrived. She had sailed from San Blas the 20th of December. She encountered a storm which drove her four hundred leagues from the coast; then she made land in 35 degrees north latitude. Turning her prow southward, she ran down to Point Concepcion, where at an anchorage in the Santa Barbara channel the captain, Perez, took on water and learned from the Indians of the return of Portolá's expedition. The vessel then ran down to San Diego, where its opportune arrival prevented the abandonment of that settlement.

With an abundant supply of provisions and a vessel to carry the heavier articles needed in forming a settlement at Monterey, Portolá organized a second expedition. This time he took with him only twenty soldiers and one officer, Lieutenant Pedro Fages. He set out from San Diego on the 17th of April and followed his trail made the previous year. Father Serra and the engineer, Constansó, sailed on the San Antonia, which left the port of San Diego on the 16th of April. The land expedition reached Monterey on the 23d of May and the San Antonia on the 31st of the same month. On the 3d of June, 1770, the mission of San Carlos Borromeo de Monterey was formally founded with solemn church ceremonies, accompanied by the ringing of bells, the crack of musketry and the roar of cannon. Father Serra conducted the church services. Governor Portolá took possession of the land in the name of King Carlos III. A presidio or fort of palisades was built and a few huts erected. Portolá, having formed the nucleus of a settlement, turned over the command of the territory to Lieutenant Fages. On the 9th of July, 1770, he sailed on the San Antonia for San Blas. He never returned to Alta California.

CHAPTER IV.

ABORIGINES OF CALIFORNIA.

WHETHER the primitive California Indian was the low and degraded being that some modern writers represent him to have been, admits of doubt. A mission training continued through three generations did not elevate him in morals at least. When freed from mission restraint and brought in contact with the white race he lapsed into a condition more degraded and more debased than that in which the missionaries found him. Whether it was the inherent fault of the Indian or the fault of his training is a question that is useless to discuss now. If we are to believe the accounts of the California Indian given by Viscaïno and Constansó, who saw him before he

had come in contact with civilization he was not inferior in intelligence to the nomad aborigines of the country east of the Rocky mountains.

Sebastian Viscaïno thus describes the Indians he found on the shores of Monterey Bay three hundred years ago:

"The Indians are of good stature and fair complexion, the women being somewhat less in size than the men and of pleasing countenance. The clothing of the people of the coast lands consists of the skins of the sea-wolves (otter) abounding there, which they tan and dress better than is done in Castile; they possess also, in great quantity, flax like that of Castile, hemp and cotton, from which they make fishing-lines

and nets for rabbits and hares. They have vessels of pine wood very well made, in which they go to sea with fourteen paddle men on a side with great dexterity, even in stormy weather."

Indians who could construct boats of pine boards that took twenty-eight paddle men to row were certainly superior in maritime craft to the birch bark canoe savages of the east. We might accuse Viscaino, who was trying to induce King Philip III. to found a colony on Monterey Bay, of exaggeration in regard to the Indian boats were not his statements confirmed by the engineer, Miguel Constansó, who accompanied Portolá's expedition one hundred and sixty-seven years after Viscaino visited the coast. Constansó, writing of the Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel, says, "The dexterity and skill of these Indians is surpassing in the construction of their launches made of pine planking. They are from eight to ten varas (twenty-three to twenty-eight feet) in length, including their rake and a vara and a half (four feet three inches) beam. Into their fabric enters no iron whatever, of the use of which they know little. But they fasten the boards with firmness, one to another, working their drills just so far apart and at a distance of an inch from the edge, the holes in the upper boards corresponding with those in the lower, and through these holes they pass strong lashings of deer sinews. They pitch and calk the seams, and paint the whole in slightly colors. They handle the boats with equal cleverness, and three or four men go out to sea to fish in them, though they have capacity to carry eight or ten. They use long oars with two blades and row with unspeakable lightness and velocity. They know all the arts of fishing, and fish abound along their coasts as has been said of San Diego. They have communication and commerce with the natives of the islands, whence they get the beads of coral which are current in place of money through these lands, although they hold in more esteem the glass beads which the Spaniards gave them, and offered in exchange for these whatever they had like trays, otter skins, baskets and wooden plates. * * *

"They are likewise great hunters. To kill deer and antelope they avail themselves of an

admirable ingenuity. They preserve the hide of the head and part of the neck of some one of these animals, skinned with care and leaving the horns attached to the same hide, which they stuff with grass or straw to keep its shape. They put this said shell like a cap upon the head and go forth to the woods with this rare equipage. On sighting the deer or antelope they go dragging themselves along the ground little by little with the left hand. In the right they carry the bow and four arrows. They lower and raise the head, moving it to one side and the other, and making other demonstrations so like these animals that they attract them without difficulty to the snare; and having them within a short distance, they discharge their arrows at them with certainty of hitting."

In the two chief occupations of the savage, hunting and fishing, the Indians of the Santa Barbara Channel seem to have been the equals if not the superiors of their eastern brethren. In the art of war they were inferior. Their easy conquest by the Spaniards and their tame subjection to mission rule no doubt had much to do with giving them a reputation for inferiority.

The Indians of the interior valleys and those of the coast belonged to the same general family. There were no great tribal divisions like those that existed among the Indians east of the Rocky mountains. Each rancheria was to a certain extent independent of all others, although at times they were known to combine for war or plunder. Although not warlike, they sometimes resisted the whites in battle with great bravery. Each village had its own territory in which to hunt and fish and its own section in which to gather nuts, seeds and herbs. While their mode of living was somewhat nomadic they seem to have had a fixed location for their rancherias.

The early Spanish settlers of California and the mission padres have left but very meager accounts of the manners, customs, traditions, government and religion of the aborigines. The padres were too intent upon driving out the old religious beliefs of the Indian and instilling new ones to care much what the aborigine had formerly believed or what traditions or myths he

had inherited from his ancestors. They ruthlessly destroyed his fetiches and his altars wherever they found them, regarding them as inventions of the devil.

The best account that has come down to us of the primitive life of the Southern California aborigines is found in a series of letters written by Hugo Reid and published in the *Los Angeles Star* in 1851-52. Reid was an educated Scotchman, who came to Los Angeles in 1834. He married an Indian woman, Dona Victoria, a neophyte of the San Gabriel mission. She was the daughter of an Indian chief. It is said that Reid had been crossed in love by some high toned Spanish señorita and married the Indian woman because she had the same name as his lost love. It is generally believed that Reid was the putative father of Helen Hunt Jackson's heroine, Ramona.

From these letters, now in the possession of the Historical Society of Southern California, I briefly collate some of the leading characteristics of the Southern Indians:

GOVERNMENT.

"Before the Indians belonging to the greater part of this country were known to the whites they comprised, as it were, one great family under distinct chiefs; they spoke nearly the same language, with the exception of a few words, and were more to be distinguished by a local intonation of the voice than anything else. Being related by blood and marriage war was never carried on between them. When war was consequently waged against neighboring tribes of no affinity it was a common cause."

"The government of the people was invested in the hands of their chiefs, each captain commanding his own lodge. The command was hereditary in a family. If the right line of descent ran out they elected one of the same kin nearest in blood. Laws in general were made as required, with some few standing ones. Robbery was never known among them. Murder was of rare occurrence and punished with death. Incest was likewise punished with death, being held in such abhorrence that marriages between kinsfolk were not allowed. The manner of putting to death was by shooting the delinquent

with arrows. If a quarrel ensued between two parties the chief of the lodge took cognizance in the case and decided according to the testimony produced. But if a quarrel occurred between parties of distinct lodges, each chief heard the witnesses produced by his own people, and then, associated with the chief of the opposite side, they passed sentence. In case they could not agree an impartial chief was called in, who heard the statements made by both and he alone decided. There was no appeal from his decision. Whipping was never resorted to as a punishment. All fines and sentences consisted in delivering shells, money, food and skins."

RELIGION.

"They believed in one God, the Maker and Creator of all things, whose name was and is held so sacred among them as hardly ever to be used, and when used only in a low voice. That name is Qua-o-ar. When they have to use the name of the supreme being on an ordinary occasion they substitute in its stead the word Y-yo-ha-rory-nain or the Giver of Life. They have only one word to designate life and soul."

"The world was at one time in a state of chaos, until God gave it its present formation, fixing it on the shoulders of seven giants, made expressly for this end. They have their names, and when they move themselves an earthquake is the consequence. Animals were then formed, and lastly man and woman were formed, separately from earth and ordered to live together. The man's name was Tobahar and the woman's Probavit. God ascended to Heaven immediately afterward, where he receives the souls of all who die. They had no bad spirits connected with their creed, and never heard of a 'devil' or a 'hell' until the coming of the Spaniards. They believed in no resurrection whatever"

MARRIAGE.

"Chiefs had one, two or three wives, as their inclination dictated, the subjects only one. When a person wished to marry and had selected a suitable partner, he advertised the same to all his relatives, even to the nineteenth cousin. On a day appointed the male portion of the lodge

brought in a collection of money beads. All the relations having come in with their share, they (the males) proceeded in a body to the residence of the bride, to whom timely notice had been given. All of the bride's female relations had been assembled and the money was equally divided among them, the bride receiving nothing, as it was a sort of purchase. After a few days the bride's female relations returned the compliment by taking to the bridegroom's dwelling baskets of meal made of chia, which was distributed among the male relatives. These preliminaries over, a day was fixed for the ceremony, which consisted in decking out the bride in innumerable strings of beads, paint, feathers and skins. On being ready she was taken up in the arms of one of her strongest male relatives, who carried her, dancing, towards her lover's habitation. All of her family, friends and neighbors accompanied, dancing around, throwing food and edible seeds at her feet at every step. These were collected in a scramble by the spectators as best they could. The relations of the bridegroom met them half way, and, taking the bride, carried her themselves, joining in the ceremonious walking dance. On arriving at the bridegroom's (who was sitting within his hut) she was inducted into her new residence by being placed alongside of her husband, while baskets of seeds were liberally emptied on their heads to denote blessings and plenty. This was likewise scrambled for by the spectators, who, on gathering up all the bride's seed cake, departed, leaving them to enjoy their honeymoon according to usage. A grand dance was given on the occasion, the warriors doing the dancing, the young women doing the singing. The wife never visited her relatives from that day forth, although they were at liberty to visit her."

BURIALS.

"When a person died all the kin collected to mourn his or her loss. Each one had his own peculiar mode of crying or howling, as easily distinguished the one from the other as one song is from another. After lamenting awhile a mourning dirge was sung in a low whining tone, accompanied by a shrill whistle produced by blowing into the tube of a deer's leg bone.

Dancing can hardly be said to have formed a part of the rites, as it was merely a monotonous action of the foot on the ground. This was continued alternately until the body showed signs of decay, when it was wrapped in the covering used in life. The hands were crossed upon the breast and the body tied from head to foot. A grave having been dug in their burial ground, the body was deposited with seeds, etc., according to the means of the family. If the deceased were the head of the family or a favorite son, the hut in which he lived was burned up, as likewise were all his personal effects."

FEUDS—THE SONG FIGHTS.

"Animosity between persons or families was of long duration, particularly between those of different tribes. These feuds descended from father to son until it was impossible to tell of how many generations. They were, however, harmless in themselves, being merely a war of songs, composed and sung against the conflicting party, and they were all of the most obscene and indecent language imaginable. There are two families at this day (1851) whose feud commenced before the Spaniards were ever dreamed of and they still continue singing and dancing against each other. The one resides at the mission of San Gabriel and the other at San Juan Capistrano; they both lived at San Bernardino when the quarrel commenced. During the singing they continue stamping on the ground to express the pleasure they would derive from tramping on the graves of their foes. Eight days was the duration of the song fight."

UTENSILS.

"From the bark of nettles was manufactured thread for nets, fishing lines, etc. Needles, fish-hooks, awls and many other articles were made of either bone or shell; for cutting up meat a knife of cane was invariably used. Mortars and pestles were made of granite. Sharp stones and perseverance were the only things used in their manufacture, and so skillfully did they combine the two that their work was always remarkably uniform. Their pots to cook in were made of soapstone of about an inch in thickness and procured from the Indians of Santa Catalina.

Their baskets, made out of a certain species of rush, were used only for dry purposes, although they were water proof. The vessels in use for liquids were roughly made of rushes and plastered outside and in with bitumen or pitch."

INDIANS OF THE SANTA BARBARA CHANNEL.

Miguel Constansó, the engineer who accompanied Portolá's expedition in 1769, gives us the best description of the Santa Barbara Indians extant.

"The Indians in whom was recognized more vivacity and industry are those that inhabit the islands and the coast of the Santa Barbara channel. They live in pueblos (villages) whose houses are of spherical form in the fashion of a half orange covered with rushes. They are up to twenty varas (fifty-five feet) in diameter. Each house contains three or four families. The hearth is in the middle and in the top of the house they leave a vent or chimney to give exit for the smoke. In nothing did these gentiles give the lie to the affability and good treatment which were experienced at their hands in other times (1602) by the Spaniards who landed upon those coasts with General Sebastian Vizcaino. They are men and women of good figure and aspect, very much given to painting and staining their faces and bodies with red ochre.

"They use great head dresses of feathers and some panderellas (small darts) which they bind up amid their hair with various trinkets and beads of coral of various colors. The men go entirely naked, but in time of cold they sport some long capes of tanned skins of nutrias (otters) and some mantles made of the same skins cut in long strips, which they twist in such a manner that all the fur remains outside; then they weave these strands one with another, forming a weft, and give it the pattern referred to.

"The women go with more decency, girt about the waist with tanned skins of deer which cover them in front and behind more than half down the leg, and with a mantelet of nutria over the body. There are some of them with good features. These are the Indian women who make the trays and vases of rushes, to which they give a thousand different forms and grace-

ful patterns, according to the uses to which they are destined, whether it be for eating, drinking, guarding their seeds, or for other purposes; for these peoples do not know the use of earthen ware as those of San Diego use it.

"The men work handsome trays of wood, with finer inlays of coral or of bone; and some vases of much capacity, closing at the mouth, which appear to be made with a lathe—and with this machine they would not come out better hollowed nor of more perfect form. They give the whole a luster which appears the finished handiwork of a skilled artisan. The large vessels which hold water are of a very strong weave of rushes pitched within; and they give them the same form as our water jars.

"To eat the seeds which they use in place of bread they toast them first in great trays, putting among the seeds some pebbles or small stones heated until red; then they move and shake the tray so it may not burn; and getting the seed sufficiently toasted they grind it in mortars or almireses of stone. Some of these mortars were of extraordinary size, as well wrought as if they had had for the purpose the best steel tools. The constancy, attention to trifles, and labor which they employ in finishing these pieces are well worthy of admiration. The mortars are so appreciated among themselves that for those who, dying, leave behind such handiworks, they are wont to place them over the spot where they are buried, that the memory of their skill and application may not be lost.

"They inter their dead. They have their cemeteries within the very pueblo. The funerals of their captains they make with great pomp, and set up over their bodies some rods or poles, extremely tall, from which they hang a variety of utensils and chattels which were used by them. They likewise put in the same place some great planks of pine, with various paintings and figures in which without doubt they explain the exploits and prowesses of the personage.

"Plurality of wives is not lawful among these peoples. Only the captains have a right to marry two. In all their pueblos the attention was taken by a species of men who lived like the women, kept company with them, dressed in the same garb, adorned themselves with beads, pen-

dants, necklaces and other womanish adornments, and enjoyed great consideration among the people. The lack of an interpreter did not permit us to find out what class of men they were, or to what ministry they were destined, though all suspect a defect in sex, or some abuse among those gentiles.

"In their houses the married couples have their separate beds on platforms elevated from the ground. Their mattresses are some simple petates (mats) of rushes and their pillows are of the same petates rolled up at the head of the bed. All these beds are hung about with like mats, which serve for decency and protect from the cold."

From the descriptions given by Viscaino and Constansó of the coast Indians they do not appear to have been the degraded creatures that some modern writers have pictured them. In mechanical ingenuity they were superior to the Indians of the Atlantic seaboard or those of the Mississippi valley. Much of the credit that has been given to the mission padres for the patient training they gave the Indians in mechanical arts should be given to the Indian himself. He was no mean mechanic when the padres took him in hand.

Bancroft says "the Northern California Indians were in every way superior to the central and southern tribes." The difference was more in climate than in race. Those of Northern California living in an invigorating climate were more active and more warlike than their sluggish brethren of the south. They gained their living by hunting larger game than those of the south whose subsistence was derived mostly from acorns, seeds, small game and fish. Those of the interior valleys of the north were of lighter complexion and had better forms and features than their southern kinsmen. They were divided into numerous small tribes or clans, like those of central and Southern California. The Spaniards never penetrated very far into the Indian country of the north and consequently knew little or nothing about the habits and customs of the aborigines there. After the discovery of gold the miners invaded their country in search of the precious metal. The Indians at first were not hostile, but ill

treatment soon made them so. When they retaliated on the whites a war of extermination was waged against them. Like the mission Indians of the south they are almost extinct.

All of the coast Indians seem to have had some idea of a supreme being. The name differed with the different tribes. According to Hugo Reid the god of the San Gabriel Indian was named Quaoàr. Father Boscana, who wrote "A Historical Account of the Origin, Customs and Traditions of the Indians" at the missionary establishment of San Juan Capistrano, published in Alfred Robinson's "Life in California," gives a lengthy account of the religion of those Indians before their conversion to Christianity. Their god was Chinigchinich. Evidently the three old men from whom Boscana derived his information mixed some of the religious teachings of the padres with their own primitive beliefs, and made up for the father a nondescript religion half heathen and half Christian. Boscana was greatly pleased to find so many allusions to Scriptural truths, evidently never suspecting that the Indians were imposing upon him.

The religious belief of the Santa Barbara Channel Indians appears to have been the most rational of any of the beliefs held by the California aborigines. Their god, Chupu, was the deification of good; and Nunaxus, their Satan, the personification of evil. Chupu the all-powerful created Nunaxus, who rebelled against his creator and tried to overthrow him; but Chupu, the almighty, punished him by creating man who, by devouring the animal and vegetable products of the earth, checked the physical growth of Nunaxus, who had hoped by liberal feeding to become like unto a mountain. Foiled in his ambition, Nunaxus ever afterwards sought to injure mankind. To secure Chupu's protection, offerings were made to him and dances were instituted in his honor. Flutes and other instruments were played to attract his attention. When Nunaxus brought calamity upon the Indians in the shape of dry years, which caused a dearth of animal and vegetable products, or sent sickness to afflict them, their old men interceded with Chupu to protect them; and to exorcise their Satan they shot arrows and threw

stones in the direction in which he was supposed to be.

Of the Indian myths and traditions Hugo Reid says: "They were of incredible length and contained more metamorphoses than Ovid could have engendered in his brain had he lived a thousand years."

The Cahuilla tribes who formerly inhabited the mountain districts of the southeastern part of the state had a tradition of their creation. According to this tradition the primeval Adam and Eve were created by the Supreme Being in the waters of a northern sea. They came up out of the water upon the land, which they found to be soft and miry. They traveled southward for many moons in search of land suitable for their residence and where they could obtain sustenance from the earth. This they found at last on the mountain sides in Southern California.

Some of the Indian myths when divested of their crudities and ideas clothed in fitting language are as poetical as those of Greece or Scandinavia. The following one which Hugo Reid found among the San Gabriel Indians bears a striking resemblance to the Grecian myths of Orpheus and Eurydice but it is not at all probable that the Indians ever heard the Grecian fable. Ages ago, so runs this Indian myth, a powerful people dwelt on the banks of the Arroyo Seco and hunted over the hills and plains of what are now our modern Pasadena and the valley of San Fernando. They committed a grievous crime against the Great Spirit. A pestilence destroyed them all save a boy and girl who were saved by a foster mother possessed of supernatural powers. They grew to manhood and womanhood and became husband and wife. Their devotion to each other angered the foster mother, who fancied herself neglected. She plotted to destroy the wife. The young woman, divining her fate, told her husband that should he at any time feel a tear drop on his shoulder, he might know that she was dead. While he was away hunting the dread signal came. He hastened back to destroy the hag who had brought death to his wife, but the sorceress had escaped. Disconsolate he threw himself on the grave of his wife. For three days he neither ate nor drank. On the third day a whirlwind

arose from the grave and moved toward the south. Perceiving in it the form of his wife, he hastened on until he overtook it. Then a voice came out of the cloud saying: "Whither I go, thou canst not come. Thou art of earth but I am dead to the world. Return, my husband, return!" He plead piteously to be taken with her. She consenting, he was wrapt in the cloud with her and borne across the illimitable sea that separates the abode of the living from that of the dead. When they reached the realms of ghosts a spirit voice said: "Sister, thou comest to us with an odor of earth; what dost thou bring?" Then she confessed that she had brought her living husband. "Take him away!" said a voice stern and commanding. She plead that he might remain and recounted his many virtues. To test his virtues, the spirits gave him four labors. First to bring a feather from the top of a pole so high that its summit was invisible. Next to split a hair of great length and exceeding fineness; third to make on the ground a map of the constellation of the lesser bear and locate the north star and last to slay the celestial deer that had the form of black beetles and were exceedingly swift. With the aid of his wife he accomplished all the tasks.

But no mortal was allowed to dwell in the abodes of death. "Take thou thy wife and return with her to the earth," said the spirit. "Yet remember, thou shalt not speak to her; thou shalt not touch her until three suns have passed. A penalty awaits thy disobedience." He promised. They pass from the spirit land and travel to the confines of matter. By day she is invisible but by the flickering light of his camp-fire he sees the dim outline of her form. Three days pass. As the sun sinks behind the western hills he builds his camp-fire. She appears before him in all the beauty of life. He stretches forth his arms to embrace her. She is snatched from his grasp. Although invisible to him yet the upper rim of the great orb of day hung above the western verge. He had broken his promise. Like Orpheus, disconsolate, he wandered over the earth until, relenting, the spirits sent their servant Death to bring him to Tecupar (Heaven).

The following myth of the mountain Indians

of the north bears a strong resemblance to the Norse fable of Gyoll the River of Death and its glittering bridge, over which the spirits of the dead pass to Hel, the land of spirits. The Indian, however, had no idea of any kind of a bridge except a foot log across a stream. The myth in a crude form was narrated to me many years ago by an old pioneer.

According to this myth when an Indian died his spirit form was conducted by an unseen guide over a mountain trail unknown and inaccessible to mortals, to the rapidly flowing river which separated the abode of the living from that of the dead. As the trail descended to the river it branched to the right and left. The right hand path led to a foot bridge made of the mas-

sive trunk of a rough barked pine which spanned the Indian styx; the left led to a slender, fresh peeled birch pole that hung high above the roaring torrent. At the parting of the trail an inexorable fate forced the bad to the left, while the spirit form of the good passed on to the right and over the rough barked pine to the happy hunting grounds, the Indian heaven. The bad reaching the river's brink and gazing longingly upon the delights beyond, essayed to cross the slippery pole—a slip, a slide, a clutch at empty space, and the ghostly spirit form was hurled into the mad torrent below, and was borne by the rushing waters into a vast lethean lake where it sunk beneath the waves and was blotted from existence forever.

CHAPTER V.

FRANCISCAN MISSIONS OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

SAN DIEGO DE ALCALÁ.

THE two objective points chosen by Visitador General Galvez and President Junipero Serra to begin the spiritual conquest and civilization of the savages of Alta California, were San Diego and Monterey. The expeditions sent by land and sea were all united at San Diego July 1, 1769. Father Serra lost no time in beginning the founding of missions. On the 16th of July, 1769, he founded the mission of San Diego de Alcalá. It was the first link in the chain of missionary establishments that eventually stretched northward from San Diego to Solano, a distance of seven hundred miles, a chain that was fifty-five years in forging. The first site of the San Diego mission was at a place called by the Indians "Cosoy." It was located near the presidio established by Governor Portolá before he set out in search of Monterey. The locality is now known as Old Town.

Temporary buildings were erected here, but the location proving unsuitable, in August, 1774, the mission was removed about two leagues up the San Diego river to a place called by the natives "Nipaguay." Here a dwelling for

the padres, a store house, a smithy and a wooden church 18x57 feet were erected.

The mission buildings at Cosoy were given up to the presidio except two rooms, one for the visiting priests and the other for a temporary store room for mission supplies coming by sea. The missionaries had been fairly successful in the conversions of the natives and some progress had been made in teaching them to labor. On the night of November 4, 1775, without any previous warning, the gentiles or unconverted Indians in great numbers attacked the mission. One of the friars, Fray Funster, escaped to the soldiers' quarters; the other, Father Jaume, was killed by the savages. The blacksmith also was killed; the carpenter succeeded in reaching the soldiers. The Indians set fire to the buildings which were nearly all of wood. The soldiers, the priest and carpenter were driven into a small adobe building that had been used as a kitchen. Two of the soldiers were wounded. The corporal, one soldier and the carpenter were all that were left to hold at bay a thousand howling fiends. The corporal, who was a sharp shooter, did deadly execution on the savages.

Father Funster saved the defenders from being blown to pieces by the explosion of a fifty pound sack of gunpowder. He spread his cloak over the sack and sat on it, thus preventing the powder from being ignited by the sparks of the burning building. The fight lasted till daylight, when the hostiles fled. The Christian Indians who professed to have been coerced by the savages then appeared and made many protestations of sorrow at what had happened. The military commander was not satisfied that they were innocent but the padres believed them. New buildings were erected at the same place, the soldiers of the presidio for a time assisting the Indians in their erection.

The mission was fairly prosperous. In 1800 the cattle numbered 6,960 and the agricultural products amounted to 2,600 bushels. From 1769 to 1834 there were 6,638 persons baptized and 4,428 buried. The largest number of cattle possessed by the mission at one time was 9,245 head in 1822. The old building now standing on the mission site at the head of the valley is the third church erected there. The first, built of wood and roofed with tiles, was erected in 1774; the second, built of adobe, was completed in 1780 (the walls of this were badly cracked by an earthquake in 1803); the third was begun in 1808 and dedicated November 12, 1813. The mission was secularized in 1834.

SAN CARLOS DE BORROMEIO.

As narrated in a former chapter, Governor Portolá, who with a small force had set out from San Diego to find Monterey Bay, reached that port May 24, 1770. Father Serra, who came up by sea on the *San Antonia*, arrived at the same place May 31. All things being in readiness the Presidio of Monterey and the mission of San Carlos de Borromeo were founded on the same day—June 3, 1770. The boom of artillery and the roar of musketry accompaniments to the service of the double founding frightened the Indians away from the mission and it was some time before the savages could muster courage to return. In June, 1771, the site of the mission was moved to the Carmelo river. This was done by Father Serra to remove the neophytes from the contaminating in-

fluence of the soldiers at the presidio. The erection of the stone church still standing was begun in 1793. It was completed and dedicated in 1797. The largest neophyte population at San Carlos was reached in 1794, when it numbered nine hundred and seventy-one. Between 1800 and 1810 it declined to seven hundred and forty-seven. In 1820 the population had decreased to three hundred and eighty-one and at the end of the next decade it had fallen to two hundred and nine. In 1834, when the decree of secularization was put in force, there were about one hundred and fifty neophytes at the mission. At the rate of decrease under mission rule, a few more years would have produced the same result that secularization did, namely, the extinction of the mission Indian.

SAN ANTONIO DE PADUA.

The third mission founded in California was San Antonio de Padua. It was located about twenty-five leagues from Monterey. Here, on the 14th of June, 1771, in *La Canada de los Robles*, the cañon of oaks beneath a shelter of branches, Father Serra performed the services of founding. The Indians seem to have been more tractable than those of San Diego or Monterey. The first convert was baptized one month after the establishment of the mission. San Antonio attained the highest limit of its neophyte population in 1805, when it had twelve hundred and ninety-six souls within its fold. In 1831 there were six hundred and sixty-one Indians at or near the mission. In 1834, the date of secularization, there were five hundred and sixty-seven. After its disestablishment the property of the mission was quickly squandered through inefficient administrators. The buildings are in ruins.

SAN GABRIEL ARCANGEL.

San Gabriel Arcángel was the fourth mission founded in California. Father Junipero Serra, as previously narrated, had gone north in 1770 and founded the mission of San Carlos Borromeo on Monterey Bay and the following year he established the mission of San Antonio de Padua on the Salinas river about twenty-five leagues south of Monterey.

On the 6th of August, 1771, a cavalcade of soldiers and musketeers escorting Padres Somero and Cambon set out from San Diego over the trail made by Portolá's expedition in 1769 (when it went north in search of Monterey Bay) to found a new mission on the River Jesus de los Temblores or to give it its full name, El Rio del Dulcísimo Nombre de Jesus de los Temblores, the river of the sweetest name of Jesus of the Earthquakes. Not finding a suitable location on that river (now the Santa Ana) they pushed on to the Rio San Miguel, also known as the Rio de los Temblores. Here they selected a site where wood and water were abundant. A stockade of poles was built inclosing a square within which a church was erected, covered with boughs.

September 8, 1771, the mission was formally founded and dedicated to the archangel Gabriel. The Indians who at the coming of the Spaniards were docile and friendly, a few days after the founding of the mission suddenly attacked two soldiers who were guarding the horses. One of these soldiers had outraged the wife of the chief who led the attack. The soldier who committed the crime killed the chieftain with a musket ball and the other Indians fled. The soldiers then cut off the chief's head and fastened it to a pole at the presidio gate. From all accounts the soldiers at this mission were more brutal and barbarous than the Indians and more in need of missionaries to convert them than the Indians. The progress of the mission was slow. At the end of the second year only seventy-three children and adults had been baptized. Father Serra attributed the lack of conversions to the bad conduct of the soldiers.

The first buildings at the mission Vieja were all of wood. The church was 45x18 feet, built of logs and covered with tule thatch. The church and other wooden buildings used by the padres stood within a square inclosed by pointed stakes. In 1776, five years after its founding, the mission was moved from its first location to a new site about a league distant from the old one. The old site was subject to overflow by the river. The adobe ruins pointed out to tourists as the foundations of the old mission are the debris of a building erected for a ranch house

about sixty years ago. The buildings at the mission Vieja were all of wood and no trace of them remains. A chapel was first built at the new site. It was replaced by a church built of adobes one hundred and eight feet long by twenty-one feet wide. The present stone church, begun about 1794, and completed about 1806, is the fourth church erected.

The mission attained the acme of its importance in 1817, when there were seventeen hundred and one neophytes in the mission fold.

The largest grain crop raised at any mission was that harvested at San Gabriel in 1821, which amounted to 29,400 bushels. The number of cattle belonging to the mission in 1830 was 25,725. During the whole period of the mission's existence, i. e., from 1771 to 1834, according to statistics compiled by Bancroft from mission records, the total number of baptisms was 7,854, of which 4,355 were Indian adults and 2,459 were Indian children and the remainder gente de razon or people of reason. The deaths were 5,656, of which 2,916 were Indian adults and 2,363 Indian children. If all the Indian children born were baptized it would seem (if the statistics are correct) that but very few ever grew up to manhood and womanhood. In 1834, the year of its secularization, its neophyte population was 1,320.

The missionaries of San Gabriel established a station at old San Bernardino about 1820. It was not an asistencia like pala, but merely an agricultural station or ranch headquarters. The buildings were destroyed by the Indians in 1834.

SAN LUIS OBISPO DE TOLOSA.

On his journey southward in 1782, President Serra and Padre Cavaller, with a small escort of soldiers and a few Lower California Indians, on September 1, 1772, founded the mission of San Luis Obispo de Tolosa (St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse). The site selected was on a creek twenty-five leagues southerly from San Antonio. The soldiers and Indians were set at work to erect buildings. Padre Cavaller was left in charge of the mission, Father Serra continuing his journey southward. This mission was never a very important one. Its greatest population was in 1803, when there were eight

hundred and fifty-two neophytes within its jurisdiction. From that time to 1834 their number declined to two hundred and sixty-four. The average death rate was 7.30 per cent of the population—a lower rate than at some of the more populous missions. The adobe church built in 1793 is still in use, but has been so remodeled that it bears but little resemblance to the church of mission days.

SAN FRANCISCO DE ASIS.

The expedition under command of Portolá in 1769 failed to find Monterey Bay but it passed on and discovered the great bay of San Francisco. So far no attempt had been made to plant a mission or presidio on its shores. Early in 1775, Lieutenant Ayala was ordered to explore the bay with a view to forming a settlement near it. Rivera had previously explored the land bordering on the bay where the city now stands. Captain Anza, the discoverer of the overland route from Mexico to California via the Colorado river, had recruited an expedition of two hundred persons in Sonora for the purpose of forming a settlement at San Francisco. He set out in 1775 and reached Monterey March 10, 1776. A quarrel between him and Rivera, who was in command at Monterey, defeated for a time the purpose for which the settlers had been brought, and Anza, disgusted with the treatment he had received from Rivera, abandoned the enterprise. Anza had selected a site for a presidio at San Francisco. After his departure Rivera changed his policy of delay that had frustrated all of Anza's plans and decided at once to proceed to the establishment of a presidio. The presidio was formally founded September 17, 1776, at what is now known as Fort Point. The ship *San Carlos* had brought a number of persons; these with the settlers who had come up from Monterey made an assemblage of more than one hundred and fifty persons.

After the founding of the presidio Lieutenant Moraga in command of the military and Captain Quiros of the *San Carlos*, set vigorously at work to build a church for the mission. A wooden building having been constructed on the 9th of October, 1776, the mission was dedicated, Father Palou conducting the service, assisted by

Fathers Cambon, Necedal and Peña. The site selected for the mission was on the Laguna de los Dolores. The lands at the mission were not very productive. The mission, however, was fairly prosperous. In 1820 it owned 11,240 cattle and the total product of wheat was 114,480 bushels. In 1820 there were 1,252 neophytes attached to it. The death rate was very heavy—the average rate being 12.4 per cent of the population. In 1832 the population had decreased to two hundred and four and at the time of secularization it had declined to one hundred and fifty. A number of neophytes had been taken to the new mission of San Francisco Solano.

SAN JUAN CAPISTRANO.

The revolt of the Indians at San Diego delayed the founding of San Juan Capistrano a year. October 30, 1775, the initiatory services of the founding had been held when a messenger came with the news of the uprising of the savages and the massacre of Father Jaume and others. The bells which had been hung on a tree were taken down and buried. The soldiers and the padres hastened to San Diego. November 1, 1776, Fathers Serra, Mugartegui and Amurrio, with an escort of soldiers, arrived at the site formerly selected. The bells were dug up and hung on a tree, an enramada of boughs was constructed and Father Serra said mass. The first location of the mission was several miles northeasterly from the present site at the foot of the mountain. The abandoned site is still known as *la Mision Vieja* (the Old Mission). Just when the change of location was made is not known.

The erection of a stone church was begun in February, 1797, and completed in 1806. A master builder had been brought from Mexico and under his superintendence the neophytes did the mechanical labor. It was the largest and handsomest church in California and was the pride of mission architecture. The year 1812 was known in California as *el año de los temblores*—the year of earthquakes. For months the seismic disturbance was almost continuous. On Sunday, December 8, 1812, a severe shock threw down the lofty church tower, which crashed through the vaulted roof on the congre-

gation below. The padre who was celebrating mass escaped through the sacristy. Of the fifty persons present only five or six escaped. The church was never rebuilt. "There is not much doubt," says Bancroft, "that the disaster was due rather to faulty construction than to the violence of the temblor." The edifice was of the usual cruciform shape, about 90x180 feet on the ground, with very thick walls and arched dome-like roof all constructed of stones imbedded in mortar or cement. The stones were not hewn, but of irregular size and shape, a kind of structure evidently requiring great skill to ensure solidity. The mission reached its maximum in 1819; from that on till the date of its secularization there was a rapid decline in the numbers of its live stock and of its neophytes.

This was one of the missions in which Governor Figueroa tried his experiment of forming Indian pueblos of the neophytes. For a time the experiment was a partial success, but eventually it went the way of all the other missions. Its lands were granted to private individuals and the neophytes scattered. Its picturesque ruins are a great attraction to tourists.

SANTA CLARA.

The mission of Santa Clara was founded January 12, 1777. The site had been selected some time before and two missionaries designated for service at it, but the comandante of the territory, Rivera y Moncada, who was an exceedingly obstinate person, had opposed the founding on various pretexts, but positive orders coming from the viceroy Rivera did not longer delay, so on the 6th of January, 1777, a detachment of soldiers under Lieutenant Moraga, accompanied by Father Peña, was sent from San Francisco to the site selected which was about sixteen leagues south of San Francisco. Here under an *enramada* the services of dedication were held. The Indians were not averse to receiving a new religion and at the close of the year sixty-seven had been baptized.

The mission was quite prosperous and became one of the most important in the territory. It was located in the heart of a rich agricultural district. The total product of wheat was 175,800 bushels. In 1828 the mission flocks and

herds numbered over 30,000 animals. The neophyte population in 1827 was 1,464. The death rate was high, averaging 12.63 per cent of the population. The total number of baptisms was 8,640; number of deaths 6,950. In 1834 the population had declined to 800. Secularization was effected in 1837.

SAN BUENAVENTURA.

The founding of San Buenaventura had been long delayed. It was to have been among the first missions founded by Father Serra; it proved to be his last. On the 26th of March, 1782, Governor de Neve, accompanied by Father Serra (who had come down afoot from San Carlos), and Father Cambon, with a convoy of soldiers and a number of neophytes, set out from San Gabriel to found the mission. At the first camping place Governor de Neve was recalled to San Gabriel by a message from Col. Pedro Fages, informing him of the orders of the council of war to proceed against the Yumas who had the previous year destroyed the two missions on the Colorado river and massacred the missionaries.

On the 29th, the remainder of the company reached a place on the coast named by Portolá in 1769, *Asuncion de Nuestra Señora*, which had for some time been selected for a mission site. Near it was a large Indian rancheria. On Easter Sunday, March 31st, the mission was formally founded with the usual ceremonies and dedicated to San Buenaventura (Giovanni de Fidenza of Tuscany), a follower of St. Francis, the founder of the Franciscans.

The progress of the mission was slow at first, only two adults were baptized in 1782, the year of its founding. The first buildings built of wood were destroyed by fire. The church still used for service, built of brick and adobe, was completed and dedicated, September 9, 1809. The earthquake of December 8, 1812, damaged the church to such an extent that the tower and part of the façade had to be rebuilt. After the earthquake the whole site of the mission for a time seemed to be sinking. The inhabitants, fearful of being engulfed by the sea, removed to San Joaquin y Santa Ana, where they remained several months. The mission at-

tained its greatest prosperity in 1816, when its neophyte population numbered 1,330 and it owned 23,400 cattle.

SANTA BARBARA.

Governor Felipe de Neve founded the presidio of Santa Barbara April 21, 1782. Father Serra had hoped to found the mission at the same time, but in this he was disappointed. His death in 1784 still further delayed the founding and it was not until the latter part of 1786 that everything was in readiness for the establishing of the new mission. On the 22d of November Father Lasuen, who had succeeded Father Serra as president of the missions, arrived at Santa Barbara, accompanied by two missionaries recently from Mexico. He selected a site about a mile distant from the presidio. The place was called Taynagan (Rocky Hill) by the Indians. There was a plentiful supply of stone on the site for building and an abundance of water for irrigation.

On the 15th of December, 1786, Father Lasuen, in a hut of boughs, celebrated the first mass; but December 4, the day that the fiesta of Santa Barbara is commemorated, is considered the date of its founding. Part of the services were held on that day. A chapel built of adobes and roofed with thatch was erected in 1787. Several other buildings of adobe were erected the same year. In 1788, tile took the place of thatch. In 1789, a second church, much larger than the first, was built. A third church of adobe was commenced in 1793 and finished in 1794. A brick portico was added in 1795 and the walls plastered.

The great earthquake of December, 1812, demolished the mission church and destroyed nearly all the buildings. The years 1813 and 1814 were spent in removing the debris of the ruined buildings and in preparing for the erection of new ones. The erection of the present mission church was begun in 1815. It was completed and dedicated September 10, 1820.

Father Caballeria, in his History of Santa Barbara, gives the dimensions of the church as follows: "Length (including walls), sixty varas; width, fourteen varas; height, ten varas (a vara is thirty-four inches)." The walls are of stone

and rest on a foundation of rock and cement. They are six feet thick and are further strengthened by buttresses. Notwithstanding the building has withstood the storms of four score years, it is still in an excellent state of preservation. Its exterior has not been disfigured by attempts at modernizing.

The highest neophyte population was reached at Santa Barbara in 1803, when it numbered 1,792. The largest number of cattle was 5,200 in 1809. In 1834, the year of secularization, the neophytes numbered 556, which was a decrease of 155 from the number in 1830. At such a rate of decrease it would not, even if mission rule had continued, have taken more than a dozen years to depopulate the mission.

LA PURISIMA CONCEPCION.

Two missions, San Buenaventura and Santa Barbara, had been founded on the Santa Barbara channel in accordance with Neve's report of 1777, in which he recommended the founding of three missions and a presidio in that district. It was the intention of General La Croix to conduct these on a different plan from that prevailing in the older missions. The natives were not to be gathered into a missionary establishment, but were to remain in their rancherias, which were to be converted into mission pueblos. The Indians were to receive instruction in religion, industrial arts and self-government while comparatively free from restraint. The plan which no doubt originated with Governor de Neve, was a good one theoretically, and possibly might have been practically. The missionaries were bitterly opposed to it. Unfortunately it was tried first in the Colorado river missions among the fierce and treacherous Yumas. The massacre of the padres and soldiers of these missions was attributed to this innovation.

In establishing the channel missions the missionaries opposed the inauguration of this plan and by their persistence succeeded in setting it aside; and the old system was adopted. La Purisima Coñcepcion, or the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, the third of the channel missions, was founded December 8, 1787, by Father Lasuen at a place called by the natives Algsacupi. Its location is about twelve

miles from the ocean on the Santa Ynez river. Three years after its founding three hundred converts had been baptized but not all of them lived at the mission. The first church was a temporary structure. The second church, built of adobe and roofed with tile, was completed in 1802. December 21, 1812, an earthquake demolished the church and also about one hundred adobe houses of the neophytes. A site across the river and about four miles distant from the former one, was selected for new buildings. A temporary building for a church was erected there. A new church, built of adobe and roofed with tile, was completed and dedicated in 1818.

The Indians revolted in 1824 and damaged the building. They took possession of it and a battle lasting four hours was fought between one hundred and thirty soldiers and four hundred Indians. The neophytes cut loop holes in the church and used two old rusty cannon and a few guns they possessed; but, unused to fire arms, they were routed with the loss of several killed. During the revolt which lasted several months four white men and fifteen or twenty Indians were killed. The hostiles, most of whom fled to the Tulares, were finally subdued. The leaders were punished with imprisonment and the others returned to their missions.

This mission's population was largest in 1804, when it numbered 1,520. In 1834 there were but 407 neophytes connected with it. It was secularized in February, 1835. During mission rule from 1787 to 1834, the total number of Indian children baptized was 1,492; died 902, which was a lower death rate than at most of the southern missions.

SANTA CRUZ.

Santa Cruz, one of the smallest of the twenty-one missions of California, was founded September 25, 1790. The mission was never very prosperous. In 1798 many of the neophytes deserted and the same year a flood covered the planting fields and damaged the church. In 1812 the neophytes murdered the missionary in charge, Padre Andr es Quintana. They claimed that he had treated them with great cruelty. Five of those implicated in the murder received two hundred lashes each and were sentenced to work in chains from two to ten years. Only

one survived the punishment. The maximum of its population was reached in 1798, when there were six hundred and forty-four Indians in the mission fold. The total number baptized from the date of its founding to 1834 was 2,466; the total number of deaths was 2,034. The average death rate was 10.93 per cent of the population. At the time of its secularization in 1834 there were only two hundred and fifty Indians belonging to the mission.

LA SOLEDAD.

The mission of our Lady of Solitude was founded September 29, 1791. The site selected had borne the name Soledad (solitude) ever since the first exploration of the country. The location was thirty miles northeast of San Carlos de Monterey. La Soledad, by which name it was generally known, was unfortunate in its early missionaries. One of them, Padre Gracia, was supposed to be insane and the other, Padre Rubi, was very immoral. Rubi was later on expelled from his college for licentiousness. At the close of the century the mission had become fairly prosperous, but in 1802 an epidemic broke out and five or six deaths occurred daily. The Indians in alarm fled from the mission. The largest population of the mission was seven hundred and twenty-five in 1805. At the time of secularization its population had decreased to three hundred. The total number of baptisms during its existence was 2,222; number of deaths 1,803.

SAN JOSE.

St. Joseph had been designated by the visitor General Galvez and Father Junipero Serra as the patron saint of the mission colonization of California. Thirteen missions had been founded and yet none had been dedicated to San Jos e. Orders came from Mexico that one be established and named for him. Accordingly a detail of a corporal and five men, accompanied by Father Lasuen, president of the missions, proceeded to the site selected, which was about twelve miles northerly from the pueblo of San Jos e. There, on June 11, 1797, the mission was founded. The mission was well located agriculturally and became one of the most prosperous in California. In 1820 it had a population of

1,754, the highest of any mission except San Luis Rey. The total number of baptisms from its founding to 1834 was 6,737; deaths 5,109. Secularization was effected in 1836-37. The total valuation of the mission property, not including lands or the church, was \$155,000.

SAN JUAN BAUTISTA.

In May, 1797, Governor Borica ordered the comandante at Monterey to detail a corporal and five soldiers to proceed to a site that had been previously chosen for a mission which was about ten leagues northeast from Monterey. Here the soldiers erected of wood a church, priest's house, granary and guard house. June 24, 1797, President Lasuen, assisted by Fathers Catala and Martiari, founded the mission of San Juan Bautista (St. John the Baptist). At the close of the year, eighty-five converts had been baptized. The neighboring Indian tribes were hostile and some of them had to be killed before the others learned to behave themselves. A new church, measuring 60x160 feet, was completed and dedicated in 1812. San Juan was the only mission whose population increased between 1820 and 1830. This was due to the fact that its numbers were recruited from the eastern tribes, its location being favorable for obtaining new recruits from the gentiles. The largest population it ever reached was 1,248 in 1823. In 1834 there were but 850 neophytes at the mission.

SAN MIGUEL.

Midway between the old missions of San Antonio and San Luis Obispo, on the 25th of July, 1797, was founded the mission of San Miguel Arcangel. The two old missions contributed horses, cattle and sheep to start the new one. The mission had a propitious beginning; fifteen children were baptized on the day the mission was founded. At the close of the century the number of converts reached three hundred and eighty-five, of whom fifty-three had died. The mission population numbered 1,076 in 1814; after that it steadily declined until, in 1834, there were only 599 attached to the establishment. Total number of baptisms was 2,588; deaths 2,038. The average death rate was 6.91 per cent of the population, the lowest rate in any

of the missions. The mission was secularized in 1836.

SAN FERNANDO REY DE ESPANA.

In the closing years of the century explorations were made for new mission sites in California. These were to be located between missions already founded. Among those selected at that time was the site of the mission San Fernando on the Encino Rancho, then occupied by Francisco Reyes. Reyes surrendered whatever right he had to the land and the padres occupied his house for a dwelling while new buildings were in the course of erection.

September 8, 1797, with the usual ceremonies, the mission was founded by President Lasuen, assisted by Father Dumetz. According to instructions from Mexico it was dedicated to San Fernando Rey de España (Fernando III., King of Spain, 1217-1251). At the end of the year 1797, fifty-five converts had been gathered into the mission fold and at the end of the century three hundred and fifty-two had been baptized.

The adobe church began before the close of the century was completed and dedicated in December, 1806. It had a tiled roof. It was but slightly injured by the great earthquakes of December, 1812, which were so destructive to the mission buildings at San Juan Capistrano, Santa Barbara, La Purisima and Santa Ynez. This mission reached its greatest prosperity in 1819, when its neophyte population numbered 1,080. The largest number of cattle owned by it at one time was 12,800 in 1819.

Its decline was not so rapid as that of some of the other missions, but the death rate, especially among the children, was fully as high. Of the 1,367 Indian children baptized there during the existence of mission rule 965, or over seventy per cent, died in childhood. It was not strange that the fearful death rate both of children and adults at the missions sometimes frightened the neophytes into running away.

SAN LUIS REY DE FRANCIA.

Several explorations had been made for a mission site between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. There was quite a large Indian

population that had not been brought into the folds of either mission. In October, 1797, a new exploration of this territory was ordered and a site was finally selected, although the agricultural advantages were regarded as not satisfactory.

Governor Borica, February 28, 1798, issued orders to the comandante at San Diego to furnish a detail of soldiers to aid in erecting the necessary buildings. June 13, 1798, President Lasuen, the successor of President Serra, assisted by Fathers Peyri and Santiago, with the usual services, founded the new mission. It was named San Luis Rey de Francia (St. Louis, King of France). Its location was near a river on which was bestowed the name of the mission. The mission flourished from its very beginning. Its controlling power was Padre Antonio Peyri. He remained in charge of it from its founding almost to its downfall, in all thirty-three years. He was a man of great executive abilities and under his administration it became one of the largest and most prosperous missions in California. It reached its maximum in 1826, when its neophyte population numbered 2,869, the largest number at one time connected with any mission in the territory.

The asistencia or auxiliary mission of San Antonio was established at Pala, seven leagues easterly from the parent mission. A chapel was erected here and regular services held. One of the padres connected with San Luis Rey was in charge of this station. Father Peyri left California in 1831, with the exiled Governor Victoria. He went to Mexico and from there to Spain and lastly to Rome, where he died. The mission was converted into an Indian pueblo in 1834, but the pueblo was not a success. Most of the neophytes drifted to Los Angeles and San Gabriel. During the Mexican conquest American troops were stationed there. It has recently been partially repaired and is now used for a Franciscan school under charge of Father J. J. O'Keefe.

SANTA YNEZ.

Santa Ynez was the last mission founded in Southern California. It was established September 17, 1804. Its location is about forty miles

northwesterly from Santa Barbara, on the easterly side of the Santa Ynez mountains and eighteen miles southeasterly from La Purisima. Father Tapis, president of the missions from 1803 to 1812, preached the sermon and was assisted in the ceremonies by Fathers Cipies, Calzada and Gutierrez. Carrillo, the comandante at the presidio, was present, as were also a number of neophytes from Santa Barbara and La Purisima. Some of these were transferred to the new mission.

The earthquake of December, 1812, shook down a portion of the church and destroyed a number of the neophytes' houses. In 1815 the erection of a new church was begun. It was built of adobes, lined with brick, and was completed and dedicated July 4, 1817. The Indian revolt of 1824, described in the sketch of La Purisima, broke out first at this mission. The neophytes took possession of the church. The mission guard defended themselves and the padre. At the approach of the troops from Santa Barbara the Indians fled to La Purisima.

San Ynez attained its greatest population, 770, in 1816. In 1834 its population had decreased to 334. From its founding in 1804 to 1834, when the decrees of secularization were put in force, 757 Indian children were baptized and 519 died, leaving only 238, or about thirty per cent of those baptized to grow up.

SAN RAFAEL.

San Rafael was the first mission established north of the Bay of San Francisco. It was founded December 14, 1817. At first it was an asistencia or branch of San Francisco. An epidemic had broken out in the Mission Dolores and a number of the Indians were transferred to San Rafael to escape the plague. Later on it attained to the dignity of a mission. In 1828 its population was 1,140. After 1830 it began to decline and at the time of its secularization in 1834 there were not more than 500 connected with it. In the seventeen years of its existence under mission rule there were 1,873 baptisms and 698 deaths. The average death rate was 6.09 per cent of the population. The mission was secularized in 1834. All traces of the mission building have disappeared.

SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO.

The mission of San Francisco de Asis had fallen into a rapid decline. The epidemic that had carried off a number of the neophytes and had caused the transfer of a considerable number to San Rafael had greatly reduced its population. Besides, the sterility of the soil in the vicinity of the mission necessitated going a long distance for agricultural land and pasturage for the herds and flocks. On this account and also for the reason that a number of new converts might be obtained from the gentiles living in the district north of the bay, Governor Arguello and the mission authorities decided to establish a mission in that region. Explorations were made in June and July, 1823. On the 4th of July a site was selected, a cross blessed and raised, a volley of musketry fired and mass said at a place named New San Francisco, but afterwards designated as the Mission of San Francisco Solano. On the 25th of August work was begun on the mission building and on the 4th of April, 1824, a church, 24x105 feet, built of wood, was dedicated.

It had been intended to remove the neophytes from the old mission of San Francisco to the new; but the padres of the old mission opposed its depopulation and suppression. A compromise was effected by allowing all neophytes of the old mission who so elected to go to the new. Although well located, the Mission of Solano was not prosperous. Its largest population, 996, was reached in 1832. The total number of baptisms were 1,315; deaths, 651. The average death rate was 7.8 per cent of the population. The mission was secularized in 1835, at which time there were about 550 neophytes attached to it.

The architecture of the missions was Moorish—that is, if it belonged to any school. The padres in most cases were the architects and master builders. The main feature of the buildings was massiveness. Built of adobe or rough stone, their walls were of great thickness. Most of the church buildings were narrow, their width being out of proportion to their length. This was necessitated by the difficulty of procuring joists and rafters of sufficient length for wide buildings. The padres had no means or perhaps no

knowledge of trussing a roof, and the width of the building had to be proportioned to the length of the timbers procurable. Some of the buildings were planned with an eye for the picturesque, others for utility only. The sites selected for the mission buildings in nearly every case commanded a fine view of the surrounding country. In their prime, their white walls looming up on the horizon could be seen at long distance and acted as beacons to guide the traveler to their hospitable shelter.

Col. J. J. Warner, who came to California in 1831, and saw the mission buildings before they had fallen into decay, thus describes their general plan: "As soon after the founding of a mission as circumstances would permit, a large pile of buildings in the form of a quadrangle, composed in part of burnt brick, but chiefly of sun-dried ones, was erected around a spacious court. A large and capacious church, which usually occupied one of the outer corners of the quadrangle, was a conspicuous part of the pile. In this massive building, covered with red tile, was the habitation of the friars, rooms for guests and for the major domos and their families. In other buildings of the quadrangle were hospital wards, storehouses and granaries, rooms for carding, spinning and weaving of woolen fabrics, shops for blacksmiths, joiners and carpenters, saddlers, shoemakers and soap boilers, and cellars for storing the product (wine and brandy) of the vineyards. Near the habitation of the friars another building of similar material was placed and used as quarters for a small number—about a corporal's guard—of soldiers under command of a non-commissioned officer, to hold the Indian neophytes in check as well as to protect the mission from the attacks of hostile Indians." The Indians, when the buildings of the establishment were complete, lived in adobe houses built in lines near the quadrangle. Some of the buildings of the square were occupied by the alcaldes or Indian bosses. When the Indians were gathered into the missions at first they lived in brush shanties constructed in the same manner as their forefathers had built them for generations. In some of the missions these huts were not replaced by adobe buildings for a generation or more. Vancouver, who visited

the Mission of San Francisco in 1792, sixteen years after its founding, describes the Indian village with its brush-built huts. He says: "These miserable habitations, each of which was allotted for the residence of a whole family, were erected with some degree of uniformity about three or four feet asunder in straight rows, leaving lanes or passageways at right angles between them; but these were so abominably infested with every kind of filth and nastiness as to be rendered no less offensive than degrading to the human species."

Of the houses at Santa Clara, Vancouver says: "The habitations were not so regularly disposed nor did it (the village) contain so many as the village of San Francisco, yet the same horrid state of uncleanness and laziness seemed to pervade the whole." Better houses were then in the course of construction at Santa Clara. "Each house would contain two rooms and a garret with a garden in the rear." Vancouver

visited San Carlos de Monterey in 1792, twenty-two years after its founding. He says: "Notwithstanding these people are taught and employed from time to time in many of the occupations most useful to civil society, they had not made themselves any more comfortable habitations than those of their forefathers; nor did they seem in any respect to have benefited by the instruction they had received."

Captain Beechey, of the English navy, who visited San Francisco and the missions around the bay in 1828, found the Indians at San Francisco still living in their filthy hovels and grinding acorns for food. "San José (mission)," he says, "on the other hand, was all neatness, cleanliness and comfort." At San Carlos he found that the filthy hovels described by Vancouver had nearly all disappeared and the Indians were comfortably housed. He adds: "Sickness in general prevailed to an incredible extent in all the missions."

CHAPTER VI.

PRESIDIOS OF CALIFORNIA.

SAN DIEGO.

THE presidio was an essential feature of the Spanish colonization of America. It was usually a fortified square of brick or stone, inside of which were the barracks of the soldiers, the officers' quarters, a church, store houses for provisions and military supplies. The gates at the entrance were closed at night, and it was usually provisioned for a siege. In the colonization of California there were four presidios established, namely: San Diego, Monterey, San Francisco and Santa Barbara. Each was the headquarters of a military district and besides a body of troops kept at the presidio it furnished guards for the missions in its respective district and also for the pueblos if there were any in the district. The first presidio was founded at San Diego. As stated in a previous chapter, the two ships of the expedition by sea for the settlement of California arrived at the port of San Diego in a deplorable condition

from scurvy. The San Antonia, after a voyage of fifty-nine days, arrived on April 11; the San Carlos, although she had sailed a month earlier, did not arrive until April 29, consuming one hundred and ten days in the voyage. Don Miguel Constansó, the engineer who came on this vessel, says in his report: "The scurvy had infected all without exception; in such sort that on entering San Diego already two men had died of the said sickness; most of the seamen, and half of the troops, found themselves prostrate in their beds; only four mariners remained on their feet, and attended, aided by the troops, to trimming and furling the sails and other working of the ship." "The San Antonia," says Constansó, "had the half of its crew equally affected by the scurvy, of which illness two men had likewise died." This vessel, although it had arrived at the port on the 11th of April, had evidently not landed any of its sick. On the 1st of

May, Don Pedro Fages, the commander of the troops, Constansó and Estorace, the second captain of the San Carlos, with twenty-five soldiers, set out to find a watering place where they could fill their barrels with fresh water. "Following the west shore of the port, after going a matter of three leagues, they arrived at the banks of a river hemmed in with a fringe of willows and cottonwoods. Its channel must have been twenty varas wide and it discharges into an estuary which at high tide could admit the launch and made it convenient for accomplishing the taking on of water." * * * "Having reconnoitered the watering place, the Spaniards betook themselves back on board the vessels and as these were found to be very far away from the estuary in which the river discharges, their captains, Vicente Vila and Don Juan Perez, resolved to approach it as closely as they could in order to give less work to the people handling the launches. These labors were accomplished with satiety of hardship; for from one day to the next the number of the sick kept increasing, along with the dying of the most aggravated cases and augmented the fatigue of the few who remained on their feet."

"Immediate to the beach on the side toward the east a scanty enclosure was constructed formed of a parapet of earth and fascines, which was garnished with two cannons. They disembarked some sails and awnings from the packets with which they made two tents capacious enough for a hospital. At one side the two officers, the missionary fathers and the surgeon put up their own tents; the sick were brought in launches to this improvised presidio and hospital." "But these diligencies," says Constansó, "were not enough to procure them health." * * * "The cold made itself felt with rigor at night in the barracks and the sun by day, alternations which made the sick suffer cruelly, two or three of them dying every day. And this whole expedition, which had been composed of more than ninety men, saw itself reduced to only eight soldiers and as many mariners in a state to attend to the safeguarding of the barks, the working of the launches, custody of the camp and service of the sick."

Rivera y Moncada, the commander of the first detachment of the land expedition, arrived at San Diego May 14. It was decided by the officers to remove the camp to a point near the river. This had not been done before on account of the small force able to work and the lack of beasts of burden. Rivera's men were all in good health and after a day's rest "all were removed to a new camp, which was transferred one league further north on the right side of the river upon a hill of middling height."

Here a presidio was built, the remains of which can still be seen. It was a parapet of earth similar to that thrown up at the first camp, which, according to Bancroft, was probably within the limits of New Town and the last one in Old Town or North San Diego.

While Portolá's expedition was away searching for the port of Monterey, the Indians made an attack on the camp at San Diego, killed a Spanish youth and wounded Padre Viscaino, the blacksmith, and a Lower California neophyte. The soldiers remaining at San Diego surrounded the buildings with a stockade. Constansó says, on the return of the Spaniards of Portolá's expedition: "They found in good condition their humble buildings, surrounded with a palisade of trunks of trees, capable of a good defense in case of necessity."

"In 1782, the presidial force at San Diego, besides the commissioned officers, consisted of five corporals and forty-six soldiers. Six men were constantly on duty at each of the three missions of the district, San Diego, San Juan Capistrano and San Gabriel; while four served at the pueblo of Los Angeles, thus leaving a sergeant, two corporals and about twenty-five men to garrison the fort, care for the horses and a small herd of cattle, and to carry the mails, which latter duty was the hardest connected with the presidio service in time of peace. There were a carpenter and blacksmith constantly employed, besides a few servants, mostly natives. The population of the district in 1790, not including Indians, was 220."*

Before the close of the century the wooden palisades had been replaced by a thick adobe

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I.

wall, but even then the fort was not a very formidable defense. Vancouver, the English navigator, who visited it in 1793, describes it as "irregularly built on very uneven ground, which makes it liable to some inconveniences without the obvious appearance of any object for selecting such a spot." It then mounted three small brass cannon.

Gradually a town grew up around the presidio. Robinson, who visited San Diego in 1829, thus describes it: "On the lawn beneath the hill on which the presidio is built stood about thirty houses of rude appearance, mostly occupied by retired veterans, not so well constructed in respect either to beauty or stability as the houses at Monterey, with the exception of that belonging to our Administrador, Don Juan Bandini, whose mansion, then in an unfinished state, bid fair, when completed, to surpass any other in the country."

Under Spain there was attempt at least to keep the presidio in repair, but under Mexican domination it fell into decay. Dana describes it as he saw it in 1836: "The first place we went to was the old ruinous presidio, which stands on rising ground near the village which it overlooks. It is built in the form of an open square, like all the other presidios, and was in a most ruinous state, with the exception of one side, in which the comandante lived with his family. There were only two guns, one of which was spiked and the other had no carriage. Twelve half clothed and half starved looking fellows composed the garrison; and they, it was said, had not a musket apiece. The small settlement lay directly below the fort composed of about forty dark brown looking huts or houses and three or four larger ones whitewashed, which belonged to the gente de razon."

THE PRESIDIO OF MONTEREY.

In a previous chapter has been narrated the story of Portolá's expedition in search of Monterey Bay, how the explorers, failing to recognize it, passed on to the northward and discovered the great Bay of San Francisco. On their return they set up a cross at what they supposed was the Bay of Monterey; and at the foot of the cross buried a letter giving information to

any ship that might come up the coast in search of them that they had returned to San Diego. They had continually been on the lookout for the San José, which was to co-operate with them, but that vessel had been lost at sea with all on board. On their return to San Diego, in January, 1770, preparations were made for a return as soon as a vessel should arrive. It was not until the 16th of April that the San Antonia, the only vessel available, was ready to depart for the second objective point of settlement. On the 17th of April, Governor Portolá, Lieutenant Fages, Father Crespi and nineteen soldiers took up their line of march for Monterey. They followed the trail made in 1769 and reached the point where they had set up the cross April 24. They found it decorated with feathers, bows and arrows and a string of fish. Evidently the Indians regarded it as the white man's fetich and tried to propitiate it by offerings.

The San Antonia, bearing Father Serra, Pedro Prat, the surgeon, and Miguel Constansó, the civil engineer, and supplies for the mission and presidio, arrived the last day of May. Portolá was still uncertain whether this was really Monterey Bay. It was hard to discover in the open roadstead stretching out before them Viscaino's land-locked harbor, sheltered from all winds. After the arrival of the San Antonia the officers of the land and sea expedition made a reconnaissance of the bay and all concurred that at last they had reached the destined port. They located the oak under whose wide-spreading branches Padre Ascension, Viscaino's chaplain, had celebrated mass in 1602, and the springs of fresh water near by. Preparations were begun at once for the founding of mission and presidio. A shelter of boughs was constructed, an altar raised and the bells hung upon the branch of a tree. Father Serra sang mass and as they had no musical instrument, salvos of artillery and volleys of musketry furnished an accompaniment to the service. After the religious services the royal standard was raised and Governor Portolá took possession of the country in the name of King Carlos III., King of Spain. The ceremony closed with the pulling of grass and the casting of stones around, significant of en-

tire possession of the earth and its products. After the service all feasted.

Two messengers were sent by Portolá with dispatches to the city of Mexico. A day's journey below San Diego they met Rivera and twenty soldiers coming with a herd of cattle and a flock of sheep to stock the mission pastures. Rivera sent back five of his soldiers with Portolá's carriers. The messengers reached Todos Santos near Cape San Lucas in forty-nine days from Monterey. From there the couriers were sent to San Blas by ship, arriving at the city of Mexico August 10. There was great rejoicing at the capital. Marquis Le Croix and Visitador Galvez received congratulations in the King's name for the extension of his domain.

Portolá superintended the building of some rude huts for the shelter of the soldiers, the officers and the padres. Around the square containing the huts a palisade of poles was constructed. July 9, Portolá having turned over the command of the troops to Lieutenant Fages, embarked on the *San Antonia* for San Blas; with him went the civil engineer, Constansó, from whose report I have frequently quoted. Neither of them ever returned to California.

The difficulty of reaching California by ship on account of the head winds that blow down the coast caused long delays in the arrival of vessels with supplies. This brought about a scarcity of provisions at the presidios and missions.

In 1772 the padres of San Gabriel were reduced to a milk diet and what little they could obtain from the Indians. At Monterey and San Antonio the padres and the soldiers were obliged to live on vegetables. In this emergency Lieutenant Fages and a squad of soldiers went on a bear hunt. They spent three months in the summer of 1772 killing bears in the Cañada de los Osos (Bear Cañon). The soldiers and missionaries had a plentiful supply of bear meat. There were not enough cattle in the country to admit of slaughtering any for food. The presidial walls which were substituted for the palisades were built of adobes and stone. The inclosure measured one hundred and ten yards on each side. The buildings were roofed with tiles. "On the north were the main entrance,

the guard house, and the warehouses; on the west the houses of the governor comandante and other officers, some fifteen apartments in all; on the east nine houses for soldiers, and a blacksmith shop; and on the south, besides nine similar houses, was the presidio church, opposite the main gateway."*

The military force at the presidio consisted of cavalry, infantry and artillery, their numbers varying from one hundred to one hundred and twenty in all. These soldiers furnished guards for the missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, San Miguel, Soledad and San Luis Obispo. The total population of gente de razon in the district at the close of the century numbered four hundred and ninety. The rancho "del rey" or rancho of the king was located where Salinas City now stands. This rancho was managed by the soldiers of presidio and was intended to furnish the military with meat and a supply of horses for the cavalry. At the presidio a number of invalided soldiers who had served out their time were settled; these were allowed to cultivate land and raise cattle on the unoccupied lands of the public domain. A town gradually grew up around the presidio square.

Vancouver, the English navigator, visited the presidio of Monterey in 1792 and describes it as it then appeared: "The buildings of the presidio form a parallelogram or long square comprehending an area of about three hundred yards long by two hundred and fifty wide, making one entire enclosure. The external wall is of the same magnitude and built with the same materials, and except that the officers' apartments are covered with red tile made in the neighborhood, the whole presents the same lonely, uninteresting appearance as that already described at San Francisco. Like that establishment, the several buildings for the use of the officers, soldiers, and for the protection of stores and provisions are erected along the walls on the inside of the inclosure, which admits of but one entrance for carriages or persons on horseback; this, as at San Francisco, is on the side of the square fronting the church which was rebuilding with stone like that at San Carlos."

* * *

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I.

"At each corner of the square is a small kind of block house raised a little above the top of the wall where swivels might be mounted for its protection. On the outside, before the entrance into the presidio, which fronts the shores of the bay, are placed seven cannon, four nine and three three-pounders, mounted. The guns are planted on the open plain ground without breastwork or other screen for those employed in working them or the least protection from the weather."

THE PRESIDIO OF SAN FRANCISCO.

In a previous chapter I have given an account of the discovery of San Francisco Bay by Portolá's expedition in 1769. The discovery of that great bay seems to have been regarded as an unimportant event by the governmental officials. While there was great rejoicing at the city of Mexico over the founding of a mission for the conversion of a few naked savages, the discovery of the bay was scarcely noticed, except to construe it into some kind of a miracle. Father Serra assumed that St. Francis had concealed Monterey from the explorers and led them to the discovery of the bay in order that he (St. Francis) might have a mission named for him. Indeed, the only use to which the discovery could be put, according to Serra's ideas, was a site for a mission on its shores, dedicated to the founder of the Franciscans. Several explorations were made with this in view. In 1772, Lieutenant Fages, Father Crespi and sixteen soldiers passed up the western side of the bay and in 1774 Captain Rivera, Father Palou and a squad of soldiers passed up the eastern shore, returning by way of Monte Diablo, Amador valley and Alameda creek to the Santa Clara valley.

In the latter part of the year 1774, viceroy Bucureli ordered the founding of a mission and presidio at San Francisco. Hitherto all explorations of the bay had been made by land expeditions. No one had ventured on its waters. In 1775 Lieutenant Juan de Ayala of the royal navy was sent in the old pioneer mission ship, the San Carlos, to make a survey of it. August 5, 1775, he passed through the Golden Gate. He moored his ship at an island called by him

Nuestra Señora de los Angeles, now Angel Island. He spent forty days in making explorations. His ship was the first vessel to sail upon the great Bay of San Francisco.

In 1774, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, commander of the presidio of Tubac in Sonora, had made an exploration of a route from Sonora via the Colorado river, across the desert and through the San Gorgonia pass to San Gabriel mission. From Tubac to the Colorado river the route had been traveled before but from the Colorado westward the country was a terra incognita. He was guided over this by a lower California neophyte who had deserted from San Gabriel mission and alone had reached the rancherias on the Colorado.

After Anza's return to Sonora he was commissioned by the viceroy to recruit soldiers and settlers for San Francisco. October 23, 1775, Anza set out from Tubac with an expedition numbering two hundred and thirty-five persons, composed of soldiers and their families, colonists, musketeers and vaqueros. They brought with them large herds of horses, mules and cattle. The journey was accomplished without loss of life, but with a considerable amount of suffering. January 4, 1776, the immigrants arrived at San Gabriel mission, where they stopped to rest, but were soon compelled to move on, provisions at the mission becoming scarce. They arrived at Monterey, March 10. Here they went into camp. Anza with an escort of soldiers proceeded to San Francisco to select a presidio site. Having found a site he returned to Monterey. Rivera, the commander of the territory, had manifested a spirit of jealousy toward Anza and had endeavored to thwart him in his attempts to found a settlement. Disgusted with the action of the commander, Anza, leaving his colonists to the number of two hundred at Monterey took his departure from California. Anza in his explorations for a presidio site had fixed upon what is now Fort Point.

After his departure Rivera experienced a change of heart and instead of trying to delay the founding he did everything to hasten it. The imperative orders of the viceroy received at about this time brought about the change. He ordered Lieutenant Moraga, to whom Anza had

turned over the command of his soldiers and colonists, to proceed at once to San Francisco with twenty soldiers to found the fort. The San Carlos, which had just arrived at Monterey, was ordered to proceed to San Francisco to assist in the founding. Moraga with his soldiers arrived June 27, and encamped on the Laguna de los Dolores, where the mission was a short time afterwards founded. Moraga decided to locate the presidio at the site selected by Anza but awaited the arrival of the San Carlos before proceeding to build. August 18 the vessel arrived. It had been driven down the coast to the latitude of San Diego by contrary winds and then up the coast to latitude 42 degrees. On the arrival of the vessel work was begun at once on the fort. A square of ninety-two varas (two hundred and forty-seven feet) on each side was inclosed with palisades. Barracks, officers' quarters and a chapel were built inside the square. September 17, 1776, was set apart for the services of founding, that being the day of the "Sores of our seraphic father St. Francis." The royal standard was raised in front of the square and the usual ceremony of pulling grass and throwing stones was performed. Possession of the region round about was taken in the name of Carlos III., King of Spain. Over one hundred and fifty persons witnessed the ceremony. Vancouver, who visited the presidio in November, 1792, describes it as a "square area whose sides were about two hundred yards in length, enclosed by a mud wall and resembling a pound for cattle. Above this wall the thatched roofs of the low small houses just made their appearance." The wall was "about fourteen feet high and five feet in breadth and was first formed by upright and horizontal rafters of large timber, between which dried sods and moistened earth were pressed as close and hard as possible, after which the whole was cased with the earth made into a sort of mud plaster which gave it the appearance of durability."

In addition to the presidio there was another fort at Fort Point named Castillo de San Joaquin. It was completed and blessed December 8, 1794. "It was of horseshoe shape, about one hundred by one hundred and twenty feet." The structure rested mainly on sand; the brick-faced

adobe walls crumbled at the shock whenever a salute was fired; the guns were badly mounted and for the most part worn out, only two of the thirteen twenty-four-pounders being serviceable or capable of sending a ball across the entrance of the fort.*

PRESIDIO OF SANTA BARBARA.

Cabrillo, in 1542, found a large Indian population inhabiting the main land of the Santa Barbara channel. Two hundred and twenty-seven years later, when Portolá made his exploration, apparently there had been no decrease in the number of inhabitants. No portion of the coast offered a better field for missionary labor and Father Serra was anxious to enter it. In accordance with Governor Felipe de Neve's report of 1777, it had been decided to found three missions and a presidio on the channel. Various causes had delayed the founding and it was not until April 17, 1782, that Governor de Neve arrived at the point where he had decided to locate the presidio of Santa Barbara. The troops that were to man the fort reached San Gabriel in the fall of 1781. It was thought best for them to remain there until the rainy season was over. March 26, 1782, the governor and Father Serra, accompanied by the largest body of troops that had ever before been collected in California, set out to found the mission of San Buenaventura and the presidio. The governor, as has been stated in a former chapter, was recalled to San Gabriel. The mission was founded and the governor having rejoined the cavalcade a few weeks later proceeded to find a location for the presidio.

"On reaching a point nine leagues from San Buenaventura, the governor called a halt and in company with Father Serra at once proceeded to select a site for the presidio. The choice resulted in the adoption of the square now formed by city blocks 139, 140, 155 and 156, and bounded in common by the following streets: Figueroa, Cañon Perdido, Garden and Anacapa. A large community of Indians were residing there but orders were given to leave them undisturbed. The soldiers were at once

*Bancroft's "History of California," Vol. I

directed to hew timbers and gather brush to erect temporary barracks which, when completed, were also used as a chapel. A large wooden cross was made that it might be planted in the center of the square and possession of the country was taken in the name of the cross, the emblem of Christianity.

April 21, 1782, the soldiers formed a square and with edifying solemnity raised the cross and secured it in the earth. Father Serra blessed and consecrated the district and preached a sermon. The royal standard of Spain was unfurled."*

An inclosure, sixty varas square, was made of palisades. The Indians were friendly, and through their chief Yanoalit, who controlled thirteen rancherias, details of them were secured to assist the soldiers in the work of building. The natives were paid in food and clothing for their labor.

Irrigation works were constructed, consisting of a large reservoir made of stone and cement, with a zanja for conducting water to the presidio. The soldiers, who had families, cultivated small gardens which aided in their support. Lieutenant Ortega was in command of the presidio for two years after its founding. He was succeeded by Lieutenant Felipe de Goycochea. After the founding of the mission in 1786, a bitter feud broke out between the padres and the comandante of the presidio. Goycochea claimed the right to employ the Indians in the building of the presidio as he had done before the coming of the friars. This they denied. After an acrimonious controversy the dispute was finally compromised by dividing the Indians into two bands, a mission band and a presidio band.

Gradually the palisades were replaced by an adobe wall twelve feet high. It had a stone foundation and was strongly built. The plaza or inclosed square was three hundred and thirty feet on each side. On two sides of this inclosure were ranged the family houses of the soldiers, averaging in size 15x25 feet. On one side stood the officers' quarters and the church. On

the remaining side were the main entrance four varas wide, the store rooms, soldiers' quarters and a guard room; and adjoining these outside the walls were the corrals for cattle and horses. A force of from fifty to sixty soldiers was kept at the post. There were bastions at two of the corners for cannon.

The presidio was completed about 1790, with the exception of the chapel, which was not finished until 1797. Many of the soldiers when they had served out their time desired to remain in the country. These were given permission to build houses outside the walls of the presidio and in course of time a village grew up around it.

At the close of the century the population of the gente de razon of the district numbered three hundred and seventy. The presidio when completed was the best in California. Vancouver, the English navigator, who visited it in November, 1793, says of it: "The buildings appeared to be regular and well constructed; the walls clean and white and the roofs of the houses were covered with a bright red tile. The presidio excels all the others in neatness, cleanliness and other smaller though essential comforts; it is placed on an elevated part of the plain and is raised some feet from the ground by a basement story which adds much to its pleasantness."

During the Spanish régime the settlement at the presidio grew in the leisurely way that all Spanish towns grew in California. There was but little immigration from Mexico and about the only source of increase was from invalid soldiers and the children of the soldiers growing up to manhood and womanhood. It was a dreary and monotonous existence that the soldiers led at the presidios. A few of them had their families with them. These when the country became more settled had their own houses adjoining the presidio and formed the nuclei of the towns that grew up around the different forts. There was but little fighting to do and the soldiers' service consisted mainly of a round of guard duty at the forts and missions. Occasionally there were conquistas into the Indian country to secure new material for converts from the gentiles. The soldiers were oc-

*Father Cabellera's History of Santa Barbara.

asionally employed in hunting hindas or run-aways from the missions. These when brought back were thoroughly flogged and compelled to wear clogs attached to their legs. Once a month the soldier couriers brought up from Loreta a budget of mail made up of official bandos and a

few letters. These contained about all the news that reached them from their old homes in Mexico. But few of the soldiers returned to Mexico when their term of enlistment expired. In course of time these and their descendants formed the bulk of California's population.

CHAPTER VII.

PUEBLOS.

THE pueblo plan of colonization so common in Hispano-American countries did not originate with the Spanish-American colonists. It was older even than Spain herself. In early European colonization, the pueblo plan, the common square in the center of the town, the house lots grouped round it, the arable fields and the common pasture lands beyond, appears in the Aryan village, in the ancient German mark and in the old Roman praesidium. The Puritans adopted this form in their first settlements in New England. Around the public square or common where stood the meeting house and the town house, they laid off their home lots and beyond these were their cultivated fields and their common pasture lands. This form of colonization was a combination of communal interests and individual ownership. Primarily, no doubt, it was adopted for protection against the hostile aborigines of the country, and secondly for social advantage. It reversed the order of our own western colonization. The town came first, it was the initial point from which the settlement radiated; while with our western pioneers the town was an after-thought, a center point for the convenience of trade.

When it had been decided to send colonists to colonize California the settlements naturally took the pueblo form. The difficulty of obtaining regular supplies for the presidios from Mexico, added to the great expense of shipping such a long distance, was the principal cause that influenced the government to establish pueblos de gente de razon. The presidios received their shipments of grain for breadstuff from San Blas

by sailing vessels. The arrival of these was uncertain. Once when the vessels were unusually long in coming, the padres and the soldiers at the presidios and missions were reduced to living on milk, bear meat and what provisions they could obtain from the Indians. When Felipe de Neve was made governor of Alta or Nueva California in 1776 he was instructed by the viceroy to make observations on the agricultural possibilities of the country and the feasibility of founding pueblos where grain could be produced to supply the military establishments.

On his journey from San Diego to San Francisco in 1777 he carefully examined the country; and as a result of his observations recommended the founding of two pueblos; one on the Rio de Porciuncula in the south, and the other on the Rio de Guadalupe in the north. On the 29th of November, 1777, the Pueblo of San José de Guadalupe was founded. The colonists were nine of the presidio soldiers from San Francisco and Monterey, who had some knowledge of farming and five of Anza's pobladores who had come with his expedition the previous years to found the presidio of San Francisco, making with their families sixty-one persons in all. The pueblo was named for the patron saint of California, San José (St. Joseph), husband of Santa Maria, Queen of the Angeles.

The site selected for the town was about a mile and a quarter north of the center of the present city. The first houses were built of palisades and the interstices plastered with mud. These huts were roofed with earth and the floor was the hard beaten ground. Each head of a family was given a suerte or sowing lot of two

hundred varas square, a house lot, "ten dollars a month and a soldier's rations." Each, also, received a yoke of oxen, two cows, a mule, two sheep and two goats, together with the necessary implements and seed, all of which were to be repaid in products of the soil delivered at the royal warehouse. The first communal work done by the pobladores (colonists) was to dam the river, and construct a ditch to irrigate their sowing fields. The dam was not a success and the first sowing of grain was lost. The site selected for the houses was low and subject to overflow.

During wet winters the inhabitants were compelled to take a circuitous route of three leagues to attend church service at the mission of Santa Clara. After enduring this state of affairs through seven winters they petitioned the governor for permission to remove the pueblo further south on higher ground. The governor did not have power to grant the request. The petition was referred to the comandante-general of the Intendencia in Mexico in 1785. He seems to have studied over the matter two years and having advised with the asesor-general "finally issued a decree, June 21, 1787, to Governor Fages, authorizing the settlers to remove to the "adjacent loma (hill) selected by them as more useful and advantageous without changing or altering, for this reason, the limits and boundaries of the territory or district assigned to said settlement and to the neighboring Mission of Santa Clara, as there is no just cause why the latter should attempt to appropriate to herself that land."

Having frequently suffered from floods, it would naturally be supposed that the inhabitants, permission being granted, moved right away. They did nothing of the kind. Ten years passed and they were still located on the old marshy site, still discussing the advantages of the new site on the other side of the river. Whether the padres of the Mission of Santa Clara opposed the moving does not appear in the records, but from the last clause of the comandante-general's decree in which he says "there is not just cause why the latter (the Mission of Santa Clara) should attempt to appropriate to herself the land," it would seem that the mission

padres were endeavoring to secure the new site or at least prevent its occupancy. There was a dispute between the padres and the pobladores over the boundary line between the pueblo and mission that outlived the century. After having been referred to the titled officials, civil and ecclesiastical, a boundary line was finally established, July 24, 1801, that was satisfactory to both. "According to the best evidence I have discovered," says Hall in his History of San José, "the removal of the pueblo took place in 1797," just twenty years after the founding. In 1798 the juzgado or town hall was built. It was located on Market street near El Dorado street.

The area of a pueblo was four square leagues (Spanish) or about twenty-seven square miles. This was sometimes granted in a square and sometimes in a rectangular form. The pueblo lands were divided into classes: Solares, house lots; suertes (chance), sowing fields, so named because they were distributed by lot; propios, municipal lands or lands the rent of which went to defray municipal expenses; ejidas, vacant suburbs or commons; dehesas, pasture where the large herds of the pueblo grazed; realenges, royal lands also used for raising revenue; these were unappropriated lands.

From various causes the founding of the second pueblo had been delayed. In the latter part of 1779, active preparations were begun for carrying out the plan of founding a presidio and three missions on the Santa Barbara Channel and a pueblo on the Rio Porciuncula to be named "Reyna de Los Angeles." The comandante-general of the Four Interior Provinces of the West (which embraced the Californias, Sonora, New Mexico and Viscaya), Don Teodoro de Croix or "El Cavallero de Croix," "The Knight of the Cross," as he usually styled himself, gave instructions to Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada to recruit soldiers and settlers for the proposed presidio and pueblo in Nueva California. He, Rivera, crossed the gulf and began recruiting in Sonora and Sinaloa. His instructions were to secure twenty-four settlers, who were heads of families. They must be robust and well behaved, so that they might set a good example to the natives. Their families

must accompany them and unmarried female relatives must be encouraged to go, with the view to marrying them to bachelor soldiers.

According to the regulations drafted by Governor Felipe de Neve, June 1, 1779, for the government of the province of California and approved by the king, in a royal order of the 24th of October, 1781, settlers in California from the older provinces were each to be granted a house lot and a tract of land for cultivation. Each poblador in addition was to receive \$116.50 a year for the first two years, "the rations to be understood as comprehended in this amount, and in lieu of rations for the next three years they will receive \$60 yearly."

Section 3 of Title 14 of the Reglamento provided that "To each poblador and to the community of the pueblo there shall be given under condition of repayment in horses and mules fit to be given and received, and in the payment of the other large and small cattle at the just prices, which are to be fixed by tariff, and of the tools and implements at cost, as it is ordained, two mares, two cows, and one calf, two sheep and two goats, all breeding animals, and one yoke of oxen or steers, one plow point, one hoe, one spade, one axe, one sickle, one wood knife, one musket and one leather shield, two horses and one cargo mule. To the community there shall likewise be given the males corresponding to the total number of cattle of different kinds distributed amongst all the inhabitants, one forge and anvil, six crowbars, six iron spades or shovels and the necessary tools for carpenter and cast work." For the government's assistance to the pobladores in starting their colony the settlers were required to sell to the presidios the surplus products of their lands and herds at fair prices, which were to be fixed by the government.

The terms offered to the settlers were certainly liberal, and by our own hardy pioneers, who in the closing years of the last century were making their way over the Alleghany mountains into Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, they would have been considered munificent; but to the indolent and energyless mixed breeds of Sonora and Sinaloa they were no inducement. After

spending nearly nine months in recruiting, Rivera was able to obtain only fourteen pobladores, but little over half the number required, and two of these deserted before reaching California. The soldiers that Rivera had recruited for California, forty-two in number, with their families, were ordered to proceed overland from Alamos, in Sonora, by way of Tucson and the Colorado river to San Gabriel Mission. These were commanded by Rivera in person.

Leaving Alamos in April, 1781, they arrived in the latter part of June at the junction of the Gila and Colorado rivers. After a short delay to rest, the main company was sent on to San Gabriel Mission. Rivera, with ten or twelve soldiers, remained to recruit his live stock before crossing the desert. Two missions had been established on the California side of the Colorado the previous year. Before the arrival of Rivera the Indians had been behaving badly. Rivera's large herd of cattle and horses destroyed the mesquite trees and intruded upon the Indians' melon patches. This, with their previous quarrel with the padres, provoked the savages to an uprising. They, on July 17, attacked the two missions, massacred the padres and the Spanish settlers attached to the missions and killed Rivera and his soldiers, forty-six persons in all. The Indians burned the mission buildings. These were never rebuilt nor was there any attempt made to convert the Yumas. The hostility of the Yumas practically closed the Colorado route to California for many years.

The pobladores who had been recruited for the founding of the new pueblo, with their families and a military escort, all under the command of Lieut. José Zuniga, crossed the gulf from Guaymas to Loreto, in Lower California, and by the 16th of May were ready for their long journey northward. In the meantime two of the recruits had deserted and one was left behind at Loreto. On the 18th of August the eleven who had remained faithful to their contract, with their families, arrived at San Gabriel. On account of smallpox among some of the children the company was placed in quarantine about a league from the mission.

On the 26th of August, 1781, from San Gabriel, Governor de Neve issued his instructions

for the founding of Los Angeles, which gave some additional rules in regard to the distribution of lots not found in the royal reglamento previously mentioned.

On the 4th of September, 1781, the colonists, with a military escort headed by Governor Felipe de Neve, took up their line of march from the Mission San Gabriel to the site selected for their pueblo on the Rio de Porciuncula. There, with religious ceremonies, the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles was formally founded. A mass was said by a priest from the Mission San Gabriel, assisted by the choristers and musicians of that mission. There were salvos of musketry and a procession with a cross, candlestick, etc. At the head of the procession the soldiers bore the standard of Spain and the women followed bearing a banner with the image of our Lady the Queen of the Angels. This procession made a circuit of the plaza, the priest blessing it and the building lots. At the close of the services Governor de Neve made an address full of good advice to the colonists. Then the governor, his military escort and the priests returned to San Gabriel and the colonists were left to work out their destiny.

Few of the great cities of the land have had such humble founders as Los Angeles. Of the eleven pobladores who built their huts of poles and tule thatch around the plaza vieja one hundred and twenty-five years ago, not one could read or write. Not one could boast of an unmixed ancestry. They were mongrels in race, Caucasian, Indian and Negro mixed. Poor in purse, poor in blood, poor in all the sterner qualities of character that our own hardy pioneers of the west possessed, they left no impress on the city they founded; and the conquering race that possesses the land that they colonized has forgotten them. No street or landmark in the city bears the name of any one of them. No monument or tablet marks the spot where they planted the germ of their settlement. No Forefathers' day preserves the memory of their services and sacrifices. Their names, race and the number of persons in each family have been preserved in the archives of California. They are as follows:

1. José de Lara, a Spaniard (or reputed to be one, although it is doubtful whether he was of pure blood) had an Indian wife and three children.
2. José Antonio Navarro, a Mestizo, forty-two years old; wife a mulatress; three children.
3. Basilio Rosas, an Indian, sixty-eight years old, had a mulatto wife and two children.
4. Antonio Mesa, a negro, thirty-eight years old; had a mulatto wife and two children.
5. Antonio Felix Villavicencio, a Spaniard, thirty years old; had an Indian wife and one child.
6. José Vanegas, an Indian, twenty-eight years old; had an Indian wife and one child.
7. Alejandro Rosas, an Indian, nineteen years old, and had an Indian wife. (In the records, "wife, Coyote-Indian.")
8. Pablo Rodriguez, an Indian, twenty-five years old; had an Indian wife and one child.
9. Manuel Camero, a mulatto, thirty years old; had a mulatto wife.
10. Luis Quintero, a negro, fifty-five years old, and had a mulatto wife and five children.
11. José Morena, a mulatto, twenty-two years old, and had a mulatto wife.

Antonio Miranda, the twelfth person described in the padron (list) as a Chino, fifty years old and having one child, was left at Loreto when the expedition marched northward. It would have been impossible for him to have rejoined the colonists before the founding. Presumably his child remained with him, consequently there were but forty-four instead of "forty-six persons in all." Col. J. J. Warner, in his "Historical Sketch of Los Angeles," originated the fiction that one of the founders (Miranda, the Chino,) was born in China. Chino, while it does mean a Chinaman, is also applied in Spanish-American countries to persons or animals having curly hair. Miranda was probably of mixed Spanish and Negro blood, and curly haired. There is no record to show that Miranda ever came to Alta California.

When José de Galvez was fitting out the expedition for occupying San Diego and Monterey, he issued a proclamation naming St. Joseph as the patron saint of his California colonization scheme. Bearing this fact in mind, no

doubt, Governor de Neve, when he founded San José, named St. Joseph its patron saint. Having named one of the two pueblos for San José it naturally followed that the other should be named for Santa Maria, the Queen of the Angels, wife of San José.

On the 1st of August, 1769, Portolá's expedition, on its journey northward in search of Monterey Bay, had halted in the San Gabriel valley near where the Mission Vieja was afterwards located, to reconnoiter the country and "above all," as Father Crespi observes, "for the purpose of celebrating the jubilee of Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula." Next day, August 2, after traveling about three leagues (nine miles), Father Crespi, in his diary, says: "We came to a rather wide canada having a great many cottonwood and alder trees. Through it ran a beautiful river toward the north-northeast and curving around the point of a cliff it takes a direction to the south. Toward the north-northeast we saw another river bed which must have been a great overflow, but we found it dry. This arm unites with the river and its great floods during the rainy season are clearly demonstrated by the many uprooted trees scattered along the banks." (This dry river is the Arroyo Seco.) "We stopped not very far from the river, to which we gave the name of Porciuncula." Porciuncula is the name of a hamlet in Italy near which was located the little church of Our Lady of the Angels, in which St. Francis of Assisi was praying when the jubilee was granted him. Father Crespi, speaking of the plain through which the river flows, says: "This is the best locality of all those we have yet seen for a mission, besides having all the resources required for a large town." Padre Crespi was evidently somewhat of a prophet.

The fact that this locality had for a number of years borne the name of "Our Lady of the Angels of Porciuncula" may have influenced Governor de Neve to locate his pueblo here. The full name of the town, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reyna de Los Angeles, was seldom used. It was too long for everyday use. In the earlier years of the town's history it seems to have had a variety of names. It appears in the records as El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de Los

Angeles, as El Pueblo de La Reyna de Los Angeles and as El Pueblo de Santa Maria de Los Angeles. Sometimes it was abbreviated to Santa Maria, but it was most commonly spoken of as El Pueblo, the town. At what time the name of Rio Porciuncula was changed to Rio Los Angeles is uncertain. The change no doubt was gradual.

The site selected for the pueblo of Los Angeles was picturesque and romantic. From where Alameda street now is to the eastern bank of the river the land was covered with a dense growth of willows, cottonwoods and alders; while here and there, rising above the swampy copse, towered a giant aliso (sycamore). Wild grapevines festooned the branches of the trees and wild roses bloomed in profusion. Behind the narrow shelf of mesa land where the pueblo was located rose the brown hills, and in the distance towered the lofty Sierra Madre mountains.

The last pueblo founded in California under Spanish domination was Villa de Branciforte, located on the opposite side of the river from the Mission of Santa Cruz. It was named after the Viceroy Branciforte. It was designed as a coast defense and a place to colonize discharged soldiers. The scheme was discussed for a considerable time before anything was done. Governor Borica recommended "that an adobe house be built for each settler so that the prevalent state of things in San José and Los Angeles, where the settlers still live in tule huts, being unable to build better dwellings without neglecting their fields, may be prevented, the houses to cost not over two hundred dollars."*

The first detachment of the colonists arrived May 12, 1797, on the Concepcion in a destitute condition. Lieutenant Moraga was sent to superintend the construction of houses for the colonists. He was instructed to build temporary huts for himself and the guard, then to build some larger buildings to accommodate fifteen or twenty families each. These were to be temporary. Only nine families came and they were of a vagabond class that had a constitutional antipathy to work. The settlers received the

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. I.

same amount of supplies and allowance of money as the colonists of San José and Los Angeles. Although the colonists were called Spaniards and assumed to be of a superior race to the first settlers of the other pueblos, they made less progress and were more unruly than the mixed and mongrel inhabitants of the older pueblos.

Although at the close of the century three decades had passed since the first settlement was made in California, the colonists had made but little progress. Three pueblos of gente de razon had been founded and a few ranchos granted to ex-soldiers. Exclusive of the soldiers, the white population in the year 1800 did not exceed six hundred. The people lived in the most primitive manner. There was no commerce and no manufacturing except a little at the missions. Their houses were adobe huts roofed with tule thatch. The floor was the beaten earth and the

scant furniture home-made. There was a scarcity of cloth for clothing. Padre Salazar relates that when he was at San Gabriel Mission in 1795 a man who had a thousand horses and cattle in proportion came there to beg cloth for a shirt, for none could be had at the pueblo of Los Angeles nor at the presidio of Santa Barbara.

Hermanagildo Sal, the comandante of San Francisco, writing to a friend in 1799, says, "I send you, by the wife of the pensioner José Barbo, one piece of cotton goods and an ounce of sewing silk. There are no combs and I have no hope of receiving any for three years." Think of waiting three years for a comb!

Eighteen missions had been founded at the close of the century. Except at a few of the older missions, the buildings were temporary structures. The neophytes for the most part were living in wigwams constructed like those they had occupied in their wild state.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PASSING OF SPAIN'S DOMINATION.

THE Spaniards were not a commercial people. Their great desire was to be let alone in their American possessions. Philip II. once promulgated a decree pronouncing death upon any foreigner who entered the Gulf of Mexico. It was easy to promulgate a decree or to pass restrictive laws against foreign trade, but quite another thing to enforce them.

After the first settlement of California seventeen years passed before a foreign vessel entered any of its ports. The first to arrive were the two vessels of the French explorer, La Perouse, who anchored in the harbor of Monterey, September 15, 1786. Being of the same faith, and France having been an ally of Spain in former times, he was well received. During his brief stay he made a study of the mission system and his observations on it are plainly given. He found a similarity in it to the slave plantations of Santo Domingo. November 14, 1792, the English navigator, Capt. George Vancouver, in the ship *Discovery*, entered the Bay of San

Francisco. He was cordially received by the comandante of the port, Hermanagildo Sal, and the friars of the mission. On the 20th of the month, with several of his officers, he visited the Mission of Santa Clara, where he was kindly treated. He also visited the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey. He wrote an interesting account of his visit and his observations on the country. Vancouver was surprised at the backwardness of the country and the antiquated customs of the people. He says: "Instead of finding a country tolerably well inhabited, and far advanced in cultivation, if we except its natural pastures, flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, there is not an object to indicate the most remote connection with any European or other civilized nation." On a subsequent visit, Captain Vancouver met a chilly reception from the acting governor, Arrillaga. The Spaniards suspected him of spying out the weakness of their defenses. Through the English, the Spaniards became acquainted with the importance and

value of the fur trade. The bays and lagoons of California abounded in sea otter. Their skins were worth in China all the way from \$30 to \$100 each. The trade was made a government monopoly. The skins were to be collected from the natives, soldiers and others by the missionaries, at prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$10 each, and turned over to the government officials appointed to receive them. All trade by private persons was prohibited. The government was sole trader. But the government failed to make the trade profitable. In the closing years of the century the American smugglers began to haunt the coast. The restrictions against trade with foreigners were proscriptive and the penalties for evasion severe, but men will trade under the most adverse circumstances. Spain was a long way off, and smuggling was not a very venal sin in the eyes of layman or churchman. Fast sailing vessels were fitted out in Boston for illicit trade on the California coast. Watching their opportunities, these vessels slipped into the bays and inlets along the coast. There was a rapid exchange of Yankee notions for sea otter skins, the most valued peltry of California, and the vessels were out to sea before the revenue officers could intercept them. If successful in escaping capture, the profits of a smuggling voyage were enormous, ranging from 500 to 1,000 per cent above cost on the goods exchanged; but the risks were great. The smuggler had no protection; he was an outlaw. He was the legitimate prey of the padres, the people and the revenue officers. The Yankee smuggler usually came out ahead. His vessel was heavily armed, and when speed or stratagem failed he was ready to fight his way out of a scrape.

Each year two ships were sent from San Blas with the memorias—mission and presidio supplies. These took back a small cargo of the products of the territory, wheat being the principal. This was all the legitimate commerce allowed California.

The fear of Russian aggression had been one of the causes that had forced Spain to attempt the colonization of California. Bering, in 1741, had discovered the strait that bears his name and had taken possession, for the Russian gov-

ernment, of the northwestern coast of America. Four years later, the first permanent Russian settlement, Sitka, had been made on one of the coast islands. Rumors of the Russian explorations and settlements had reached Madrid and in 1774 Captain Perez, in the *San Antonia*, was sent up the coast to find out what the Russians were doing.

Had Russian America contained arable land where grain and vegetables could have been grown, it is probable that the Russians and Spaniards in America would not have come in contact; for another nation, the United States had taken possession of the intervening country, bordering the Columbia river.

The supplies of breadstuffs for the Sitka colonists had to be sent overland across Siberia or shipped around Cape Horn. Failure of supplies sometimes reduced the colonists to sore straits. In 1806, famine and diseases incident to starvation threatened the extinction of the Russian colony. Count Rezánoff, a high officer of the Russian government, had arrived at the Sitka settlement in September, 1805. The destitution prevailing there induced him to visit California with the hope of obtaining relief for the starving colonists. In the ship *Juno* (purchased from an American trader), with a scurvy afflicted crew, he made a perilous voyage down the stormy coast and on the 5th of April, 1806, anchored safely in the Bay of San Francisco. He had brought with him a cargo of goods for exchange but the restrictive commercial regulations of Spain prohibited trade with foreigners. Although the friars and the people needed the goods the governor could not allow the exchange. Count Rezánoff would be permitted to purchase grain for cash, but the Russian's exchequer was not pléthoric and his ship was already loaded with goods. Love that laughs at locksmiths eventually unlocked the shackles that hampered commerce. Rezánoff fell in love with Dona Concepcion, the beautiful daughter of Don José Arguello, the comandante of San Francisco, and an old time friend of the governor, Arrillaga. The attraction was mutual. Through the influence of Dona Concepcion, the friars and Arguello, the governor was induced to sanction a plan by which cash was the sup-

posed medium of exchange on both sides, but grain on the one side and goods on the other were the real currency.

The romance of Rezánoff and Dona Concepcion had a sad ending. On his journey through Siberia to St. Petersburg to obtain the consent of the emperor to his marriage he was killed by a fall from his horse. It was several years before the news of his death reached his affianced bride. Faithful to his memory, she never married, but dedicated her life to deeds of charity. After Rezánoff's visit the Russians came frequently to California, partly to trade, but more often to hunt otter. While on these fur hunting expeditions they examined the coast north of San Francisco with the design of planting an agricultural colony where they could raise grain to supply the settlements in the far north. In 1812 they founded a town and built a fort on the coast north of Bodega Bay, which they named Ross. The fort mounted ten guns. They maintained a fort at Bodega Bay and also a small settlement on Russian river. The Spaniards protested against this aggression and threatened to drive the Russians out of the territory, but nothing came of their protests and they were powerless to enforce their demands. The Russian ships came to California for supplies and were welcomed by the people and the friars if not by the government officials. The Russian colony at Ross was not a success. The ignorant soldiers and the Aluets who formed the bulk of its three or four hundred inhabitants, knew little or nothing about farming and were too stupid to learn. After the decline of fur hunting the settlement became unprofitable. In 1841 the buildings and the stock were sold by the Russian governor to Capt. John A. Sutter for \$30,000. The settlement was abandoned and the fort and the town are in ruins.

On the 15th of September, 1810, the patriot priest, Miguel Hidalgo, struck the first blow for Mexican independence. The revolution which began in the province of Guanajuato was at first regarded by the authorities as a mere riot of ignorant Indians that would be speedily suppressed. But the insurrection spread rapidly. Long years of oppression and cruelty had instilled into the hearts of the people an undy-

ing hatred for their Spanish oppressors. Hidalgo soon found himself at the head of a motley army, poorly armed and undisciplined, but its numbers swept away opposition. Unfortunately through over-confidence reverses came and in March, 1811, the patriots met an overwhelming defeat at the bridge of Calderon. Hidalgo was betrayed, captured and shot. Though suppressed for a time, the cause of independence was not lost. For eleven years a fratricidal war was waged—cruel, bloody and devastating. Allende, Mina, Moreles, Aldama, Rayon and other patriot leaders met death on the field of battle or were captured and shot as rebels, but "Freedom's battle" bequeathed from bleeding sire to son was won at last.

Of the political upheavals that shook Spain in the first decades of the century only the faintest rumblings reached far distant California. Notwithstanding the many changes of rulers that political revolutions and Napoleonic wars gave the mother country, the people of California remained loyal to the Spanish crown, although at times they must have been in doubt who wore the crown.

Arrillaga was governor of California when the war of Mexican independence began. Although born in Mexico he was of pure Spanish parentage and was thoroughly in sympathy with Spain in the contest. He did not live to see the end of the war. He died in 1814 and was succeeded by Pablo Vicente de Sola. Sola was Spanish born and was bitterly opposed to the revolution, even going so far as to threaten death to any one who should speak in favor of it. He had received his appointment from Viceroy Calleja, the butcher of Guanajuato, the cruelest and most bloodthirsty of the vice regal governors of new Spain. The friars were to a man loyal to Spain. The success of the republic meant the downfall of their domination. They hated republican ideas and regarded their dissemination as a crime. They were the ruling power in California. The governors and the people were subservient to their wishes.

The decade between 1810 and 1820 was marked by two important events, the year of the earthquakes and the year of the insurgents.

The year 1812 was the *Ano de los Temblores*. The seismic disturbance that for forty years or more had shaken California seemed to concentrate in power that year and expend its force on the mission churches. The massive church of San Juan Capistrano, the pride of mission architecture, was thrown down and forty persons killed. The walls of San Gabriel Mission were cracked and some of the saints shaken out of their niches. At San Buenaventura there were three heavy shocks which injured the church so that the tower and much of the facade had to be rebuilt. The whole mission site seemed to settle and the inhabitants, fearful that they might be engulfed by the sea, moved up the valley about two miles, where they remained three months. At Santa Barbara both church and the presidio were damaged and at Santa Inez the church was shaken down. The quakes continued for several months and the people were so terrified that they abandoned their houses and lived in the open air.

The other important epoch of the decade was *El Año de los Insurgentes*, the year of the insurgents. In November, 1818, Bouchard, a Frenchman in the service of Buenos Ayres and provided with letters of marque by San Martin, the president of that republic, to prey upon Spanish commerce, appeared in the port of Monterey with two ships carrying sixty-six guns and three hundred and fifty men. He attacked Monterey and after an obstinate resistance by the Californians, it was taken by the insurgents and burned. Bouchard next pillaged Ortega's rancho and burned the buildings. Then sailing down the coast he scared the Santa Barbaraños; then keeping on down he looked into San Pedro, but finding nothing there to tempt him he kept on to San Juan Capistrano. There he landed, robbed the mission of a few articles and drank the padres' wine. Then he sailed away and disappeared. He left six of his men in California, among them Joseph Chapman of Boston, the first American resident of California.

In the early part of the last century there was a limited commerce with Lima. That

being a Spanish dependency, trade with it was not prohibited. Gilroy, who arrived in California in 1814, says in his reminiscences:*

"The only article of export then was tallow, of which one cargo was sent annually to Callao in a Spanish ship. This tallow sold for \$1.50 per hundred weight in silver or \$2.00 in trade or goods. Hides, except those used for tallow bags, were thrown away. Wheat, barley and beans had no market. Nearly everything consumed by the people was produced at home. There was no foreign trade."

As the revolution in Mexico progressed times grew harder in California. The mission memorias ceased to come. No tallow ships from Callao arrived. The soldiers' pay was years in arrears and their uniforms in rags. What little wealth there was in the country was in the hands of the padres. They were supreme. "The friars," says Gilroy, "had everything their own way. The governor and the military were expected to do whatever the friars requested. The missions contained all the wealth of the country." The friars supported the government and supplied the troops with food from the products of the neophytes' labor. The crude manufacturers of the missions supplied the people with cloth for clothing and some other necessities. The needs of the common people were easily satisfied. They were not used to luxuries nor were they accustomed to what we would now consider necessities. Gilroy, in the reminiscences heretofore referred to, states that at the time of his arrival (1814) "There was not a saw-mill, whip saw or spoked wheel in California. Such lumber as was used was cut with an axe. Chairs, tables and wood floors were not to be found except in the governor's house. Plates were rare unless that name could be applied to the tiles used instead. Money was a rarity. There were no stores and no merchandise to sell. There was no employment for a laborer. The neophytes did all the work and all the business of the country was in the hands of the friars."

*Alta California, June 25, 1865.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM EMPIRE TO REPUBLIC.

THE condition of affairs in California steadily grew worse as the revolution in Mexico progressed. Sola had made strenuous efforts to arouse the Spanish authorities of New Spain to take some action towards benefiting the territory. After the affair with the insurgent Bouchard he had appealed to the viceroy for reinforcements. In answer to his urgent entreaties a force of one hundred men was sent from Mazatlan to garrison San Diego and an equal force from San Blas for Monterey. They reached California in August, 1819, and Sola was greatly rejoiced, but his joy was turned to deep disgust when he discovered the true character of the reinforcement and arms sent him. The only equipments of the soldiers were a few hundred old worn-out sabers that Sola declared were unfit for sickles. He ordered them returned to the comandante of San Blas, who had sent them. The troops were a worse lot than the arms sent. They had been taken out of the prisons or conscripted from the lowest class of the population of the cities. They were thieves, drunkards and vagabonds, who, as soon as landed, resorted to robberies, brawls and assassinations. Sola wrote to the viceroy that the outcasts called troops sent him from the jails of Tepic and San Blas by their vices caused continual disorders; their evil example had debauched the minds of the Indians and that the cost incurred in their collection and transportation had been worse than thrown away. He could not get rid of them, so he had to control them as best he could. Governor Sola labored faithfully to benefit the country over which he had been placed and to arouse the Spanish authorities in Mexico to do something for the advancement of California; but the government did nothing. Indeed it was in no condition to do anything. The revolution would not down. No sooner was one revolutionary leader suppressed and the rebellion apparently crushed than there was an uprising in

some other part of the country under a new leader.

Ten years of intermittent warfare had been waged—one army of patriots after another had been defeated and the leaders shot; the struggle for independence was almost ended and the royalists were congratulating themselves on the triumph of the Spanish crown, when a sudden change came and the vice regal government that for three hundred years had swayed the destinies of New Spain went down forever. Agustin Iturbide, a colonel in the royal army, who in February, 1821, had been sent with a corps of five thousand men from the capital to the Sierras near Acapulco to suppress Guerrero, the last of the patriot chiefs, suddenly changed his allegiance, raised the banner of the revolution and declared for the independence of Mexico under the plan of Iguala, so named for the town where it was first proclaimed. The central ideas of the plan were "Union, civil and religious liberty."

There was a general uprising in all parts of the country and men rallied to the support of the Army of the Three Guarantees, religion, union, independence. Guerrero joined forces with Iturbide and September 21, 1821, at the head of sixteen thousand men, amid the rejoicing of the people, they entered the capital. The viceroy was compelled to recognize the independence of Mexico. A provisional government under a regency was appointed at first, but a few months later Iturbide was crowned emperor, taking the title of his most serene majesty, Agustin I., by divine providence and by the congress of the nation, first constitutional emperor of Mexico.

Sola had heard rumors of the turn affairs were taking in Mexico, but he had kept the reports a secret and still hoped and prayed for the success of the Spanish arms. At length a vessel appeared in the harbor of Monterey floating an unknown flag, and cast anchor beyond

the reach of the guns of the castillo. The soldiers were called to arms. A boat from the ship put off for shore and landed an officer, who declared himself the bearer of dispatches to Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, the governor of the province. "I demand," said he, "to be conducted to his presence in the name of my sovereign, the liberator of Mexico, General Agustin de Iturbide." There was a murmur of applause from the soldiers, greatly to the surprise of their officers, who were all loyalists. Governor Sola was bitterly disappointed. Only a few days before he had harangued the soldiers in the square of the presidio and threatened "to shoot down any one high or low without the formality of a trial who dared to say a word in favor of the traitor Iturbide."

For half a century the banner of Spain had floated from the flag staff of the presidio of Monterey. Sadly Sola ordered it lowered and in its place was hoisted the imperial flag of the Mexican Empire. A few months pass, Iturbide is forced to abdicate the throne of empire and is banished from Mexico. The imperial standard is supplanted by the tricolor of the republic. Thus the Californians, in little more than one year, have passed under three different forms of government, that of a kingdom, an empire and a republic, and Sola from the most loyal of Spanish governors in the kingdom of Spain has been transformed in a Mexican republican.

The friars, if possible, were more bitterly disappointed than the governor. They saw in the success of the republic the doom of their establishments. Republican ideas were repulsive to them. Liberty meant license to men to think for themselves. The shackles of creed and the fetters of priestcraft would be loosened by the growth of liberal ideas. It was not strange, viewing the question from their standpoint, that they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the republic. Nearly all of them were Spanish born. Spain had aided them to plant their missions, had fostered their establishments and had made them supreme in the territory. Their allegiance was due to the Spanish crown. They would not transfer it to a republic and they did not; to the last they were loyal to Spain in

heart, even if they did acquiesce in the observance of the rule of the republic.

Sola had long desired to be relieved of the governorship. He was growing old and was in poor health. The condition of the country worried him. He had frequently asked to be relieved and allowed to retire from military duty. His requests were unheeded; the vice regal government of New Spain had weightier matters to attend to than requests or the complaints of the governor of a distant and unimportant province. The inauguration of the empire brought him the desired relief.

Under the empire Alta California was allowed a diputado or delegate in the imperial congress. Sola was elected delegate and took his departure for Mexico in the autumn of 1822. Luis Antonio Arguello, president of the provincial diputacion, an institution that had come into existence after the inauguration of the empire, became governor by virtue of his position as president. He was the first *hijo del pais* or native of the country to hold the office of governor. He was born at San Francisco in 1784, while his father, an ensign at the presidio, was in command there. His opportunities for obtaining an education were extremely meager, but he made the best use of what he had. He entered the army at sixteen and was, at the time he became temporary governor, comandante at San Francisco.

The inauguration of a new form of government had brought no relief to California. The two Spanish ships that had annually brought *los memorias del rey* (the remembrances of the king) had long since ceased to come with their supplies of money and goods for the soldiers. The California ports were closed to foreign commerce. There was no sale for the products of the country. So the missions had to throw open their warehouses and relieve the necessities of the government.

The change in the form of government had made no change in the dislike of foreigners, that was a characteristic of the Spaniard. During the Spanish era very few foreigners had been allowed to remain in California. Run-away sailors and shipwrecked mariners, notwithstanding they might wish to remain in the coun-

try and become Catholics, were shipped to Mexico and returned to their own country. John Gilroy, whose real name was said to be John Cameron, was the first permanent English speaking resident of California. When a boy of eighteen he was left by the captain of a Hudson Bay company's ship at Monterey in 1814. He was sick with the scurvy and not expected to live. Nursing and a vegetable diet brought him out all right, but he could not get away. He did not like the country and every day for several years he went down to the beach and scanned the ocean for a foreign sail. When one did come he had gotten over his home-sickness, had learned the language, fallen in love, turned Catholic and married.

In 1822 William E. P. Hartnell, an Englishman, connected with a Lima business house, visited California and entered into a contract with Padre Payeras, the prefect of the missions, for the purchase of hides and tallow. Hartnell a few years later married a California lady and became a permanent resident of the territory. Other foreigners who came about the same time as Hartnell and who became prominent in California were William A. Richardson, an Englishman; Capt. John R. Cooper of Boston and William A. Gale, also of Boston. Gale had first visited California in 1810 as a fur trader. He returned in 1822 on the ship *Sachem*, the pioneer Boston hide drogher. The hide drogher was in a certain sense the pioneer emigrant ship of California. It brought to the coast a number of Americans who became permanent residents of the territory. California, on account of its long distance from the world's marts of trade, had but few products for exchange that would bear the cost of shipment. Its chief commodities for barter during the Mexican era were hides and tallow. The vast range of country adapted to cattle raising made that its most profitable industry. Cattle increased rapidly and required but little care or attention from their owners. As the native Californians were averse to hard labor cattle raising became almost the sole industry of the country.

After the inauguration of a republican form of government in Mexico some of the most

burdensome restrictions on foreign commerce were removed. The Mexican Congress of 1824 enacted a colonization law, which was quite liberal. Under it foreigners could obtain land from the public domain. The Roman Catholic religion was the state religion and a foreigner, before he could become a permanent resident of the country, acquire property or marry, was required to be baptized and embrace the doctrines of that church. After the Mexican Congress repealed the restrictive laws against foreign commerce a profitable trade grew up between the New England ship owners and the Californians.

Vessels called hide droghers were fitted out in Boston with assorted cargoes suitable for the California trade. Making the voyage by way of Cape Horn they reached California. Stopping at the various ports along the coast they exchanged their stocks of goods and Yankee notions for hides and tallow. It took from two to three years to make a voyage to California and return to Boston, but the profits on the goods sold and on the hides received in exchange were so large that these ventures paid handsomely. The arrival of a hide drogher with its department store cargo was heralded up and down the coast. It broke the monotony of existence, gave the people something new to talk about and stirred them up as nothing else could do unless possibly a revolution.

"On the arrival of a new vessel from the United States," says Robinson in his "Life in California," "every man, woman, boy and girl took a proportionate share of interest as to the qualities of her cargo. If the first inquired for rice, sugar or tobacco, the latter asked for prints, silks and satins; and if the boy wanted a Wilson's jack knife, the girl hoped that there might be some satin ribbons for her. Thus the whole population hailed with eagerness an arrival. Even the Indian in his unsophisticated style asked for *Panas Colorados* and *Abalaris*—red handkerchiefs and beads.

"After the arrival of our trading vessel (at San Pedro) our friends came in the morning flocking on board from all quarters; and soon a busy scene commenced afloat and ashore. Boats were passing to the beach, and men, women

and children partaking in the general excitement. On shore all was confusion, cattle and carts laden with hides and tallow, gente de razon and Indians busily employed in the delivery of their produce and receiving in return its value in goods. Groups of individuals seated around little bonfires upon the ground, and horsemen racing over the plains in every direction. Thus the day passed, some arriving, some departing, till long after sunset, the low white road, leading across the plains to the town (Los Angeles), appeared a living panorama."

The commerce of California during the Mexican era was principally carried on by the hide droghers. The few stores at the pueblos and presidios obtained their supplies from them and retailed their goods to customers in the intervals between the arrivals of the department store droghers.

The year 1824 was marked by a serious outbreak among the Indians of several missions. Although in the older missionary establishments many of the neophytes had spent half a century under the Christianizing influence of the padres and in these, too, a younger generation had grown from childhood to manhood under mission tutelage, yet their Christian training had not eliminated all the aboriginal savagery from their natures. The California Indians were divided into numerous small tribes, each speaking a different dialect. They had never learned, like the eastern Indians did, the advantages of uniting against a common enemy. When these numerous small tribes were gathered into the missions they were kept as far as it was possible separate and it is said the padres encouraged their feuds and tribal animosities to prevent their uniting against the missionaries. Their long residence in the missions had destroyed their tribal distinctions and merged them into one body. It had taught them, too, the value of combination.

How long the Indians had been plotting no one knew. The conspiracy began among the neophytes of Santa Ynez and La Purisima, but it spread to the missions of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, San Buenaventura, San Fernando and San Gabriel. Their plan was to massacre the padres and the mission guard and

having obtained arms to kill all the gente de razon and thus free themselves from mission thralldom and regain their old time freedom. The plotting had been carried on with great secrecy. Rumors had passed from mission to mission arranging the details of the uprising without the whites suspecting anything. Sunday, February 22, 1824, was the day set for beginning the slaughter. At the hour of celebrating mass, when the soldiers and the padres were within the church, the bloody work was to begin. The plot might have succeeded had not the Indians at Santa Ynez began their work prematurely. One account (Hittell's History of California) says that on Saturday afternoon before the appointed Sunday they determined to begin the work by the murder of Padre Francisco Xavier Uná, who was sleeping in a chamber next the mission church. He was warned by a faithful page. Springing from his couch and rushing to a window he saw the Indians approaching. Seizing a musket from several that were in the room he shot the first Indian that reached the threshold dead. He seized a second musket and laid another Indian low. The soldiers now rallied to his assistance and the Indians were driven back; they set fire to the mission church, but a small body of troops under Sergeant Carrillo, sent from Santa Barbara to reinforce the mission guard, coming up at this time, the Indians fled to Purisima. The fire was extinguished before the church was consumed. At Purisima the Indians were more successful. The mission was defended by Corporal Tapia and five soldiers. The Indians demanded that Tapia surrender, but the corporal refused. The fight began and continued all night. The Indians set fire to the building, but all they could burn was the rafters. Tapia, by a strategic movement, succeeded in collecting all the soldiers and the women and children inside the walls of one of the largest buildings from which the roof had been burnt. From this the Indians could not dislodge him. The fight was kept up till morning, when one of the Indians, who had been a mission alcade, made a proposition to the corporal to surrender. Tapia refused to consider it, but Father Blas Ordaz interfered and insisted on a compromise. After

much contention Tapia found himself overruled. The Indians agreed to spare the lives of all on condition that the whites laid down their arms. The soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered two small cannon belonging to the church. The soldiers, the women and the children were then allowed to march to Santa Ynez. While the fight was going on the Indians killed four white men, two of them, Dolores Sepulveda and Ramon Satelo, were on their way to Los Angeles and came to the mission not suspecting any danger. Seven Indians were killed in the fight and a number wounded.

The Indians at Santa Barbara began hostilities according to their prearranged plot. They made an attack upon the mission. Captain de la Guerra, who was in command at the presidio, marched to the mission and a fight of several hours ensued. The Indians sheltered themselves behind the pillars of the corridor and fought with guns and arrows. After losing several of their number they fled to the hills. Four soldiers were wounded. The report of the uprising reached Monterey and measures were taken at once to subdue the rebellious neophytes. A force of one hundred men was sent under Lieut. José Estrada to co-operate with Captain de la Guerra against the rebels. On the 16th of March the soldiers surrounded the Indians who had taken possession of the mission church at Purisima and opened fire upon them. The Indians replied with their captured cannon, muskets and arrows. Estrada's artillery battered down the walls of the church. The Indians, unused to arms, did little execution. Driven out of the wrecked building, they attempted to make their escape by flight, but were intercepted by the cavalry which had been deployed for that purpose. Finding themselves

hemmed in on all sides the neophytes surrendered. They had lost sixteen killed and a large number of wounded. Seven of the prisoners were shot for complicity in the murder of Sepulveda and the three other travelers. The four leaders in the revolt, Mariano Pacomio, Benito and Bernabe, were sentenced to ten years hard labor at the presidio and eight others to lesser terms. There were four hundred Indians engaged in the battle.

The Indians of the Santa Barbara missions and escapes from Santa Ynez and Purisima made their way over the mountains to the Tulares. A force of eighty men under command of a lieutenant was sent against these. The troops had two engagements with the rebels, whom they found at Buenavista Lake and San Emigdio. Finding his force insufficient to subdue them the lieutenant retreated to Santa Barbara. Another force of one hundred and thirty men under Captain Portilla and Lieutenant Valle was sent after the rebels. Father Ripoll had induced the governor to offer a general pardon. The padre claimed that the Indians had not harmed the friars nor committed sacrilege in the church and from his narrow view these were about the only venal sins they could commit. The troops found the fugitive neophytes encamped at San Emigdio. They now professed repentance for their misdeeds and were willing to return to mission life if they could escape punishment. Padres Ripoll and Sarria, who had accompanied the expedition, entered into negotiations with the Indians; pardon was promised them for their offenses. They then surrendered and marched back with the soldiers to their respective missions. This was the last attempt of the Indians to escape from mission rule.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST DECADE OF MEXICAN RULE.

JOSE MARIA ECHEANDIA, a lieutenant colonel of the Mexican army, was appointed governor of the two Californias, February 1, 1825. With his staff officers and a few soldiers he landed at Loreto June 22. After a delay of a few months at Loreto he marched overland to San Diego, where he arrived about the middle of October. He summoned Arguello to meet him there, which he did and turned over the government, October 31, 1825. Echeandia established his capital at San Diego, that town being about the center of his jurisdiction. This did not suit the people of Monterey, who became prejudiced against the new governor. Shortly after his inauguration he began an investigation of the attitude of the mission friars towards the republic of Mexico. He called padres Sanches, Zalvidea, Peyri and Martin, representatives of the four southern missions, to San Diego and demanded of them whether they would take the oath of allegiance to the supreme government. They expressed their willingness and were accordingly sworn to support the constitution of 1824. Many of the friars of the northern missions remained contumacious. Among the most stubborn of these was Padre Vicente Francisco de Sarria, former president of the missions. He had resigned the presidency to escape taking the oath of allegiance and still continued his opposition. He was put under arrest and an order issued for his expulsion by the supreme government, but the execution of the order was delayed for fear that if he were banished others of the disloyal padres would abandon their missions and secretly leave the country. The government was not ready yet to take possession of the missions. The friars could keep the neophytes in subjection and make them work. The business of the country was in the hands of the friars and any radical change would have been disastrous.

The national government in 1827 had issued a decree for the expulsion of Spaniards from Mexican territory. There were certain classes of those born in Spain who were exempt from banishment, but the friars were not among the exempts. The decree of expulsion reached California in 1828; but it was not enforced for the reason that all of the mission padres except three were Spaniards. To have sent these out of the country would have demoralized the missions. The Spanish friars were expelled from Mexico; but those in California, although some of them had boldly proclaimed their willingness to die for their king and their religion and demanded their passports to leave the country, were allowed to remain in the country. Their passports were not given them for reasons above stated. Padres Ripoll and Altimira made their escape without passports. They secretly took passage on an American brig lying at Santa Barbara. Orders were issued to seize the vessel should she put into any other harbor on the coast, but the captain, who no doubt had been liberally paid, took no chance of capture and the padres eventually reached Spain in safety. There was a suspicion that the two friars had taken with them a large amount of money from the mission funds, but nothing was proved. It was certain that they carried away something more than the bag and staff, the only property allowed them by the rules of their order.

The most bitter opponent of the new government was Father Luis Antonio Martinez of San Luis Obispo. Before the clandestine departure of Ripoll and Altimira there were rumors that he meditated a secret departure from the country. The mysterious shipment of \$6,000 in gold belonging to the mission on a vessel called the Santa Apolonia gave credence to the report of his intended flight. He had been given a passport but still remained in the territory. His

outspoken disloyalty and his well known success in evading the revenue laws and smuggling goods into the country had made him particularly obnoxious to the authorities. Governor Echeandia determined to make an example of him. He was arrested in February, 1830, and confined in a room at Santa Barbara. In his trial before a council of war an attempt was made to connect him with complicity in the Solis revolution, but the evidence against him was weak. By a vote of five to one it was decided to send him out of the country. He was put on board an English vessel bound for Callao and there transferred to a vessel bound for Europe; he finally arrived safely at Madrid.

Under the empire a diputacion or provincial legislature had been established in California. Arguello in 1825 had suppressed this while he was governor. Echeandia, shortly after his arrival, ordered an election for a new diputacion. The diputacion made the general laws of the territory. It consisted of seven members called vocals. These were chosen by an electoral junta, the members of which were elected by the people. The diputacion chose a diputado or delegate to the Mexican Congress. As it was a long distance for some of the members to travel to the territorial capital a suplente or substitute was chosen for each member, so as to assure a quorum. The diputacion called by Echeandia met at Monterey, June 14, 1828. The sessions, of which there were two each week, were held in the governor's palacio. This diputacion passed a rather peculiar revenue law. It taxed domestic aguardiente (grape brandy) \$5 a barrel and wine half that amount in the jurisdictions of Monterey and San Francisco; but in the jurisdictions of Santa Barbara and San Diego the rates were doubled, brandy was taxed \$10 a barrel and wine \$5. San Diego, Los Angeles and Santa Barbara were wine producing districts, while Monterey and San Francisco were not. As there was a larger consumption of the product in the wine producing districts than in the others the law was enacted for revenue and not for prevention of drinking.

Another peculiar freak of legislation perpetrated by this diputacion was the attempt to change the name of the territory. The supreme

government was memorialized to change the name of Alta California to that of Montezuma and also that of the Pueblo de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles to that of Villa Victoria de la Reyna de los Angeles and make it the capital of the territory. A coat of arms was adopted for the territory. It consisted of an oval with the figure of an oak tree on one side, an olive tree on the other and a plumed Indian in the center with his bow and quiver, just in the act of stepping across the mythical straits of Anian. The memorial was sent to Mexico, but the supreme government paid no attention to it.

The political upheavals, revolutions and counter revolutions that followed the inauguration of a republican form of government in Mexico demoralized the people and produced a prolific crop of criminals. The jails were always full and it became a serious question what to do with them. It was proposed to make California a penal colony, similar to England's Botany Bay. Orders were issued to send criminals to California as a means of reforming their morals. The Californians protested against the sending of these undesirable immigrants, but in vain. In February, 1830, the brig Maria Ester brought eighty convicts from Acapulco to San Diego. They were not allowed to land there and were taken to Santa Barbara. What to do with them was a serious question with the Santa Barbara authorities. The jail would not hold a tenth part of the shipment and to turn them loose in the sparsely settled country was dangerous to the peace of the community. Finally, about thirty or forty of the worst of the bad lot were shipped over to the island of Santa Cruz. They were given a supply of cattle, some fishhooks and a few tools and turned loose on the island to shift for themselves. They staid on the island until they had slaughtered and eaten the cattle, then they built a raft and drifted back to Santa Barbara, where they quartered themselves on the padres of the mission. Fifty more were sent from Mexico a few months later. These shipments of prison exiles were distributed around among the settlements. Some served out their time and returned to their native land, a few escaped over the border,

others remained in the territory after their time was up and became fairly good citizens.

The colonization law passed by the Mexican Congress August 18, 1824, was the first break in the proscriptive regulations that had prevailed in Spanish-American countries since their settlement. Any foreigner of good character who should locate in the country and become a Roman Catholic could obtain a grant of public land, not exceeding eleven leagues; but no foreigner was allowed to obtain a grant within twenty leagues of the boundary of a foreign country nor within ten leagues of the sea coast. The law of April 14, 1828, allowed foreigners to become naturalized citizens. The applicant was required to have resided at least two years in the country, to be or to become a Roman Catholic, to renounce allegiance to his former country and to swear to support the constitution and laws of the Mexican republic. Quite a number of foreigners who had been residing a number of years in California took advantage of this law and became Mexican citizens by naturalization. The colonization law of November 18, 1828, prescribed a series of rules and regulations for the making of grants of land. Colonists were required to settle on and cultivate the land granted within a specified time or forfeit their grants. Any one residing outside of the republic could not retain possession of his land. The minimum size of a grant as defined by this law was two hundred varas square of irrigable land, eight hundred varas square of arable land (depending on the seasons) and twelve hundred varas square grazing land. The size of a house lot was one hundred varas square.

The Californians had grown accustomed to foreigners coming to the country by sea, but they were not prepared to have them come overland. The mountains and deserts that intervened between the United States and California were supposed to be an insurmountable barrier to foreign immigration by land. It was no doubt with feelings of dismay, mingled with anger, that Governor Echeandia received the advance guard of *maldito extranjeros*, who came across the continent. Echeandia hated foreigners and particularly Americans. The pioneer of over-

land travel from the United States to California was Capt. Jedediah S. Smith. Smith was born in Connecticut and when quite young came with his father to Ohio and located in Ashtabula county, where he grew to manhood amid the rude surroundings of pioneer life in the west. By some means he obtained a fairly good education. We have no record of when he began the life of a trapper. We first hear of him as an employe of General Ashley in 1822. He had command of a band of trappers on the waters of the Snake river in 1824. Afterwards he became a partner of Ashley under the firm name of Ashley & Smith and subsequently one of the members of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. The latter company had about 1825 established a post and fort near Great Salt Lake. From this, August 22, 1826, Captain Smith with a band of fifteen hunters and trappers started on his first expedition to California. His object was to find some new country that had not been occupied by a fur company. Traveling in a south-westerly direction he discovered a river which he named Adams (after President John Quincy Adams) now known as the Rio Virgin. This stream he followed down to its junction with the Colorado. Traveling down the latter river he arrived at the Mojave villages, where he rested fifteen days. Here he found two wandering neophytes, who guided his party across the desert to the San Gabriel mission, where he and his men arrived safely early in December, 1826.

The arrival of a party of armed Americans from across the mountains and deserts alarmed the padres and couriers were hastily dispatched to Governor Echeandia at San Diego. The Americans were placed under arrest and compelled to give up their arms. Smith was taken to San Diego to give an account of himself. He claimed that he had been compelled to enter the territory on account of the loss of horses and a scarcity of provisions. He was finally released from prison upon the endorsement of several American ship captains and supercargoes who were then at San Diego. He was allowed to return to San Gabriel, where he purchased horses and supplies. He moved his camp to San Bernardino, where he remained until February. The authorities had grown uneasy

at his continued presence in the country and orders were sent to arrest him, but before this could be done he left for the Tulare country by way of Cajon Pass. He trapped on the tributaries of the San Joaquin. By the 1st of May he and his party had reached a fork of the Sacramento (near where the town of Folsom now stands). Here he established a summer camp and the river ever since has been known as the American fork from that circumstance.

Here again the presence of the Americans worried the Mexican authorities. Smith wrote a conciliatory letter to Padre Duran, president of the missions, informing him that he had "made several efforts to pass over the mountains, but the snow being so deep I could not succeed in getting over. I returned to this place, it being the only point to kill meat, to wait a few weeks until the snow melts so that I can go on." "On May 20, 1827," Smith writes, "with two men, seven horses and two mules, I started from the valley. In eight days we crossed Mount Joseph, losing two horses and one mule. After a march of twenty days eastward from Mount Joseph (the Sierra Nevadas) I reached the southwesterly corner of the Great Salt Lake. The country separating it from the mountains is arid and without game. Often we had no water for two days at a time. When we reached Salt Lake we had left only one horse and one mule, so exhausted that they could hardly carry our slight baggage. We had been forced to eat the horses that had succumbed."

Smith's route over the Sierras to Salt Lake was substantially the same as that followed by the overland emigration of later years. He discovered the Humboldt, which he named the Mary river, a name it bore until changed by Fremont in 1845. He was the first white man to cross the Sierra Nevadas. Smith left his party of trappers except the two who accompanied him in the Sacramento valley. He returned next year with reinforcements and was ordered out of the country by the governor. He traveled up the coast towards Oregon. On the Umpqua river he was attacked by the Indians. All his party except himself and two others were massacred. He lost all of his horses and furs. He reached Fort Vancouver, his clothing torn to

rags and almost starved to death. In 1831 he started with a train of wagons to Santa Fe on a trading expedition. While alone searching for water near the Cimarron river he was set upon by a party of Indians and killed. Thus perished by the hands of cowardly savages in the wilds of New Mexico a man who, through almost incredible dangers and sufferings, had explored an unknown region as vast in extent as that which gave fame and immortality to the African explorer, Stanley; and who marked out trails over mountains and across deserts that Fremont following years afterwards won the title of "Pathfinder of the Great West." Smith led the advance guard of the fur trappers to California. Notwithstanding the fact that they were unwelcome visitors these adventurers continued to come at intervals up to 1845. They trapped on the tributaries of the San Joaquin, Sacramento and the rivers in the northern part of the territory. A few of them remained in the country and became permanent residents, but most of them sooner or later met death by the savages.

Capt. Jedediah S. Smith marked out two of the great immigrant trails by which the overland travel, after the discovery of gold, entered California, one by way of the Humboldt river over the Sierra Nevadas, the other southerly from Salt Lake, Utah Lake, the Rio Virgin, across the Colorado desert, through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles. A third immigrant route was blazed by the Pattie party. This route led from Santa Fe, across New Mexico, down the Gila to the Colorado and from thence across the desert through the San Gorgonio Pass to Los Angeles.

This party consisted of Sylvester Pattie, James Ohio Pattie, his son, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin, Jesse Furguson, Isaac Slover, William Pope and James Puter. The Patties left Kentucky in 1824 and followed trapping in New Mexico and Arizona until 1827; the elder Pattie for a time managing the copper mines of Santa Rita. In May, 1827, Pattie the elder, in command of a party of thirty trappers and hunters, set out to trap the tributaries of the Colorado. Losses by Indian hostilities, by dissensions and desertions reduced the party to eight persons. December 1st, 1827, while

these were encamped on the Colorado near the mouth of the Gila, the Yuma Indians stole all their horses. They constructed rafts and floated down the Colorado, expecting to find Spanish settlements on its banks, where they hoped to procure horses to take them back to Santa Fe. They floated down the river until they encountered the flood tide from the gulf. Finding it impossible to go ahead on account of the tide or back on account of the river current, they landed, cached their furs and traps and with two days' supply of beaver meat struck out westerly across the desert. After traveling for twenty-four days and suffering almost incredible hardships they reached the old Mission of Santa Catalina near the head of the Gulf of California. Here they were detained until news of their arrival could be sent to Governor Echeandia at San Diego. A guard of sixteen soldiers was sent for them and they were conducted to San Diego, where they arrived February 27, 1828. Their arms were taken from them and they were put in prison. The elder Pattie died during their imprisonment. In September all the party except young Pattie, who was retained as a hostage, were released and permitted to go after their buried furs. They found their furs had been ruined by the overflow of the river. Two of the party, Slover and Pope, made their way back to Santa Fe; the others returned, bringing with them their beaver traps. They were again imprisoned by Governor Echeandia, but were finally released.

Three of the party, Nathaniel M. Pryor, Richard Laughlin and Jesse Furguson, became permanent residents of California. Young Pattie returned to the United States by way of Mexico. After his return, with the assistance of the Rev. Timothy Flint, he wrote an account of his adventures, which was published in Cincinnati in 1833, under the title of "Pattie's Narrative." Young Pattie was inclined to exaggeration. In his narrative he claims that with vaccine matter brought by his father from the Santa Rita mines he vaccinated twenty-two thousand people in California. In Los Angeles alone, he vaccinated twenty-five hundred, which was more than double the population of the town in 1828. He took a contract from the

president of the missions to vaccinate all the neophytes in the territory. When his job was finished the president offered him in pay five hundred cattle and five hundred mules with land to pasture his stock on condition he would become a Roman Catholic and a citizen of Mexico. Pattie scorned the offer and roundly upbraided the padre for taking advantage of him. He had previously given Governor Echeandia a tongue lashing and had threatened to shoot him on sight. From his narrative he seems to have put in most of his time in California blustering and threatening to shoot somebody.

Another famous trapper of this period was "Peg Leg" Smith. His real name was Thomas L. Smith. It is said that in a fight with the Indians his leg below the knee was shattered by a bullet. He coolly amputated his leg at the knee with no other instrument than his hunting knife. He wore a wooden leg and from this came his nickname. He first came to California in 1829. He was ordered out of the country. He and his party took their departure, but with them went three or four hundred California horses. He died in a San Francisco hospital in 1866.

Ewing Young, a famous captain of trappers, made several visits to California from 1830 to 1837. In 1831 he led a party of thirty hunters and trappers, among those of his party who remained in California was Col. J. J. Warner, who became prominent in the territory and state. In 1837 Ewing Young with a party of sixteen men came down from Oregon, where he finally located, to purchase cattle for the new settlements on the Willamette river. They bought seven hundred cattle at \$3 per head from the government and drove them overland to Oregon, reaching there after a toilsome journey of four months with six hundred. Young died in Oregon in 1841.

From the downfall of Spanish domination in 1822, to the close of that decade there had been but few political disturbances in California. The only one of any consequence was Solis' and Herrera's attempt to revolutionize the territory and seize the government. José Maria Herrera had come to California as a commissioner of

the commissary department, but after a short term of service had been removed from office for fraud. Joaquin Solis was a convict who was serving a ten years sentence of banishment from Mexico. The ex-official and the exile with others of damaged character combined to overturn the government.

On the night of November 12, 1829, Solis, with a band of soldiers that he had induced to join his standard, seized the principal government officials at Monterey and put them in prison. At Solis' solicitation Herrera drew up a pronunciamiento. It followed the usual line of such documents. It began by deploring the evils that had come upon the territory through Echeandia's misgovernment and closed with promises of reformation if the revolutionists should obtain control of the government. To obtain the sinews of war the rebels seized \$3,000 of the public funds. This was distributed among the soldiers and proved a great attraction to the rebel cause. Solis with twenty men went to San Francisco and the soldiers there joined his standard. Next he marched against Santa Barbara with an army of one hundred and fifty men. Echeandia on hearing of the revolt had marched northward with all the soldiers he could enlist. The two armies met at Santa Ynez. Solis opened fire on the governor's army. The fire was returned. Solis' men began to break away and soon the army and its valiant leader were in rapid flight. Pacheco's cavalry captured the leaders of the revolt. Herrera, Solis and thirteen others were shipped to Mexico under arrest to be tried for their crimes. The Mexican authorities, always lenient to California revolutionists, probably from a fellow feeling, turned them all loose and Herrera was sent back to fill his former office.

Near the close of his term Governor Echeandia formulated a plan for converting the mission into pueblos. To ascertain the fitness of the neophytes for citizenship he made an investigation to find out how many could read and write. He found so very few that he ordered schools opened at the missions. A pretense was made of establishing schools, but very little was accomplished. The padres were opposed to edu-

cating the natives for the same reason that the southern slave-holders were opposed to educating the negro, namely, that an ignorant people were more easily kept in subjection. Echeandia's plan of secularization was quite elaborate and dealt fairly with the neophytes. It received the sanction of the diputacion when that body met in July, 1830, but before anything could be done towards enforcing it another governor was appointed. Echeandia was thoroughly hated by the mission friars and their adherents. Robinson in his "Life in California" calls him a man of vice and makes a number of damaging assertions about his character and conduct, which are not in accordance with the facts. It was during Echeandia's term as governor that the motto of Mexico, Dios y Libertad (God and Liberty), was adopted. It became immensely popular and was used on all public documents and often in private correspondence.

A romantic episode that has furnished a theme for fiction writers occurred in the last year of Echeandia's rule. It was the elopement of Henry D. Fitch with Doña Josefa, daughter of Joaquin Carrillo of San Diego. Fitch was a native of New Bedford, Mass. He came to California in 1826 as master of the Maria Ester. He fell in love with Doña Josefa. There were legal obstructions to their marriage. Fitch was a foreigner and a Protestant. The latter objection was easily removed by Fitch becoming a Catholic. The Dominican friar who was to perform the marriage service, fearful that he might incur the wrath of the authorities, civil and clerical, refused to perform the ceremony, but suggested that there were other countries where the laws were less strict and offered to go beyond the limits of California and marry them. It is said that at this point Doña Josefa said: "Why don't you carry me off, Don Enrique?" The suggestion was quickly acted upon. The next night the lady, mounted on a steed with her cousin, Pio Pico, as an escort, was secretly taken to a point on the bay shore where a boat was waiting for her. The boat put off to the Vulture, where Captain Fitch received her on board and the vessel sailed for Valparaiso, where the couple were married. A year later Captain Fitch returned to California with his

wife and infant son. At Monterey Fitch was arrested on an order of Padre Sanchez of San Gabriel and put in prison. His wife was also placed under arrest at the house of Captain Cooper. Fitch was taken to San Gabriel for trial, "his offenses being most heinous." At her intercession, Governor Echeandia released Mrs. Fitch and allowed her to go to San Gabriel, where her husband was imprisoned in one of the rooms of the mission. This act of clemency greatly enraged the friar and his fiscal, Palomares, and they seriously considered the question of arresting the governor. The trial dragged along for nearly a month. Many witnesses were examined and many learned points of clerical law discussed. Vicar Sanchez finally gave his decision that the marriage at Valparaiso, though not legitimate, was not null and void, but valid. The couple were condemned

to do penance by "presenting themselves in church with lighted candles in their hands to hear high mass for three feast days and recite together for thirty days one-third of the rosary of the holy virgin."* In addition to these joint penances the vicar inflicted an additional penalty on Fitch in these words: "Yet considering the great scandal which Don Enrique has caused in this province I condemn him to give as penance and reparation a bell of at least fifty pounds in weight for the church at Los Angeles, which barely has a borrowed one." Fitch and his wife no doubt performed the joint penance imposed upon them, but the church at Los Angeles had to get along with its borrowed bell. Don Enrique never gave it one of fifty pounds or any other weight.

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. III-144.

CHAPTER XI.

REVOLUTIONS—THE HIJAR COLONISTS.

MANUEL VICTORIA was appointed governor in March, 1830, but did not reach California until the last month of the year. Victoria very soon became unpopular. He undertook to overturn the civil authority and substitute military rule. He recommended the abolition of the ayuntamientos and refused to call together the territorial diputacion. He exiled Don Abel Stearns and José Antonio Carrillo; and at different times, on trumped-up charges, had half a hundred of the leading citizens of Los Angeles incarcerated in the pueblo jail. Alcalde Vicente Sanchez was the petty despot of the pueblo, who carried out the tyrannical decrees of his master, Victoria. Among others who were imprisoned in the cuartel was José Maria Avila. Avila was proud, haughty and overbearing. He had incurred the hatred of both Victoria and Sanchez. Sanchez, under orders from Victoria, placed Avila in prison, and to humiliate him put him in irons. Avila brooded over the indignities inflicted upon him and vowed to be revenged.

Victoria's persecutions became so unbearable that Pio Pico, Juan Bandini and José Antonio Carrillo raised the standard of revolt at San Diego and issued a pronunciamiento, in which they set forth the reasons why they felt themselves obliged to rise against the tyrant, Victoria. Pablo de Portilla, comandante of the presidio of San Diego, and his officers, with a force of fifty soldiers, joined the revolutionists and marched to Los Angeles. Sanchez's prisoners were released and he was chained up in the pueblo jail. Here Portilla's force was recruited to two hundred men. Avila and a number of the other released prisoners joined the revolutionists, and all marched forth to meet Victoria, who was moving southward with an armed force to suppress the insurrection. The two forces met on the plains of Cahuenga, west of the pueblo, at a place known as the Lomitas de la Canada de Breita. The sight of his persecutor so infuriated Avila that alone he rushed upon him to run him through with his lance. Captain Pacheco, of Victoria's staff, parried the lance thrust. Avila shot him dead with one of

his pistols and again attacked the governor and succeeded in wounding him, when he himself received a pistol ball that unhorsed him. After a desperate struggle (in which he seized Victoria by the foot and dragged him from his horse) he was shot by one of Victoria's soldiers. Portilla's army fell back in a panic to Los Angeles and Victoria's men carried the wounded governor to the Mission San Gabriel, where his wounds were dressed by Joseph Chapman, who, to his many other accomplishments, added that of amateur surgeon. Some citizens who had taken no part in the fight brought the bodies of Avila and Pacheco to the town. "They were taken to the same house, the same hands rendered them the last sad rites, and they were laid side by side. Side by side knelt their widows and mingled their tears, while sympathizing countrymen chanted the solemn prayers of the church for the repose of the souls of these untimely dead. Side by side beneath the orange and the olive in the little churchyard upon the plaza sleep the slayer and the slain."*

Next day, Victoria, supposing himself mortally wounded, abdicated and turned over the governorship of the territory to Echeandia. He resigned the office December 9, 1831, having been governor a little over ten months. When Victoria was able to travel he was sent to San Diego, from where he was deported to Mexico, San Diego borrowing \$125 from the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles to pay the expense of shipping him out of the country. Several years afterwards the money had not been repaid, and the town council began proceedings to recover it, but there is no record in the archives to show that it was ever paid. And thus it was that California got rid of a bad governor and Los Angeles incurred a bad debt.

January 10, 1832, the territorial legislature met at Los Angeles to choose a "gefe politico," or governor, for the territory. Echeandia was invited to preside but replied from San Juan Capistrano that he was busy getting Victoria out of the country. The diputacion, after waiting some time and receiving no satisfaction

from Echeandia whether he wanted the office or not, declared Pio Pico, by virtue of his office of senior vocal, "gefe politico."

No sooner had Pico been sworn into office than Echeandia discovered that he wanted the office and wanted it badly. He protested against the action of the diputacion and intrigued against Pico. Another revolution was threatened. Los Angeles favored Echeandia, although all the other towns in the territory had accepted Pico. (Pico at that time was a resident of San Diego.) A mass meeting was called on February 12, 1832, at Los Angeles, to discuss the question whether it should be Pico or Echeandia. I give the report of the meeting in the quaint language of the pueblo archives:

"The town, acting in accord with the Most Illustrious Ayuntamiento, answered in a loud voice, saying they would not admit Citizen Pio Pico as 'gefe politico,' but desired that Lieut.-Col. Citizen José Maria Echeandia be retained in office until the supreme government appoint. Then the president of the meeting, seeing the determination of the people, asked the motive or reason of refusing Citizen Pio Pico, who was of unblemished character. To this the people responded that while it was true that Citizen Pio Pico was to some extent qualified, yet they preferred Lieut.-Col. Citizen José M. Echeandia. The president of the meeting then asked the people whether they had been bribed, or was it merely insubordination that they opposed the resolution of the Most Excellent Diputacion? Whereupon the people answered that they had not been bribed, nor were they insubordinate, but that they opposed the proposed 'gefe politico' because he had not been named by the supreme government."

At a public meeting February 19 the matter was again brought up. Again the people cried out "they would not recognize or obey any other gefe politico than Echeandia." The Most Illustrious Ayuntamiento opposed Pio Pico for two reasons: "First, because his name appeared first on the plan to oust Gefe Politico Citizen Manuel Victoria," and "Second, because he, Pico, had not sufficient capacity to fulfil the duties of the office." Then José Perez and José Antonio Carrillo withdrew from the meeting,

*Stephen C. Foster.

saying they would not recognize Echeandia as "gefe politico." Pico, after holding the office for twenty days, resigned for the sake of peace. And this was the length of Pico's first term as governor.

Echeandia, by obstinacy and intrigue, had obtained the coveted office, "gefe politico," but he did not long enjoy it in peace. News came from Monterey that Capt. Agustin V. Zamorano had declared himself governor and was gathering a force to invade the south and enforce his authority. Echeandia began at once marshaling his forces to oppose him. Ybarra, Zamorano's military chief, with a force of one hundred men, by a forced march, reached Paso de Bartolo, on the San Gabriel river, where, fifteen years later, Stockton fought the Mexican troops under Flores. Here Ybarra found Captain Borroso posted with a piece of artillery and fourteen men. He did not dare to attack him. Echeandia and Borroso gathered a force of a thousand neophytes at Paso de Bartolo, where they drilled them in military evolutions. Ybarra's troops had fallen back to Santa Barbara, where he was joined by Zamorano with reinforcements. Ybarra's force was largely made up of ex-convicts and other undesirable characters, who took what they needed, asking no questions of the owners. The Angelenos, fearing those marauders, gave their adhesion to Zamorano's plan and recognized him as military chief of the territory. Captain Borroso, Echeandia's faithful adherent, disgusted with the fickleness of the Angelenos, at the head of a thousand mounted Indians, threatened to invade the recalcitrant pueblo, but at the intercession of the frightened inhabitants this modern Coriolanus turned aside and regaled his neophyte retainers on the fat bullocks of the Mission San Gabriel, much to the disgust of the padres. The neophyte warriors were disbanded and sent to their respective missions.

A peace was patched up between Zamorano and Echeandia. Alta California was divided into two territories. Echeandia was given jurisdiction over all south of San Gabriel and Zamorano all north of San Fernando. This division apparently left a neutral district, or "no man's land," between. Whether Los Angeles was in

this neutral territory the records do not show. If it was, it is probable that neither of the governors wanted the job of governing the rebellious pueblo.

In January, 1833, Governor Figueroa arrived in California. Echeandia and Zamorano each surrendered his half of the divided territory to the newly appointed governor, and California was united and at peace. Figueroa proved to be the right man for the times. He conciliated the factions and brought order out of chaos. The two most important events in Figueroa's term of office were the arrival of the Hajar Colony in California and the secularization of the missions. These events were most potent factors in the evolution of the territory.

In 1833 the first California colonization scheme was inaugurated in Mexico. At the head of this was José Maria Hajar, a Mexican gentleman of wealth and influence. He was assisted in its promulgation by José M. Padres, an adventurer, who had been banished from California by Governor Victoria. Padres, like some of our modern real estate boomers, pictured the country as an earthly paradise—an improved and enlarged Garden of Eden. Among other inducements held out to the colonists, it is said, was the promise of a division among them of the mission property and a distribution of the neophytes for servants.

Headquarters were established at the city of Mexico and two hundred and fifty colonists enlisted. Each family received a bonus of \$10, and all were to receive free transportation to California and rations while on the journey. Each head of a family was promised a farm from the public domain, live stock and farming implements; these advances to be paid for on the installment plan. The original plan was to found a colony somewhere north of San Francisco bay, but this was not carried out. Two vessels were dispatched with the colonists—the Morelos and the Natalia. The latter was compelled to put into San Diego on account of sickness on board. She reached that port September 1, 1834. A part of the colonists on board her were sent to San Pedro and from there they were taken to Los Angeles and San Gabriel. The Morelos reached Monterey Sep-

tember 25. Hajar had been appointed governor of California by President Farias, but after the sailing of the expedition, Santa Ana, who had succeeded Farias, dispatched a courier overland with a countermanding order. By one of the famous rides of history, Amador, the courier, made the journey from the city of Mexico to Monterey in forty days and delivered his message to Governor Figueroa. When Hajar arrived he found to his dismay that he was only a private citizen of the territory instead of its governor. The colonization scheme was abandoned and the immigrants distributed themselves throughout the territory. Generally they were a good class of citizens, and many of them became prominent in California affairs.

That storm center of political disturbances, Los Angeles, produced but one small revolution during Figueroa's term as governor. A party of fifty or sixty Sonorans, some of whom were Hajar colonists who were living either in the town or its immediate neighborhood, assembled at Los Nietos on the night of March 7, 1835. They formulated a pronunciamiento against Don José Figueroa, in which they first vigorously arraigned him for sins of omission and commission and then laid down their plan of government of the territory. Armed with this formidable document and a few muskets and lances, these patriots, headed by Juan Gallado, a cobbler, and Felipe Castillo, a cigarmaker, in the gray light of the morning, rode into the pueblo, took possession of the town hall and the big cannon and the ammunition that had

been stored there when the Indians of San Luis Rey had threatened hostilities. The slumbering inhabitants were aroused from their dreams of peace by the drum beat of war. The terrified citizens rallied to the juzgado, the ayuntamiento met, the cobbler statesman, Gallado, presented his plan; it was discussed and rejected. The revolutionists, after holding possession of the pueblo throughout the day, tired, hungry and disappointed in not receiving their pay for saving the country, surrendered to the legal authorities the real leaders of the revolution and disbanded. The leaders proved to be Torres, a clerk, and Apalategui, a doctor, both supposed to be emissaries of Hajar. They were imprisoned at San Gabriel. When news of the revolt reached Figueroa he had Hajar and Padres arrested for complicity in the outbreak. Hajar, with half a dozen of his adherents, was shipped back to Mexico. And thus the man who the year before had landed in California with a commission as governor and authority to take possession of all the property belonging to the missions returned to his native land an exile. His grand colonization scheme and his "Compania Cosmopolitana" that was to revolutionize California commerce were both disastrous failures.

Governor José Figueroa died at Monterey on the 29th of September, 1835. He is generally regarded as the best of the Mexican governors sent to California. He was of Aztec extraction and took a great deal of pride in his Indian blood.

CHAPTER XII.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE MISSIONS.

THE Franciscan Missions of Alta California have of late been a prolific theme for a certain class of writers and especially have they dwelt upon the secularization of these establishments. Their productions have added little or nothing to our previous knowledge of these institutions. Carried away by sentiment these writers draw pictures of mission life that are unreal, that are purely imag-

inary, and aroused to indignation at the injustice they fancy was done to their ideal institutions they deal out denunciations against the authorities that brought about secularization as unjust as they are undeserved. Such expressions as "the robber hand of secularization," and "the brutal and thievish disestablishment of the missions," emanate from writers who seem to be ignorant of the purpose for which the mis-

sions were founded, and who ignore, or who do not know, the causes which brought about their secularization.

It is an historical fact known to all acquainted with California history that these establishments were not intended by the Crown of Spain to become permanent institutions. The purpose for which the Spanish government fostered and protected them was to Christianize the Indians and make of them self-supporting citizens. Very early in its history, Governor Borica, Fages and other intelligent Spanish officers in California discovered the weakness of the mission system. Governor Borica, writing in 1796, said: "According to the laws the natives are to be free from tutelage at the end of ten years, the missions then becoming doctrinaires, but those of New California, at the rate they are advancing, will not reach the goal in ten centuries; the reason God knows, and men, too, know something about it."

The tenure by which the mission friars held their lands is admirably set forth in William Carey Jones' "Report on Land Titles in California," made in 1850. He says, "It had been supposed that the lands they (the missions) occupied were grants held as the property of the church or of the mission establishments as corporations. Such, however, was not the case; all the missions in Upper California were established under the direction and mainly at the expense of the government, and the missionaries there had never any other right than to the occupation and use of the lands for the purpose of the missions and at the pleasure of the government. This is shown by the history and principles of their foundation, by the laws in relation to them, by the constant practice of the government toward them and, in fact, by the rules of the Franciscan order, which forbid its members to possess property."

With the downfall of Spanish domination in Mexico came the beginning of the end of missionary rule in California. The majority of the mission padres were Spanish born. In the war of Mexican independence their sympathies were with their mother country, Spain. After Mexico attained her independence, some of them refused to acknowledge allegiance to the republic.

The Mexican authorities feared and distrusted them. In this, in part, they found a pretext for the disestablishment of the missions and the confiscation of the mission estates. There was another cause or reason for secularization more potent than the loyalty of the padres to Spain. Few forms of land monopoly have ever exceeded that in vogue under the mission system of California. From San Diego to San Francisco bay the twenty missions established under Spanish rule monopolized the greater part of the fertile land between the coast range and the sea. The limits of one mission were said to cover the intervening space to the limits of the next. There was but little left for other settlers. A settler could not obtain a grant of land if the padres of the nearest mission objected.

The twenty-four ranchos owned by the Mission San Gabriel contained about a million and a half acres and extended from the sea to the San Bernardino mountains. The greatest neophyte population of San Gabriel was in 1817, when it reached 1,701. Its yearly average for the first three decades of the present century did not exceed 1,500. It took a thousand acres of fertile land under the mission system to support an Indian, even the smallest papoose of the mission flock. It is not strange that the people clamored for a subdivision of the mission estates; and secularization became a public necessity. The most enthusiastic admirer of the missions to-day, had he lived in California seventy years ago, would no doubt have been among the loudest in his wail against the mission system.

The abuse heaped upon the Mexican authorities for their secularization of these institutions is as unjust as it is unmerited. The act of the Mexican Congress of August 17, 1833, was not the initiative movement towards their disestablishment. Indeed in their foundation their secularization, their subdivision into pueblos, was provided for and the local authorities were never without lawful authority over them. In the very beginning of missionary work in Alta California the process of secularizing the mission establishments was mapped out in the following "Instructions given by Viceroy Bucarili August 17, 1773, to the comandante of the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey.

Article 15, when it shall happen that a mission is to be formed into a pueblo or village the comandante will proceed to reduce it to the civil and economical government, which, according to the laws, is observed by other villages of this kingdom; their giving it a name and declaring for its patron the saint under whose memory and protection the mission was founded."

The purpose for which the mission was founded was to aid in the settlement of the country, and to convert the natives to Christianity. "These objects accomplished the missionary's labor was considered fulfilled and the establishment subject to dissolution. This view of their purpose and destiny fully appears in the tenor of the decree of the Spanish Cortes of September 13, 1813. It was passed in consequence of a complaint by the Bishop of Guiana of the evils that affected that province on account of the Indian settlements in charge of missions not being delivered to the ecclesiastical ordinary, although thirty, forty and fifty years had passed since the reduction and conversion of the Indians."*

The Cortes decreed 1st, that all the new reducciones y doctrinairs (settlements of newly converted Indians) not yet formed into parishes of the province beyond the sea which were in charge of missionary monks and had been ten years subjected should be delivered immediately to the respective ecclesiastical ordinaries (bishops) without resort to any excuse or pretext conformably to the laws and cédulas in that respect. Section 2nd, provided that the secular clergy should attend to the spiritual wants of these curacies. Section 3rd, the missionary monks relieved from the converted settlements shall proceed to the conversion of other heathen."

The decree of the Mexican Congress, passed November 20, 1833, for the secularization of the missions of Upper and Lower California, was very similar in its provisions to the decree of the Spanish Cortes of September, 1813. The Mexican government simply followed the example of Spain and in the conversion of the missions into pueblos was attempting to enforce a prin-

ciple inherent in the foundation of the missionary establishments. That secularization resulted disastrously to the Indians was not the fault of the Mexican government so much as it was the defect in the industrial and intellectual training of the neophytes. Except in the case of those who were trained for choir services in the churches there was no attempt made to teach the Indians to read or write. The padres generally entertained a poor opinion of the neophytes' intellectual ability. The reglamento governing the secularization of the missions, published by Governor Echeandia in 1830, but not enforced, and that formulated by the diputacion under Governor Figueroa in 1834, approved by the Mexican Congress and finally enforced in 1834-5-6, were humane measures. These regulations provided for the colonization of the neophytes into pueblos or villages. A portion of the personal property and a part of the lands held by the missions were to be distributed among the Indians as follows:

"Article 5—To each head of a family and all who are more than twenty years old, although without families, will be given from the lands of the mission, whether temporal (lands dependent on the seasons) or watered, a lot of ground not to contain more than four hundred varas (yards) in length, and as many in breadth not less than one hundred. Sufficient land for watering the cattle will be given in common. The outlets or roads shall be marked out by each village, and at the proper time the corporation lands shall be designated." This colonization of the neophytes into pueblos would have thrown large bodies of the land held by the missions open to settlement by white settlers. The personal property of missionary establishments was to have been divided among their neophyte retainers thus: "Article 6. Among the said individuals will be distributed, ratably and justly, according to the discretion of the political chief, the half of the movable property, taking as a basis the last inventory which the missionaries have presented of all descriptions of cattle. Article 7. One-half or less of the implements and seeds indispensable for agriculture shall be allotted to them."

The political government of the Indian pu-

*William Carey Jones' Report.

eblos was to be organized in accordance with existing laws of the territory governing other towns. The neophyte could not sell, mortgage or dispose of the land granted him; nor could he sell his cattle. The regulations provided that "Religious missionaries shall be relieved from the administration of temporalities and shall only exercise the duties of their ministry so far as they relate to spiritual matters." The nunneries or the houses where the Indian girls were kept under the charge of a duena until they were of marriageable age were to be abolished and the children restored to their parents. Rule 7 provided that "What is called the 'priesthood' shall immediately cease, female children whom they have in charge being handed over to their fathers, explaining to them the care they should take of them, and pointing out their obligations as parents. The same shall be done with the male children."

Commissioners were to be appointed to take charge of the mission property and superintend its subdivision among the neophytes. The conversion of ten of the missionary establishments into pueblos was to begin in August, 1835. That of the others was to follow as soon as possible. San Gabriel, San Fernando and San Juan Capistrano were among the ten that were to be secularized first. For years secularization had threatened the missions, but hitherto something had occurred at the critical time to avert it. The missionaries had used their influence against it, had urged that the neophytes were unfitted for self-support, had argued that the emancipation of the natives from mission rule would result in disaster to them. Through all the agitation of the question in previous years the padres had labored on in the preservation and upbuilding of their establishments; but with the issuing of the secularization decree by the Mexican Congress, August 17, 1833, the organization of the Hajar Colony in Mexico and the instructions of acting president Farias to Hajar to occupy all the property of the missions and subdivide it among the colonists on their arrival in California, convinced the missionaries that the blow could no longer be averted. The revocation of Hajar's appointment as governor and the controversy which followed between

him and Governor Figueroa and the diputacion for a time delayed the enforcement of the decree.

In the meantime, with the energy born of despair, eager at any cost to outwit those who sought to profit by their ruin, the mission fathers hastened to destroy that which through more than half a century thousands of human beings had spent their lives to accumulate. The wealth of the missions lay in their herds of cattle. The only marketable products of these were the hides and tallow. Heretofore a certain number of cattle had been slaughtered each week to feed the neophytes and sometimes when the ranges were in danger of becoming overstocked cattle were killed for their hides and tallow, and the meat left to the coyotes and the carrion crows. The mission fathers knew that if they allowed the possession of their herds to pass to other hands neither they nor the neophytes would obtain any reward for years of labor. The blow was liable to fall at any time. Haste was required. The mission butchers could not slaughter the animals fast enough. Contracts were made with the rancheros to kill on shares. The work of destruction began at the missions. The country became a mighty shambles. The matansas were no longer used. An animal was lassoed on the plain, thrown, its throat cut and while yet writhing in death agony, its hide was stripped and pegged upon the ground to dry. There were no vessels to contain the tallow and this was run into pits in the ground to be taken out when there was more time to spare and less cattle to be killed. The work of destruction went on as long as there were cattle to kill. So great was the stench from rotting carcasses of the cattle on the plains that a pestilence was threatened. The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, November 15, 1833, passed an ordinance compelling all persons slaughtering cattle for the hides and tallow to cremate the carcasses. Some of the rancheros laid the foundations of their future wealth by appropriating herds of young cattle from the mission ranges.

Hugo Reid, in the letters previously referred to in this volume, says of this period at San Gabriel, "These facts (the decree of secularization

and the distribution of the mission property) being known to Padre Tomas (Esenaga), he, in all probability, by order of his superior, commenced a work of destruction. The back buildings were unroofed and the timber converted into fire wood. Cattle were killed on the halves by people who took a lion's share. Utensils were disposed of and goods and other articles distributed in profusion among the neophytes. The vineyards were ordered to be cut down, which, however, the Indians refused to do." After the mission was placed in charge of an administrator, Padre Tomas remained as minister of the church at a stipend of \$1,500 per annum, derived from the pious fund.

Hugo Reid says of him, "As a wrong impression of his character may be produced from the preceding remarks, in justice to his memory, be it stated that he was a truly good man, a sincere Christian and a despiser of hypocrisy. He had a kind, unsophisticated heart, so that he believed every word told him. There has never been a purer priest in California. Reduced in circumstances, annoyed on many occasions by the petulance of administrators, he fulfilled his duties according to his conscience, with benevolence and good humor. The nuns, who, when the secular movement came into operation, had been set free, were again gathered together under his supervision and maintained at his expense, as were also a number of old men and women."

The experiment of colonizing the Indians in pueblos was a failure and they were gathered back into the mission, or as many of them as could be got back, and placed in charge of administrators. "The Indians," says Reid, "were made happy at this time in being permitted to enjoy once more the luxury of a tule dwelling, from which the greater part had been debarred for so long; they could now breathe freely again." (The close adobe buildings in which they had been housed in mission days were no doubt one of the causes of the great mortality among them.)

"Administrator followed administrator until the mission could support no more, when the system was broken up." * * * "The Indians during this period were continually run-

ning off. Scantily clothed and still more scantily supplied with food, it was not to be wondered at. Nearly all the Gabrielinos went north, while those of San Diego, San Luis and San Juan overrun this country, filling the Angeles and surrounding ranchos with more servants than were required. Labor, in consequence, was very cheap. The different missions, however, had alcaldes continually on the move, hunting them up and carrying them back, but to no purpose; it was labor in vain."

"Even under the dominion of the church in mission days," Reid says, "the neophytes were addicted both to drinking and gaming, with an inclination to steal;" but after their emancipation they went from bad to worse. Those attached to the ranchos and those located in the town were virtually slaves. They had bosses or owners and when they ran away were captured and returned to their master. The account book for 1840 of the *sindico* of Los Angeles contains this item, "For the delivery of two Indians to their boss \$12."

In all the large towns there was an Indian village known as the *pueblito* or little town. These were the sink holes of crime and the favorite resorts of dissolute characters, both white and red. The Indian village at Los Angeles between what is now Aliso and First street became such an intolerable nuisance that on petition of the citizens it was removed across the river to the "Spring of the Abilas," but its removal did not improve its morals. Vicente Guerrero, the *sindico*, discussing the Indian question before the *ayuntamiento* said, "The Indians are so utterly depraved that no matter where they may settle down their conduct would be the same, since they look upon death even with indifference, provided they can indulge in their pleasures and vices." This was their condition in less than a decade after they were freed from mission control.

What did six decades of mission rule accomplish for the Indian? In all the older missions between their founding and their secularization three generations of adults had come under the influence of mission life and training;—first, the adult converts made soon after the founding; second, their children born at the missions, and

third, the children of these who had grown to manhood before the fall of the missions. How great an improvement had the neophytes of the third generation made over those of the first? They had to a great extent lost their original language and had acquired a speaking knowledge of Spanish. They had abandoned or forgotten their primitive religious belief, but their new religion exercised but little influence on their lives. After their emancipation they went from bad to worse. Some of the more daring escaped to the mountains and joining the wild tribes there became the leaders in frequent predatory excursions on the horses and cattle of the settlers in the valleys. They were hunted down and shot like wild beasts.

What became of the mission estates? As the cattle were killed off the different ranchos of the mission domains, settlers petitioned the ayuntamiento for grants. If upon investigation it was found that the land asked for was vacant the petition was referred to the governor for his approval. In this way the vast mission domains passed into private hands. The country improved more in wealth and population between 1836 and 1846 than in the previous fifty years. Secularization was destruction to the mission

and death to the Indian, but it was beneficial to the country at large. The decline of the missions and the passing of the neophyte had begun long before the decrees of secularization were enforced. Nearly all the missions passed their zenith in population during the second decade of the century. Even had the missionary establishments not been secularized they would eventually have been depopulated. At no time during the mission rule were the number of births equal to the number of deaths. When recruits could no longer be obtained from the Gentiles or wild Indians the decline became more rapid. The mission annals show that from 1769 to 1834, when secularization was enforced—an interval of sixty-five years—79,000 converts were baptized and 62,000 deaths recorded. The death rate among the neophytes was about twice that of the negro in this country and four times that of the white race. The extinction of the neophyte or mission Indian was due to the enforcement of that inexorable law or decree of nature, the Survival of the Fittest. Where a stronger race comes in contact with a weaker, there can be but one termination of the contest—the extermination of the weaker.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FREE AND SOVEREIGN STATE OF ALTA CALIFORNIA.

GOVERNOR FIGUEROA on his deathbed turned over the civil command of the territory to José Castro, who thereby became "gefe politico ad interem." The military command was given to Lieut.-Col. Nicolas Gutierrez with the rank of comandante general. The separation of the two commands was in accordance with the national law of May 6, 1822.

Castro was a member of the diputacion, but was not senior vocal or president. José Antonio Carrillo, who held that position, was diputado or delegate to congress and was at that time in the city of Mexico. It was he who secured the decree from the Mexican Congress May 23, 1835, making Los Angeles the capital

of California, and elevating it to the rank of a city. The second vocal, José Antonio Estudillo, was sick at his home in San Diego. José Castro ranked third. He was the only one of the diputacion at the capital and at the previous meeting of the diputacion he had acted as presiding officer. Gutierrez, who was at San Gabriel when appointed to the military command, hastened to Monterey, but did not reach there until after the death of Figueroa. Castro, on assuming command, sent a notification of his appointment to the civil authorities of the different jurisdictions. All responded favorably except San Diego and Los Angeles. San Diego claimed the office for Estudillo, second vocal, and Los Angeles declared against Castro be-

cause he was only third vocal and demanded that the diputacion should meet at the legal capital (Los Angeles) of the territory. This was the beginning of the capital war that lasted ten years and increased in bitterness as it increased in age. The diputacion met at Monterey. It decided in favor of Castro and against removing the capital to Los Angeles.

Castro executed the civil functions of *gefe politico* four months and then, in accordance with orders from the supreme government, he turned over his part of the governorship to Comandante General Gutierrez and again the two commands were united in one person. Gutierrez filled the office of "governador interno" from January 2, 1836, to the arrival of his successor, Mariano Chico. Chico had been appointed governor by President Barragan, December 16, 1835, but did not arrive in California until April, 1836. Thus California had four governors within nine months. They changed so rapidly there was not time to foment a revolution. Chico began his administration by a series of petty tyrannies. Just before his arrival in California a vigilance committee at Los Angeles shot to death Gervacio Alispaz and his paramour, Maria del Rosaria Villa, for the murder of the woman's husband, Domingo Feliz. Alispaz was a countryman of Chico. Chico had the leaders arrested and came down to Los Angeles with the avowed purpose of executing Prudon, Arzaga and Arango, the president, secretary and military commander, respectively, of the Defenders of Public Security, as the vigilantes called themselves. He announced his intention of arresting and punishing every man who had taken part in the banishment of Governor Victoria. He summoned Don Abel Stearns to Monterey and threatened to have him shot for some imaginary offense. He fulminated a fierce pronunciamiento against foreigners, that incurred their wrath, and made himself so odious that he was hated by all, native or foreigner. He was a centralist and opposed to popular rights. Exasperated beyond endurance by his scandalous conduct and unseemly exhibitions of temper the people of Monterey rose en masse against him, and so terrified him that he took passage on board a brig that was lying in the

harbor and sailed for Mexico with the threat that he would return with an armed force to punish the rebellious Californians, but he never came back again.

With the enforced departure of Chico, the civil command of the territory devolved upon Nicolas Gutierrez, who still held the military command. He was of Spanish birth and a centralist or anti-federalist in politics. Although a mild mannered man he seemed to be impressed with the idea that he must carry out the arbitrary measures of his predecessor. Centralism was his nemesis. Like Chico, he was opposed to popular rights and at one time gave orders to disperse the diputacion by force. He was not long in making himself unpopular by attempting to enforce the centralist decrees of the Mexican Congress.

He quarreled with Juan Bautista Alvarado, the ablest of the native Californians. Alvarado and José Castro raised the standard of revolt. They gathered together a small army of rancheros and an auxiliary force of twenty-five American hunters and trappers under Graham, a backwoodsman from Tennessee. By a strategic movement they captured the castillo or fort which commanded the presidio, where Gutierrez and the Mexican army officials were stationed. The patriots demanded the surrender of the presidio and the arms. The governor refused. The revolutionists had been able to find but a single cannon ball in the castillo, but this was sufficient to do the business. A well-directed shot tore through the roof of the governor's house, covering him and his staff with the debris of broken tiles; that and the desertion of most of his soldiers to the patriots brought him to terms. On the 5th of November, 1836, he surrendered the presidio and resigned his authority as governor. He and about seventy of his adherents were sent aboard a vessel lying in the harbor and shipped out of the country.

With the Mexican governor and his officers out of the country, the next move of Castro and Alvarado was to call a meeting of the diputacion or territorial congress. A plan for the independence of California was adopted. This, which was known afterwards as the Monterey plan, consisted of six sections, the most im-

portant of which were as follows: "First, Alta California hereby declares itself independent from Mexico until the Federal System of 1824 is restored. Second, the same California is hereby declared a free and sovereign state; establishing a congress to enact the special laws of the country and the other necessary supreme powers. Third, the Roman Apostolic Catholic religion shall prevail; no other creed shall be allowed, but the government shall not molest anyone on account of his private opinions." The diputacion issued a declaration of independence that arraigned the mother country, Mexico, and her officials very much in the style that our own Declaration gives it to King George III. and England.

Castro issued a pronunciamiento, ending with Viva La Federacion! Viva La Libertad! Viva el Estado Libre y Soberano de Alta California! Thus amid vivas and proclamations, with the beating of drums and the booming of cannon, El Estado Libre de Alta California (The Free State of Alta California) was launched on the political sea. But it was rough sailing for the little craft. Her ship of state struck a rock and for a time shipwreck was threatened.

For years there had been a growing jealousy between Northern and Southern California. Los Angeles, as has been stated before, had by a decree of the Mexican congress been made the capital of the territory. Monterey had persistently refused to give up the governor and the archives. In the movement to make Alta California a free and independent state, the Angeleños recognized an attempt on the part of the people of the north to deprive them of the capital. Although as bitterly opposed to Mexican governors, and as active in fomenting revolutions against them as the people of Monterey, the Angeleños chose to profess loyalty to the mother country. They opposed the plan of government adopted by the congress at Monterey and promulgated a plan of their own, in which they declared California was not free; that the "Roman Catholic Apostolic religion shall prevail in this jurisdiction, and any person publicly professing any other shall be prosecuted by law as heretofore." A mass meeting was called to take measures "to prevent the

spreading of the Monterey revolution, so that the progress of the nation may not be paralyzed," and to appoint a person to take military command of the department.

San Diego and San Luis Rey took the part of Los Angeles in the quarrel, Sonoma and San José joined Monterey, while Santa Barbara, always conservative, was undecided, but finally issued a plan of her own. Alvarado and Castro determined to suppress the revolutionary Angeleños. They collected a force of one hundred men, made up of natives, with Graham's contingent of twenty-five American riflemen. With this army they prepared to move against the recalcitrant sureños.

The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles began preparations to resist the invaders. An army of two hundred and seventy men was enrolled, a part of which was made up of neophytes. To secure the sinews of war José Sepulveda, second alcalde, was sent to the Mission San Fernando to secure what money there was in the hands of the major domo. He returned with two packages, which, when counted, were found to contain \$2,000.

Scouts patrolled the Santa Barbara road as far as San Buenaventura to give warning of the approach of the enemy, and pickets guarded the Pass of Cahuenga and the Rodeo de Las Aguas to prevent northern spies from entering and southern traitors from getting out of the pueblo. The southern army was stationed at San Fernando under the command of Alferéz (Lieut.) Rocha. Alvarado and Castro, pushing down the coast, reached Santa Barbara, where they were kindly received and their force recruited to one hundred and twenty men with two pieces of artillery. José Sepulveda at San Fernando sent to Los Angeles for the cannon at the town house and \$200 of the mission money to pay his men.

On the 16th of January, 1837, Alvarado from San Buenaventura dispatched a communication to the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles and the citizens, telling them what military resources he had, which he would use against them if it became necessary, but he was willing to confer upon a plan of settlement. Sepulveda and Antonio M. Osio were appointed commissioners

and sent to confer with the governor, armed with several propositions, the substance of which was that California shall not be free and the Catholic religion must prevail with the privilege to prosecute any other religion, "according to law as heretofore." The commissioners met Alvarado on "neutral ground," between San Fernando and San Buenaventura. A long discussion followed without either coming to the point. Alvarado, by a coup d'état, brought it to an end. In the language of the commissioners' report to the ayuntamiento: "While we were a certain distance from our own forces with only four unarmed men and were on the point of coming to an agreement with Juan B. Alvarado, we saw the Monterey division advancing upon us and we were forced to deliver up the instructions of this illustrious body through fear of being attacked." They delivered up not only the instructions, but the Mission San Fernando. The southern army was compelled to surrender it and fall back on the pueblo, Rocha swearing worse than "our army in Flanders" because he was not allowed to fight. The southern soldiers had a wholesome dread of Graham's riflemen. These fellows, armed with long Kentucky rifles, shot to kill, and a battle once begun somebody would have died for his country and it would not have been Alvarado's riflemen.

The day after the surrender of the mission, January 21, 1837, the ayuntamiento held a session and the members were as obdurate and belligerent as ever. They resolved that it was only in the interests of humanity that the mission had been surrendered and their army forced to retire. "This ayuntamiento, considering the commissioners were forced to comply, annuls all action of the commissioners and does not recognize this territory as a free and sovereign state nor Juan B. Alvarado as its governor, and declares itself in favor of the Supreme Government of Mexico." A few days later Alvarado entered the city without opposition, the Angelenian soldiers retiring to San Gabriel and from there scattering to their homes.

On the 26th of January an extraordinary session of the most illustrious ayuntamiento was held. Alvarado was present and made a lengthy

speech, in which he said, "The native sons were subjected to ridicule by the Mexican mandarins sent here, and knowing our rights we ought to shake off the ominous yoke of bondage." Then he produced and read the six articles of the Monterey plan, the council also produced a plan and a treaty of amity was effected. Alvarado was recognized as governor pro tem. and peace reigned. The belligerent sureños vied with each other in expressing their admiration for the new order of things. Pio Pico wished to express the pleasure it gave him to see a "hijo del pais" in office. And Antonio Osio, the most belligerent of the sureños, declared "that sooner than again submit to a Mexican dictator as governor, he would flee to the forest and be devoured by wild beasts." The ayuntamiento was asked to provide a building for the government, "this being the capital of the state." The hatchet apparently was buried. Peace reigned in El Estado Libre. At the meeting of the town council, on the 30th of January, Alvarado made another speech, but it was neither conciliatory nor complimentary. He arraigned the "traitors who were working against the peace of the country" and urged the members to take measures "to liberate the city from the hidden hands that will tangle them in their own ruin." The pay of his troops who were ordered here for the welfare of California is due "and it is an honorable and preferred debt, therefore the ayuntamiento will deliver to the government the San Fernando money," said he. With a wry face, very much such as a boy wears when he is told that he has been spanked for his own good, the alcalde turned over the balance of the mission money to Juan Bautista, and the governor took his departure for Monterey, leaving, however, Col. José Castro with part of his army stationed at Mission San Gabriel, ostensibly "to support the city's authority," but in reality to keep a close watch on the city authorities.

Los Angeles was subjugated, peace reigned and El Estado Libre de Alta California took her place among the nations of the earth. But peace's reign was brief. At the meeting of the ayuntamiento May 27, 1838, Juan Bandini and Santiago E. Arguello of San Diego, appeared

with a pronunciamiento and a plan, San Diego's plan of government. Monterey, Santa Barbara and Los Angeles had each formulated a plan of government for the territory, and now it was San Diego's turn. Agustin V. Zamorano, who had been exiled with Governor Gutierrez, had crossed the frontier and was made comandante-general and territorial political chief ad interim by the San Diego revolutionists. The plan restored California to obedience to the supreme government; all acts of the diputacion and the Monterey plan were annulled and the northern rebels were to be arraigned and tried for their part in the revolution; and so on through twenty articles.

On the plea of an Indian outbreak near San Diego, in which the redmen, it was said, "were to make an end of the white race," the big cannon and a number of men were secured at Los Angeles to assist in suppressing the Indians, but in reality to reinforce the army of the San Diego revolutionists. With a force of one hundred and twenty-five men under Zamorano and Portilla, "the army of the supreme government" moved against Castro at Los Angeles. Castro retreated to Santa Barbara and Portilla's army took position at San Fernando.

The civil and military officials of Los Angeles took the oath to support the Mexican constitution of 1836 and, in their opinion, this absolved them from all allegiance to Juan Bautista and his Monterey plan. Alvarado hurried reinforcements to Castro at Santa Barbara, and Portilla called loudly for "men, arms and horses," to march against the northern rebels. But neither military chieftain advanced, and the summer wore away without a battle. There were rumors that Mexico was preparing to send an army of one thousand men to subjugate the rebellious Californians. In October came the news that José Antonio Carrillo, the Machiavelli of California politics, had persuaded President Bustamente to appoint Carlos Carrillo, José's brother, governor of Alta California.

Then consternation seized the arribeños (uppers) of the north and the abajeños (lowers) of Los Angeles went wild with joy. It was not that they loved Carlos Carrillo, for he was a Santa Barbara man and had opposed them in

the late unpleasantness, but they saw in his appointment an opportunity to get revenge on Juan Bautista for the way he had humiliated them. They sent congratulatory messages to Carrillo and invited him to make Los Angeles the seat of his government. Carrillo was flattered by their attentions and consented. The 6th of December, 1837, was set for his inauguration, and great preparations were made for the event. The big cannon was brought over from San Gabriel to fire salutes and the city was ordered illuminated on the nights of the 6th, 7th and 8th of December. Cards of invitation were issued and the people from the city and country were invited to attend the inauguration ceremonies, "dressed as decent as possible," so read the invitations.

The widow Josefa Alvarado's house, the finest in the city, was secured for the governor's palacio (palace). The largest hall in the city was secured for the services and decorated as well as it was possible. The city treasury, being in its usual state of collapse, a subscription for defraying the expenses was opened and horses, hides and tallow, the current coin of the pueblo, were liberally contributed.

On the appointed day, "the most illustrious ayuntamiento and the citizens of the neighborhood (so the old archives read) met his excellency, the governor, Don Carlos Carrillo, who made his appearance with a magnificent accompaniment." The secretary, Narciso Botello, "read in a loud, clear and intelligible voice, the oath, and the governor repeated it after him." At the moment the oath was completed, the artillery thundered forth a salute and the bells rang out a merry peal. The governor made a speech, when all adjourned to the church, where a mass was said and a solemn Te Deum sung; after which all repaired to the house of his excellency, where the southern patriots drank his health in bumpers of wine and shouted themselves hoarse in vivas to the new government. An inauguration ball was held—the "beauty and the chivalry of the south were gathered there." Outside the tallow dips flared and flickered from the porticos of the house, bonfires blazed in the streets and cannon boomed salvos from the old plaza. Los Angeles was the capital at last and had a gov-

ernor all to herself, for Santa Barbara refused to recognize Carrillo, although he belonged within its jurisdiction.

The Angeleños determined to subjugate the Barbareños. An army of two hundred men, under Castenada, was sent to capture the city. After a few futile demonstrations, Castenada's forces fell back to San Buenaventura.

Then Alvarado determined to subjugate the Angeleños. He and Castro, gathering together an army of two hundred men, by forced marches reached San Buenaventura, and by a strategic movement captured all of Castenada's horses and drove his army into the mission church. For two days the battle raged and, "cannon to the right of them," and "cannon in front of them volleyed and thundered." One man was killed on the northern side and the blood of several mustangs watered the soil of their native land—died for their country. The southerners slipped out of the church at night and fled up the valley on foot. Castro's caballeros captured about seventy prisoners. Pio Pico, with reinforcements, met the remnant of Castenada's army at the Santa Clara river, and together all fell back to Los Angeles. Then there was wailing in the old pueblo, where so lately there had been rejoicing. Gov. Carlos Carrillo gathered together what men he could get to go with him and retreated to San Diego. Alvarado's army took possession of the southern capital and some of the leading conspirators were sent as prisoners to the castillo at Sonoma.

Carrillo, at San Diego, received a small reinforcement from Mexico, under a Captain Tobar. Tobar was made general and given command of the southern army. Carrillo, having recovered from his fright, sent an order to the northern rebels to surrender within fifteen days under penalty of being shot as traitors if they refused. In the meantime Los Angeles was held by the enemy. The second alcalde (the first, Louis Aranas, was a prisoner) called a meeting to devise some means "to have his excellency, Don Carlos Carrillo, return to this capital, as his presence is very much desired by the citizens to protect their lives and property." A committee was appointed to locate Don Carlos.

Instead of surrendering, Castro and Alvarado, with a force of two hundred men, advanced against Carrillo. The two armies met at Campo de Las Flores. General Tobar had fortified a cattle corral with rawhides, carretas and cottonwood poles. A few shots from Alvarado's artillery scattered Tobar's rawhide fortifications. Carrillo surrendered. Tobar and a few of the leaders escaped to Mexico. Alvarado ordered the misguided Angeleñian soldiers to go home and behave themselves. He brought the captive governor back with him and left him with his (Carrillo's) wife at Santa Barbara, who became surety for the deposed ruler. Not content with his unfortunate attempts to rule, he again claimed the governorship on the plea that he had been appointed by the supreme government. But the Angeleños had had enough of him. Disgusted with his incompetency, Juan Gallardo, at the session of May 14, 1838, presented a petition praying that this ayuntamiento do not recognize Carlos Carrillo as governor, and setting forth the reasons why we, the petitioners, "should declare ourselves subject to the northern governor" and why they opposed Carrillo.

"First. In having compromised the people from San Buenaventura south into a declaration of war, the incalculable calamities of which will never be forgotten, not even by the most ignorant.

"Second. Not satisfied with the unfortunate event of San Buenaventura, he repeated the same at Campo de Las Flores, which, only through a divine dispensation, California is not to-day in mourning." Seventy citizens signed the petition, but the city attorney, who had done time in Vallejo's castillo, decided the petition illegal because it was written on common paper when paper with the proper seal could be obtained.

Next day Gallardo returned with his petition on legal paper. The ayuntamiento decided to sound the "public alarm" and call the people together to give them "public speech." The public alarm was sounded. The people assembled at the city hall; speeches were made on both sides; and when the vote was taken twenty-two were in favor of the northern governor, five

in favor of whatever the ayuntamiento decides, and Serbulo Vareles alone voted for Don Carlos Carrillo. So the council decided to recognize Don Juan Bautista Alvarado as governor and leave the supreme government to settle the contest between him and Carrillo.

Notwithstanding this apparent burying of the hatchet, there were rumors of plots and intrigues in Los Angeles and San Diego against Alvarado. At length, aggravated beyond endurance, the governor sent word to the sureños that if they did not behave themselves he would shoot ten of the leading men of the south. As he had about that number locked up in the castillo at Sonoma, his was no idle threat. One by one Alvarado's prisoners of state were released from Vallejo's bastille at Sonoma and returned to Los Angeles, sadder if not wiser men. At the session of the ayuntamiento October 20, 1838, the president announced that Senior Regidor José Palomares had returned from Sonoma, where he had been compelled to go by reason of "political differences," and that he should be allowed his seat in the council. The request was granted unanimously.

At the next meeting Narciso Botello, its former secretary, after five and a half months' imprisonment at Sonoma, put in an appearance and claimed his office and his pay. Although others had filled the office in the interim the illustrious ayuntamiento, "ignoring for what offense he was incarcerated, could not suspend his salary." But his salary was suspended. The treasury was empty. The last horse and the last hide had been paid out to defray the expense of the inauguration festivities of Carlos, the Pretender, and the civil war that followed. Indeed there was a treasury deficit of whole caballadas of horses, and bales of hides. Narciso's back pay

was a preferred claim that outlasted El Estado Libre.

The sureños of Los Angeles and San Diego, finding that in Alvarado they had a man of courage and determination to deal with, ceased from troubling him and submitted to the inevitable. At the meeting of the ayuntamiento, October 5, 1839, a notification was received, stating that the supreme government of Mexico had appointed Juan Bautista Alvarado governor of the department. There was no grumbling or dissent. On the contrary, the records say, "This illustrious body acknowledges receipt of the communication and congratulated his excellency. It will announce the same to the citizens to-morrow (Sunday), will raise the national colors, salute the same with the required number of volleys, and will invite the people to illuminate their houses for a better display in rejoicing at such a happy appointment." With his appointment by the supreme government the "free and sovereign state of Alta California" became a dream of the past—a dead nation. Indeed, months before Alvarado had abandoned his idea of founding an independent state and had taken the oath of allegiance to the constitution of 1836. The loyal sureños received no thanks from the supreme government for all their professions of loyalty, whilst the rebellious arribeños of the north obtained all the rewards—the governor, the capital and the offices. The supreme government gave the deposed governor, Carlos Carrillo, a grant of the island of Santa Rosa, in the Santa Barbara Channel, but whether it was given him as a salve to his wounded dignity or as an Elba or St. Helena, where, in the event of his stirring up another revolution, he might be banished a la Napoleon, the records do not inform us.

CHAPTER XIV.

DECLINE AND FALL OF MEXICAN DOMINATION.

WHILE the revolution begun by Alvarado and Castro had not established California's independence, it had effectually rid the territory of Mexican dictators. A native son was governor of the department of the Californians (by the constitution of 1836 Upper and Lower California had been united into a department); another native son was comandante of its military forces. The membership of the departmental junta, which had taken the place of the diputacion, was largely made up of sons of the soil, and natives filled the minor offices. In their zeal to rid themselves of Mexican office-holders they had invoked the assistance of another element that was ultimately to be their undoing.

During the revolutionary era just passed the foreign population had largely increased. Not only had the foreigners come by sea, but they had come by land. Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, a New England-born trapper and hunter, was the first man to enter California by the overland route. A number of trappers and hunters came in the early '30s from New Mexico by way of the old Spanish trail. This immigration was largely American, and was made up of a bold, adventurous class of men, some of them not the most desirable immigrants. Of this latter class were some of Graham's followers.

By invoking Graham's aid to put him in power, Alvarado had fastened upon his shoulders an old Man of the Sea. It was easy enough to enlist the services of Graham's riflemen, but altogether another matter to get rid of them. Now that he was firmly established in power, Alvarado would, no doubt, have been glad to be rid entirely of his recent allies, but Graham and his adherents were not backward in giving him to understand that he owed his position to them, and they were inclined to put themselves on an equality with him. This did not comport with his ideas of the dignity of his office. To be

hailed by some rough buckskin-clad trapper with "Ho! Bautista; come here, I want to speak with you," was an affront to his pride that the governor of the two Californias could not quietly pass over, and, besides, like all of his countrymen, he disliked foreigners.

There were rumors of another revolution, and it was not difficult to persuade Alvarado that the foreigners were plotting to revolutionize California. Mexico had recently lost Texas, and the same class of "malditos extranjeros" (wicked strangers) were invading California, and would ultimately possess themselves of the country. Accordingly, secret orders were sent throughout the department to arrest and imprison all foreigners. Over one hundred men of different nationalities were arrested, principally Americans and English. Of these forty-seven were shipped to San Blas, and from there marched overland to Tepic, where they were imprisoned for several months. Through the efforts of the British consul, Barron, they were released. Castro, who had accompanied the prisoners to Mexico to prefer charges against them, was placed under arrest and afterwards tried by court-martial, but was acquitted. He had been acting under orders from his superiors. After an absence of over a year twenty of the exiles landed at Monterey on their return from Mexico. Robinson, who saw them land, says: "They returned neatly dressed, armed with rifles and swords, and looking in much better condition than when they were sent away, or probably than they had ever looked in their lives before." The Mexican government had been compelled to pay them damages for their arrest and imprisonment and to return them to California. Graham, the reputed leader of the foreigners, was the owner of a distillery near Santa Cruz, and had gathered a number of hard characters around him. It would have been no loss had he never returned.

The only other event of importance during Alvarado's term as governor was the capture of Monterey by Commodore Ap Catesby Jones, of the United States navy. This event happened after Alvarado's successor, Micheltorena, had landed in California, but before the government had been formally turned over to him.

The following extract from the diary of a pioneer, who was an eye-witness of the affair, gives a good description of the capture:

"MONTEREY, Oct. 19, 1842.—At 2 p. m. the United States man-of-war United States, Commodore Ap Catesby Jones, came to anchor close alongside and in-shore of all the ships in port. About 3 p. m. Capt. Armstrong came ashore, accompanied by an interpreter, and went direct to the governor's house, where he had a private conversation with him, which proved to be a demand for the surrender of the entire coast of California, upper and lower, to the United States government. When he was about to go on board he gave three or four copies of a proclamation to the inhabitants of the two Californias, assuring them of the protection of their lives, persons and property. In his notice to the governor (Alvarado) he gave him only until the following morning at 9 a. m. to decide. If he received no answer, then he would fire upon the town."

"I remained on shore that night and went down to the governor's with Mr. Larkin and Mr. Eagle. The governor had had some idea of running away and leaving Monterey to its fate, but was told by Mr. Spence that he should not go, and finally he resolved to await the result. At 12 at night some persons were sent on board the United States who had been appointed by the governor to meet the commodore and arrange the terms of the surrender. Next morning at half-past ten o'clock about one hundred sailors and fifty marines disembarked. The sailors marched up from the shore and took possession of the fort. The American colors were hoisted. The United States fired a salute of thirteen guns; it was returned by the fort, which fired twenty-six guns. The marines in the meantime had marched up to the government house. The officers and soldiers of the California government were discharged and their guns and other

arms taken possession of and carried to the fort. The stars and stripes now wave over us. Long may they wave here in California!"

"Oct. 21, 4 p. m.—Flags were again changed, the vessels were released, and all was quiet again. The commodore had received later news by some Mexican newspapers."

Commodore Jones had been stationed at Callao with a squadron of four vessels. An English fleet was also there, and a French fleet was cruising in the Pacific. Both these were supposed to have designs on California. Jones learned that the English admiral had received orders to sail next day. Surmising that his destination might be California, he slipped out of the harbor the night before and crowded all sail to reach California before the English admiral. The loss of Texas, and the constant influx of immigrants and adventurers from the United States into California, had embittered the Mexican government more and more against foreigners. Manuel Micheltorena, who had served under Santa Anna in the Texas war, was appointed January 19, 1842, comandante-general inspector and gobernador propietario of the Californias.

Santa Anna was president of the Mexican republic. His experience with Americans in Texas during the Texan war of independence, in 1836-37, had decided him to use every effort to prevent California from sharing the fate of Texas.

Micheltorena, the newly-appointed governor, was instructed to take with him sufficient force to check the ingress of Americans. He recruited a force of three hundred and fifty men, principally convicts enlisted from the prisons of Mexico. His army of thieves and ragamuffins landed at San Diego in August, 1842.

Robinson, who was at San Diego when one of the vessels conveying Micheltorena's cholos (convicts) landed, thus describes them: "Five days afterward the brig Chato arrived with ninety soldiers and their families. I saw them land, and to me they presented a state of wretchedness and misery unequalled. Not one individual among them possessed a jacket or pantaloons, but, naked, and like the savage Indians, they concealed their nudity with dirty,

miserable blankets. The females were not much better off, for the scantiness of their mean apparel was too apparent for modest observers. They appeared like convicts, and, indeed, the greater portion of them had been charged with crime, either of murder or theft."

Micheltorena drilled his Falstaffian army at San Diego for several weeks and then began his march northward; Los Angeles made great preparations to receive the new governor. Seven years had passed since she had been decreed the capital of the territory, and in all these years she had been denied her rights by Monterey. A favorable impression on the new governor might induce him to make the ciudad his capital. The national fiesta of September 16 was postponed until the arrival of the governor. The best house in the town was secured for him and his staff. A grand ball was projected and the city illuminated the night of his arrival. A camp was established down by the river and the cholos, who in the meantime had been given white linen uniforms, were put through the drill and the manual of arms. They were incorrigible thieves, and stole for the very pleasure of stealing. They robbed the hen roosts, the orchards, the vineyards and the vegetable gardens of the citizens. To the Angeleños the glory of their city as the capital of the territory faded in the presence of their empty chicken coops and plundered orchards. They longed to speed the departure of their now unwelcome guests. After a stay of a month in the city Micheltorena and his army took up their line of march northward. He reached a point about twenty miles north of San Fernando, when, on the night of the 24th of October, a messenger aroused him from his slumbers with the news that the capital had been captured by the Americans. Micheltorena seized the occasion to make political capital for himself with the home government. He spent the remainder of the night in fulminating proclamations against the invaders fiercer than the thunderbolts of Jove, copies of which were dispatched post haste to Mexico. He even wished himself a thunderbolt "that he might fly over intervening space and annihilate the invaders." Then, with his own courage and doubtless that of his brave cholos aroused to the highest

pitch, instead of rushing on the invaders, he and his army fled back to San Fernando, where, afraid to advance or retreat, he halted until news reached him that Commodore Jones had restored Monterey to the Californians. Then his valor reached the boiling point. He boldly marched to Los Angeles, established his headquarters in the city and awaited the coming of Commodore Jones and his officers from Monterey.

On the 19th of January, 1843, Commodore Jones and his staff came to Los Angeles to meet the governor. At the famous conference in the Palacio de Don Abel, Micheltorena presented his articles of convention. Among other ridiculous demands were the following: "Article VI. Thomas Ap C. Jones will deliver fifteen hundred complete infantry uniforms to replace those of nearly one-half of the Mexican force, which have been ruined in the violent march and the continued rains while they were on their way to recover the port thus invaded." "Article VII. Jones to pay \$15,000 into the national treasury for expenses incurred from the general alarm; also a complete set of musical instruments in place of those ruined on this occasion."* Judging from Robinson's description of the dress of Micheltorena's cholos it is doubtful whether there was an entire uniform among them.

"The commodore's first impulse," writes a member of his staff, "was to return the papers without comment and to refuse further communication with a man who could have the effrontery to trump up such charges as those for which indemnification was claimed." The commodore on reflection put aside his personal feelings, and met the governor at the grand ball in Sanchez hall, held in honor of the occasion. The ball was a brilliant affair, "the dancing ceased only with the rising of the sun next morning." The commodore returned the articles without his signature. The governor did not again refer to his demands. Next morning, January 21, 1843, Jones and his officers took their departure from the city "amidst the beating of drums, the firing of cannon and the ring-

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. IV.

ing of bells, saluted by the general and his wife from the door of their quarters. On the 31st of December, Micheltorena had taken the oath of office in Sanchez' hall, which stood on the east side of the plaza. Salutes were fired, the bells were rung and the city was illuminated for three evenings. For the second time a governor had been inaugurated in Los Angeles.

Micheltorena and his cholo army remained in Los Angeles about eight months. The Angelenos had all the capital they cared for. They were perfectly willing to have the governor and his army take up their residence in Monterey. The cholos had devoured the country like an army of chapules (locusts) and were willing to move on. Monterey would no doubt have gladly transferred what right she had to the capital if at the same time she could have transferred to her old rival, Los Angeles, Micheltorena's cholos. Their pilfering was largely enforced by their necessities. They received little or no pay, and they often had to steal or starve. The leading native Californians still entertained their old dislike to "Mexican dictators" and the retinue of three hundred chicken thieves accompanying the last dictator intensified their hatred.

Micheltorena, while not a model governor, had many good qualities and was generally liked by the better class of foreign residents. He made an earnest effort to establish a system of public education in the territory. Schools were established in all the principal towns, and territorial aid from the public funds to the amount of \$500 each was given them. The school at Los Angeles had over one hundred pupils in attendance. His worst fault was a disposition to meddle in local affairs. He was unreliable and not careful to keep his agreements. He might have succeeded in giving California a stable government had it not been for the antipathy to his soldiers and the old feud between the "hijos del pais" and the Mexican dictators.

These proved his undoing. The native sons under Alvarado and Castro rose in rebellion. In November, 1844, a revolution was inaugurated at Santa Clara. The governor marched with an army of one hundred and fifty men against the rebel forces, numbering about two hundred. They met at a place called the La-

guna de Alvires. A treaty was signed in which Micheltorena agreed to ship his cholos back to Mexico.

This treaty the governor deliberately broke. He then intrigued with Capt. John A. Sutter of New Helvetia and Isaac Graham to obtain assistance to crush the rebels. January 9, 1845, Micheltorena and Sutter formed a junction of their forces at Salinas—their united commands numbering about five hundred men. They marched against the rebels to crush them. But the rebels did not wait to be crushed. Alvarado and Castro, with about ninety men, started for Los Angeles, and those left behind scattered to their homes. Alvarado and his men reached Los Angeles on the night of January 20, 1845. The garrison stationed at the curate's house was surprised and captured. One man was killed and several wounded. Lieutenant Medina, of Micheltorena's army, was the commander of the pueblo troops. Alvarado's army encamped on the plaza and he and Castro set to work to revolutionize the old pueblo. The leading Angelenos had no great love for Juan Bautista, and did not readily fall into his schemes. They had not forgotten their enforced detention in Vallejo's bastille during the Civil war. An extraordinary session of the ayuntamiento was called January 21. Alvarado and Castro were present and made eloquent appeals. The records say: "The ayuntamiento listened, and after a short interval of silence and meditation decided to notify the senior member of the department assembly of Don Alvarado and Castros' wishes."

They were more successful with the Pico brothers. Pio Pico was senior vocal, and in case Micheltorena was disposed he, by virtue of his office, would become governor. Through the influence of the Picos the revolution gained ground. The most potent influence in spreading the revolt was the fear of Micheltorena's army of chicken thieves. Should the town be captured by them it certainly would be looted. The department assembly was called together. A peace commission was sent to meet Micheltorena, who was leisurely marching southward, and intercede with him to give up his proposed invasion of the south. He refused. Then the

assembly pronounced him a traitor, deposed him by vote and appointed Pio Pico governor. Recruiting went on rapidly. Hundreds of saddle horses were contributed, "old rusty guns were repaired, hacked swords sharpened, rude lances manufactured" and cartridges made for the cannon. Some fifty foreigners of the south joined Alvarado's army; not that they had much interest in the revolution, but to protect their property against the rapacious invaders—the cholos—and Sutter's Indians,* who were as much dreaded as the cholos. On the 19th of February, Micheltorena reached the Encinos, and the Angelenian army marched out through Cahuenga Pass to meet him. On the 20th the two armies met on the southern edge of the San Fernando valley, about fifteen miles from Los Angeles. Each army numbered about four hundred men. Micheltorena had three pieces of artillery and Castro two. They opened on each other at long range and seem to have fought the battle throughout at very long range. A mustang or a mule (authorities differ) was killed.

Wilson, Workman and McKinley of Castro's army decided to induce the Americans on the other side, many of whom were their personal friends, to abandon Micheltorena. Passing up a ravine, they succeeded in attracting the attention of some of them by means of a white flag. Gantt, Hensley and Bidwell joined them in the ravine. The situation was discussed and the Americans of Micheltorena's army agreed to desert him if Pico would protect them in their land grants. Wilson, in his account of the battle, says:† "I knew, and so did Pico, that these land questions were the point with those young Americans. Before I started on my journey or embassy, Pico was sent for; on his arrival among us I, in a few words, explained to him what the party had advanced. 'Gentlemen,' said he, 'are any of you citizens of Mexico?' They answered 'No.' 'Then your title deeds given you by Micheltorena are not worth the paper

they are written on, and he knew it well when he gave them to you; but if you will abandon his cause I will give you my word of honor as a gentleman, and Don Benito Wilson and Don Juan Workman to carry out what I promise, that I will protect each one of you in the land that you now hold, and when you become citizens of Mexico I will issue you the proper titles.' They said that was all they asked, and promised not to fire a gun against us. They also asked not to be required to fight on our side, which was agreed to.

"Micheltorena discovered (how, I do not know) that his Americans had abandoned him. About an hour afterwards he raised his camp and flanked us by going further into the valley towards San Fernando, then marching as though he intended to come around the bend of the river to the city. The Californians and we foreigners at once broke up our camp and came back through the Cahuenga Pass, marched through the gap into the Feliz ranch, on the Los Angeles River, till we came into close proximity to Micheltorena's camp. It was now night, as it was dark when we broke up our camp. Here we waited for daylight, and some of our men commenced maneuvering for a fight with the enemy. A few cannon shots were fired, when a white flag was discovered flying from Micheltorena's front. The whole matter then went into the hands of negotiators appointed by both parties and the terms of surrender were agreed upon, one of which was that Micheltorena and his obnoxious officers and men were to march back up the river to the Cahuenga Pass, then down on the plain to the west of Los Angeles, the most direct line to San Pedro, and embark at that point on a vessel then anchored there to carry them back to Mexico." Sutter was taken prisoner, and his Indians, after being corralled for a time, were sent back to the Sacramento.

The roar of the battle of Cahuenga, or the Alamo, as it is sometimes called, could be distinctly heard in Los Angeles, and the people remaining in the city were greatly alarmed. William Heath Davis, in his *Sixty Years in California*, thus describes the alarm in the town: "Directly to the north of the town was a high

*Sutter had under his command a company of Indians. He had drilled these in the use of firearms. The employing of these savages by Micheltorena was bitterly resented by the Californians.

†Pub. Historical Society of Southern California, Vol. III.

hill" (now known as Mt. Lookout). "As soon as firing was heard all the people remaining in the town, men, women and children, ran to the top of this hill. As the wind was blowing from the north, the firing was distinctly heard, five leagues away, on the battle-field throughout the day. All business places in town were closed. The scene on the hill was a remarkable one, women and children, with crosses in their hands, kneeling and praying to the saints for the safety of their fathers, brothers, sons, husbands, lovers, cousins, that they might not be killed in the battle; indifferent to their personal appearance, tears streaming from their eyes, and their hair blown about by the wind, which had increased to quite a breeze. Don Abel Stearns, myself and others tried to calm and pacify them, assuring them that there was probably no danger; somewhat against our convictions, it is true, judging from what we heard of the firing and from our knowledge of Micheltorena's disciplined force, his battery, and the riflemen he had with him. During the day the scene on the hill continued. The night that followed was a gloomy one, caused by the lamentations of the women and children."

Davis, who was supercargo on the *Don Quixote*, the vessel on which Micheltorena and his soldiers were shipped to Mexico, claims that the general "had ordered his command not to injure the Californians in the force opposed to him, but to fire over their heads, as he had no desire to kill them."

Another Mexican-born governor had been deposed and deported, gone to join his fellows, Victoria, Chico and Gutierrez. In accordance with the treaty of Cahuenga and by virtue of his rank as senior member of the departmental assembly, Pio Pico became governor. The hijos del pais were once more in the ascendancy. José Castro was made comandante-general. Alvarado was given charge of the custom house at Monterey, and José Antonio Carrillo was appointed commander of the military district of the south. Los Angeles was made the capital, although the archives and the treasury remained in Monterey. The revolution apparently had been a success. In the proceedings of the Los Angeles ayuntamiento, March 1, 1845, appears

this record: "The agreements entered into at Cahuenga between Gen. Emanuel Micheltorena and Lieut.-Col. José Castro were then read, and as they contain a happy termination of affairs in favor of the government, this Illustrious Body listened with satisfaction and so answered the communication."

The people joined with the ayuntamiento in expressing their "satisfaction" that a "happy termination" had been reached of the political disturbances which had distracted the country. But the end was not yet. Pico did his best to conciliate the conflicting elements, but the old sectional jealousies that had divided the people of the territory would crop out. José Antonio Carrillo, the Machiavel of the south, hated Castro and Alvarado and was jealous of Pico's good fortune. He was the superior of any of them in ability, but made himself unpopular by his intrigues and his sarcastic speech. When Castro and Alvarado came south to raise the standard of revolt they tried to win him over. He did assist them. He was willing enough to plot against Micheltorena, but after the overthrow of the Mexican he was equally ready to plot against Pico and Castro. In the summer of 1845 he was implicated in a plot to depose Pico, who, by the way, was his brother-in-law. Pico placed him and two of his fellow conspirators, Serbulo and Hilario Varela, under arrest. Carrillo and Hilario Varela were shipped to Mazatlan to be tried for their misdeed. Serbulo Varela made his escape from prison. The two exiles returned early in 1846 unpunished and ready for new plots.

Pico was appointed gobernador propietario, or constitutional governor of California, September 3, 1845, by President Herrera. The supreme government of Mexico never seemed to take offense or harbor resentment against the Californians for deposing and sending home a governor. As the officials of the supreme government usually obtained office by revolution, they no doubt had a fellow feeling for the revolting Californians. When Micheltorena returned to Mexico he was coldly received and a commissioner was sent to Pico with dispatches virtually approving all that had been done.

Castro, too, gave Pico a great deal of uneasi-

ness. He ignored the governor and managed the military affairs of the territory to suit himself. His headquarters were at Monterey and doubtless he had the sympathy if not the encouragement of the people of the north in his course. But the cause of the greatest uneasiness was the increasing immigration from the United States. A stream of emigrants from the western states, increasing each year, poured down the Sierra Nevadas and spread over the rich valleys of California. The Californians recognized that through the advent of these "foreign adventurers," as they called them, the "manifest destiny" of California was to be absorbed by the United States. Alvarado had appealed to Mexico for men and arms and had been answered by the arrival of Micheltorena and his cholos. Pico appealed and for a time the Californians were cheered by the prospect of aid.

In the summer of 1845 a force of six hundred veteran soldiers, under command of Colonel Iniestra, reached Acapulco, where ships were lying to take them to California, but a revolution broke out in Mexico and the troops destined for the defense of California were used to overthrow President Herrera and to seat Paredes. California was left to work out her own destiny unaided or drift with the tide—and she drifted.

In the early months of 1846 there was a rapid succession of important events in her history, each in passing bearing her near and nearer to a manifest destiny—the downfall of Mexican domination in California. These will be presented fully in the chapter on the Acquisition of California by the United States. But before taking up these we will turn aside to review life in California in the olden time under Spanish and Mexican rule.

CHAPTER XV.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT—HOMES AND HOME-LIFE OF THE CALIFORNIANS.

UNDER Spain the government of California was semi-military and semi-clerical. The governors were military officers and had command of the troops in the territory, and looked after affairs at the pueblos; the friars were supreme at the missions. The municipal government of the pueblos was vested in ayuntamientos. The decree of the Spanish Cortés passed May 23, 1812, regulated the membership of the ayuntamiento according to the population of the town—"there shall be one alcalde (mayor), two regidores (councilmen), and one procurador-syndico (treasurer) in all towns which do not have more than two hundred inhabitants; one alcalde, four regidores and one syndico in those the population of which exceeds two hundred, but does not exceed five hundred." When the population of a town exceeded one thousand it was allowed two alcaldes, eight regidores and two syndicos. Over the members of the ayuntamiento in the early years of Spanish rule was a quasi-military offi-

cer called a comisionado, a sort of petty dictator or military despot, who, when occasion required or inclination moved him, embodied within himself all three departments of government, judiciary, legislative and executive. After Mexico became a republic the office of comisionado was abolished. The alcalde acted as president of the ayuntamiento, as mayor and as judge of the court of first instance. The second alcalde took his place when that officer was ill or absent. The syndico was a general utility man. He acted as city or town attorney, tax collector and treasurer. The secretary was an important officer; he kept the records, acted as clerk of the alcalde's court and was the only municipal officer who received pay, except the syndico, who received a commission on his collections.

In 1837 the Mexican Congress passed a decree abolishing ayuntamientos in capitals of departments having a population of less than four thousand and in interior towns of less than eight thousand. In 1839 Governor Alvarado

reported to the Departmental Assembly that no town in California had the requisite population. The ayuntamientos all closed January 1, 1840. They were re-established in 1844. During their abolition the towns were governed by prefects and justices of the peace, and the special laws or ordinances were enacted by the departmental assembly.

The jurisdiction of the ayuntamiento often extended over a large area of country beyond the town limits. That of Los Angeles, after the secularization of the missions, extended over a country as large as the state of Massachusetts. The authority of the ayuntamiento was as extensive as its jurisdiction. It granted town lots and recommended to the governor grants of land from the public domain. In addition to passing ordinances its members sometimes acted as executive officers to enforce them. It exercised the powers of a board of health, a board of education, a police commission and a street department. During the civil war between Northern and Southern California, in 1837-38, the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles raised and equipped an army and assumed the right to govern the southern half of the territory.

The ayuntamiento was spoken of as *Muy Ilustre* (Most Illustrious), in the same sense that we speak of the honorable city council, but it was a much more dignified body than a city council. The members were required to attend their public functions "attired in black apparel, so as to add solemnity to the meetings." They served without pay, but if a member was absent from a meeting without a good excuse he was liable to a fine. As there was no pay in the office and its duties were numerous and onerous, there was not a large crop of aspirants for councilmen in those days, and the office usually sought the man. It might be added that when it caught the right man it was loath to let go of him.

The misfortunes that beset Francisco Pantoja aptly illustrate the difficulty of resigning in the days when office sought the man, not man the office. Pantoja was elected fourth regidor of the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles in 1837. In those days wild horses were very numerous. When the pasture in the foothills was exhausted

they came down into the valleys and ate up the feed needed for the cattle. On this account, and because most of these wild horses were worthless, the rancheros slaughtered them. A corral was built with wings extending out on the right and left from the main entrance. When the corral was completed a day was set for a wild horse drive. The bands were rounded up and driven into the corral. The pick of the caballados were lassoed and taken out to be broken to the saddle and the refuse of the drive killed. The Vejars had obtained permission from the ayuntamiento to build a corral between the Cerritos and the Salinas for the purpose of corralling wild horses. Pantoja, being something of a sport, petitioned his fellow regidores for a twenty days' leave of absence to join in the wild horse chase. A wild horse chase was wild sport and dangerous, too. Somebody was sure to get hurt, and Pantoja in this one was one of the unfortunates. When his twenty days' leave of absence was up he did not return to his duties of regidor, but instead sent his resignation on plea of illness. His resignation was not accepted and the president of the ayuntamiento appointed a committee to investigate his physical condition. There were no physicians in Los Angeles in those days, so the committee took along Santiago McKinley, a canny Scotch merchant, who was reputed to have some knowledge of surgery. The committee and the improvised surgeon held an ante-mortem inquest on what remained of Pantoja. The committee reported to the council that he was a physical wreck; that he could not mount a horse nor ride one when mounted. A native Californian who had reached such a state of physical dilapidation that he could not mount a horse might well be excused from official duties. To excuse him might establish a dangerous precedent. The ayuntamiento heard the report, pondered over it and then sent it and the resignation to the governor. The governor took them under advisement. In the meantime a revolution broke out and before peace was restored and the governor had time to pass upon the case Pantoja's term had expired by limitation.

That modern fad of reform legislation, the

referendum, was in full force and effect in California three-quarters of a century ago. When some question of great importance to the community was before the ayuntamiento and the regidores were divided in opinion, the alarma publica or public alarm was sounded by the beating of the long roll on the drum and all the citizens were summoned to the hall of sessions. Any one hearing the alarm and not heeding it was fined \$3. When the citizens were convened the president of the ayuntamiento, speaking in a loud voice, stated the question and the people were given "public speech." The question was debated by all who wished to speak. When all had had their say it was decided by a show of hands.

The ayuntamientos regulated the social functions of the pueblos as well as the civic. Ordinance 5, ayuntamiento proceedings of Los Angeles, reads: "All individuals serenading promiscuously around the street of the city at night without first having obtained permission from the alcalde will be fined \$1.50 for the first offense, \$3 for the second offense, and for the third punished according to law." Ordinance 4, adopted by the ayuntamiento of Los Angeles, January 28, 1838, reads: "Every person not having any apparent occupation in this city or its jurisdiction is hereby ordered to look for work within three days, counting from the day this ordinance is published; if not complied with, he will be fined \$2 for the first offense, \$4 for the second offense, and will be given compulsory work for the third." From the reading of the ordinance it would seem if the tramp kept looking for work, but was careful not to find it, there could be no offense and consequently no fines or compulsory work.

Some of the enactments of the old regidores would fade the azure out of the blue laws of Connecticut in severity. In the plan of government adopted by the sureños in the rebellion of 1837 appears this article: "Article 3, The Roman Catholic Apostolic religion shall prevail throughout this jurisdiction; and any person professing publicly any other religion shall be prosecuted."

Here is a blue law of Monterey, enacted March 23, 1816: "All persons must attend mass

and respond in a loud voice, and if any persons should fail to do so without good cause they will be put in the stocks for three hours."

The architecture of the Spanish and Mexican eras of California was homely almost to ugliness. There was no external ornamentation to the dwellings and no internal conveniences. There was but little attempt at variety and the houses were mostly of one style, square walled, tile covered, or flat roofed with pitch, and usually but one story high. Some of the mission churches were massive, grand and ornamental, while others were devoid of beauty and travesties on the rules of architecture. Every man was his own architect and master builder. He had no choice of material, or, rather, with his ease-loving disposition, he chose to use that which was most convenient, and that was adobe clay, made into sun-dried brick. The Indian was the brickmaker, and he toiled for his taskmasters, like the Hebrew of old for the Egyptian, making bricks without straw and without pay. There were no labor strikes in the building trades then. The Indian was the builder, and he did not know how to strike for higher wages, because he received no wages, high or low. The adobe bricks were moulded into form and set up to dry. Through the long summer days they baked in the hot sun, first on one side, then on the other; and when dried through they were laid in the wall with mud mortar. Then the walls had to dry and dry perhaps through another summer before the house was habitable. Time was the essence of building contracts then.

There was but little wood used in house construction then. It was only the aristocrats who could indulge in the luxury of wooden floors. Most of the houses had floors of the beaten earth. Such floors were cheap and durable. Gilroy says, when he came to Monterey in 1814, only the governor's house had a wooden floor. A door of rawhide shut out intruders and wooden-barred windows admitted sunshine and air.

The legendry of the hearthstone and the fireside which fills so large a place in the home life and literature of the Anglo-Saxon had no part in the domestic system of the old-time Californian. He had no hearthstone and no fireside,

nor could that pleasing fiction of Santa Claus coming down the chimney with toys on Christmas eve that so delights the children of to-day have been understood by the youthful Californian of long ago. There were no chimneys in California. The only means of warming the houses by artificial heat was a pan (or *braseiro*) of coals set on the floor. The people lived out of doors in the open air and invigorating sunshine; and they were healthy and long-lived. Their houses were places to sleep in or shelters from rain.

The furniture was meager and mostly home-made. A few benches or rawhide-bottomed chairs to sit on; a rough table; a chest or two to keep the family finery in; a few cheap prints of saints on the walls—these formed the furnishings and the decorations of the living rooms of the common people. The bed was the pride and the ambition of the housewife. Even in humble dwellings, sometimes, a snowy counterpane and lace-trimmed pillows decorated a couch whose base was a dried bullock's hide stretched on a rough frame of wood. A shrine dedicated to the patron saint of the household was a very essential part of a well-regulated home.

Fashions in dress did not change with the seasons. A man could wear his grandfather's hat and his coat, too, and not be out of the fashion. Robinson, writing of California in 1829, says: "The people were still adhering to the costumes of the past century." It was not until after 1834, when the Hajar colonists brought the latest fashions from the City of Mexico, that the style of dress for men and women began to change. The next change took place after the American conquest. Only two changes in half a century, a garment had to be very durable to become unfashionable.

The few wealthy people in the territory dressed well, even extravagantly. Robinson describes the dress of Tomas Yorba, a wealthy ranchero of the Upper Santa Ana, as he saw him in 1829: "Upon his head he wore a black silk handkerchief, the four corners of which hung down his neck behind. An embroidered shirt; a cravat of white jaconet, tastefully tied; a blue damask vest; short clothes of crimson velvet; a bright green cloth jacket, with large

silver buttons, and shoes of embroidered deer-skin composed his dress. I was afterwards informed by Don Manuel (Dominguez) that on some occasions, such as some particular feast day or festival, his entire display often exceeded in value a thousand dollars."

"The dress worn by the middle class of females is a chemise, with short embroidered sleeves, richly trimmed with lace; a muslin petticoat, flounced with scarlet and secured at the waist by a silk band of the same color; shoes of velvet or blue satin; a cotton reboso or scarf; pearl necklace and earrings; with hair falling in broad plaits down the back."* After 1834 the men generally adopted calzoneras instead of the knee breeches or short clothes of the last century.

"The calzoneras were pantaloons with the exterior seam open throughout its length. On the upper edge was a strip of cloth, red, blue or black, in which were buttonholes. On the other edge were eyelet holes for buttons. In some cases the calzonera was sewn from hip to the middle of the thigh; in others, buttoned. From the middle of the thigh downward the leg was covered by the bota or leggins, used by every one, whatever his dress." The short jacket, with silver or bronze buttons, and the silken sash that served as a connecting link between the calzoneras and the jacket, and also supplied the place of what the Californians did not wear, suspenders, this constituted a picturesque costume, that continued in vogue until the conquest, and with many of the natives for years after. "After 1834 the fashionable women of California exchanged their narrow for more flowing garments and abandoned the braided hair for the coil and the large combs till then in use for smaller combs."†

For outer wraps the serapa for men and the rebosa for women were universally worn. The texture of these marked the social standing of the wearer. It ranged from cheap cotton and coarse serge to the costliest silk and the finest French broadcloth. The costume of the neophyte changed but once in centuries, and that

*Robinson, *Life in California*.
†Bancroft's *Pastoral California*.

was when he divested himself of his coat of mud and smear of paint and put on the mission shirt and breech clout. Shoes he did not wear and in time his feet became as hard as the hoofs of an animal. The dress of the mission women consisted of a chemise and a skirt; the dress of the children was a shirt and sometimes even this was dispensed.

Filial obedience and respect for parental authority were early impressed upon the minds of the children. The commandment, "Honor thy father and mother," was observed with an oriental devotion. A child was never too old or too large to be exempt from punishment. Stephen C. Foster used to relate an amusing story of a case of parental disciplining he once saw at Los Angeles. An old lady, a grandmother, was belaboring, with a barrel stave, her son, a man thirty years of age. The son had done something of which the mother did not approve. She sent for him to come over to the maternal home to receive his punishment. He came. She took him out to the metaphorical woodshed, which, in this case, was the portico of her house, where she stood him up and proceeded to administer corporal punishment. With the resounding thwacks of the stave, she would exclaim, "I'll teach you to behave yourself." "I'll mend your manners, sir." "Now you'll be good, won't you?" The big man took his punishment without a thought of resisting or rebelling. In fact, he seemed to enjoy it. It brought back feelingly and forcibly a memory of his boyhood days.

In the earlier years of the republic, before revolutionary ideas had perverted the usages of the Californians, great respect was shown to those in authority, and the authorities were strict in requiring deference from their constituents. In the Los Angeles archives of 1828 are the records of an impeachment trial of Don Antonio Maria Lugo, held to depose him from the office of judge of the plains. The principal duty of such a judge was to decide cases of disputed ownership of horses and cattle. Lugo seems to have had an exalted idea of the dignity of his office. Among the complaints presented at the trial was one from young Pedro Sanchez, in which he testified that Lugo had tried to ride

his horse over him in the street because he, Sanchez, would not take off his hat to the juez del campo and remain standing uncovered while the judge rode past. Another complainant at the same trial related how at a rodeo Lugo adjudged a neighbor's boy guilty of contempt of court because the boy gave him an impertinent answer, and then he proceeded to give the boy an unmerciful whipping. So heinous was the offense in the estimation of the judge that the complainant said, "had not Lugo fallen over a chair he would have been beating the boy yet."

Under Mexican domination in California there was no tax levied on land and improvements. The municipal funds of the pueblos were obtained from revenue on wine and brandy; from the licenses of saloons and other business houses; from the tariff on imports; from permits to give balls or dances; from the fines of transgressors, and from the tax on bull rings and cock pits. Then men's pleasures and vices paid the cost of governing. In the early '40s the city of Los Angeles claimed a population of two thousand, yet the municipal revenues rarely exceeded \$1,000 a year. With this small amount the authorities ran a city government and kept out of debt. It did not cost much to run a city government then. There was no army of high-salaried officials with a horde of political heelers quartered on the municipality and fed from the public crib at the expense of the taxpayer. Politicians may have been no more honest then than now, but where there was nothing to steal there was no stealing. The alcaldes and regidores put no temptation in the way of the politicians, and thus they kept them reasonably honest, or at least they kept them from plundering the taxpayers by the simple expedient of having no taxpayers.

The functions of the various departments of the municipal governments were economically administered. Street cleaning and lighting were performed at individual expense instead of public. There was an ordinance in force in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara and probably in other municipalities that required each owner of a house every Saturday to sweep and clean in front of his premises to the middle of the street. His neighbor on the opposite side met him half

way, and the street was swept without expense to the pueblo. There was another ordinance that required each owner of a house of more than two rooms on a main street to hang a lighted lantern in front of his door from twilight to eight o'clock in winter and to nine in summer. There were fines for neglect of these duties.

There was no fire department in the pueblos. The adobe houses with their clay walls, earthen floors, tiled roofs and rawhide doors were as nearly fireproof as any human habitation could be made. The cooking was done in detached

kitchens and in beehive-shaped ovens without flues. The houses were without chimneys, so the danger from fire was reduced to a minimum. A general conflagration was something unknown in the old pueblo days of California.

There was no paid police department. Every able-bodied young man was subject to military duty. A volunteer guard or patrol was kept on duty at the cuartels or guard houses. The guards policed the pueblos, but they were not paid. Each young man had to take his turn at guard duty.

CHAPTER XVI.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION BY CONQUEST.

THE Mexican war marked the beginning by the United States of territorial expansion by conquest. "It was," says General Grant, "an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory." The "additional territory" was needed for the creation of slave states. The southern politicians of the extreme pro-slavery school saw in the rapid settlement of the northwestern states the downfall of their domination and the doom of their beloved institution, slavery. Their peculiar institution could not expand northward and on the south it had reached the Mexican boundary. The only way of acquiring new territory for the extension of slavery on the south was to take it by force from the weak Republic of Mexico. The annexation of Texas brought with it a disputed boundary line. The claim to a strip of country between the Rio Nueces and the Rio Grande furnished a convenient pretext to force Mexico to hostilities. Texas as an independent state had never exercised jurisdiction over the disputed territory. As a state of the Union after annexation she could not rightfully lay claim to what she never possessed, but the army of occupation took possession of it as United States property, and the war was on. In the end we acquired a large slice of Mexican territory, but the irony

of fate decreed that not an acre of its soil should be tilled by slave labor.

The causes that led to the acquisition of California antedated the annexation of Texas and the invasion of Mexico. After the adoption of liberal colonization laws by the Mexican government in 1824, there set in a steady drift of Americans to California. At first they came by sea, but after the opening of the overland route in 1841 they came in great numbers by land. It was a settled conviction in the minds of these adventurous nomads that the manifest destiny of California was to become a part of the United States, and they were only too willing to aid destiny when an opportunity offered. The opportunity came and it found them ready for it.

Capt. John C. Fremont, an engineer and explorer in the services of the United States, appeared at Monterey in January, 1846, and applied to General Castro, the military comandante, for permission to buy supplies for his party of sixty-two men who were encamped in the San Joaquin valley, in what is now Kern county. Permission was given him. There seems to have been a tacit agreement between Castro and Fremont that the exploring party should not enter the settlements, but early in March the whole force was encamped in the Salinas valley. Castro regarded the marching of a body of armed men through the country as an act of

hostility, and ordered them out of the country. Instead of leaving, Fremont intrenched himself on an eminence known as Gabilan Peak (about thirty miles from Monterey), raised the stars and stripes over his barricade, and defied Castro. Castro maneuvered his troops on the plain below, but did not attack Fremont. After two days' waiting Fremont abandoned his position and began his march northward. On May 9, when near the Oregon line, he was overtaken by Lieutenant Gillespie, of the United States navy, with a dispatch from the president. Gillespie had left the United States in November, 1845, and, disguised, had crossed Mexico from Vera Cruz to Mazatlan, and from there had reached Monterey. The exact nature of the dispatches to Fremont is not known, but presumably they related to the impending war between Mexico and the United States, and the necessity for a prompt seizure of the country to prevent it from falling into the hands of England. Fremont returned to the Sacramento, where he encamped.

On the 14th of June, 1846, a body of American settlers from the Napa and Sacramento valleys, thirty-three in number, of which Ide, Semple, Grigsby and Merritt seem to have been the leaders, after a night's march, took possession of the old castillo or fort at Sonoma, with its rusty muskets and unused cannon, and made Gen. M. G. Vallejo, Lieut.-Col. Prudon, Capt. Salvador Vallejo and Jacob P. Leese, a brother-in-law of the Vallejos, prisoners. There seems to have been no privates at the castillo, all officers. Exactly what was the object of the American settlers in taking General Vallejo prisoner is not evident. General Vallejo was one of the few eminent Californians who favored the annexation of California to the United States. He is said to have made a speech favoring such a movement in the junta at Monterey a few months before. Castro regarded him with suspicion. The prisoners were sent under an armed escort to Fremont's camp. William B. Ide was elected captain of the revolutionists who remained at Sonoma, to "hold the fort." He issued a pronunciamiento in which he declared California a free and independent government, under the name of the California Re-

public. A nation must have a flag of its own, so one was improvised. It was made of a piece of cotton cloth, or manta, a yard wide and five feet long. Strips of red flannel torn from the shirt of one of the men were stitched on the bottom of the flag for stripes. With a blacking brush, or, as another authority says, the end of a chewed stick for a brush, and red paint, William L. Todd painted the figure of a grizzly bear passant on the field of the flag. The natives called Todd's bear "cochino," a pig; it resembled that animal more than a bear. A five-pointed star in the left upper corner, painted with the same coloring matter, and the words "California republic" printed on it in ink, completed the famous bear flag.

The California republic was ushered into existence June 14, 1846, attained the acme of its power July 4, when Ide and his fellow patriots burnt a quantity of powder in salutes, and fired off oratorical pyrotechnics in honor of the new republic. It utterly collapsed on the 9th of July, after an existence of twenty-five days, when news reached Sonoma that Commodore Sloat had raised the stars and stripes at Monterey and taken possession of California in the name of the United States. Lieutenant Revere arrived at Sonoma on the 9th and he it was who lowered the bear flag from the Mexican flagstaff, where it had floated through the brief existence of the California republic, and raised in its place the banner of the United States.

Commodore Sloat, who had anchored in Monterey Bay July 2, 1846, was for a time undecided whether to take possession of the country. He had no official information that war had been declared between the United States and Mexico; but, acting on the supposition that Captain Fremont had received definite instructions, on the 7th of July he raised the flag and took possession of the custom-house and government buildings at Monterey. Captain Montgomery, on the 9th, raised it at San Francisco, and on the same day the bear flag gave place to the stars and stripes at Sonoma.

General Castro was holding Santa Clara and San José when he received Commodore Sloat's proclamation informing him that the commodore had taken possession of Monterey. *Can-*

tro, after reading the proclamation, which was written in Spanish, formed his men in line, and addressing them, said: "Monterey is taken by the Americans. What can I do with a handful of men against the United States? I am going to Mexico. All of you who wish to follow me, 'About face!' All that wish to remain can go to their homes."* A very small part of his force followed him.

Commodore Sloat was superseded by Commodore Stockton, who set about organizing an expedition to subjugate the southern part of the territory which remained loyal to Mexico. Fremont's exploring party, recruited to a battalion of one hundred and twenty men, had marched to Monterey, and from there was sent by vessel to San Diego to procure horses and prepare to act as cavalry.

While these stirring events were transpiring in the north, what was the condition in the south where the capital, Los Angeles, and the bulk of the population of the territory were located? Pio Pico had entered upon the duties of the governorship with a desire to bring peace and harmony to the distracted country. He appointed Juan Bandini, one of the ablest statesmen of the south, his secretary. After Bandini resigned he chose J. M. Covarrubias, and later José M. Moreno filled the office.

The principal offices of the territory had been divided equally between the politicians of the north and the south. While Los Angeles became the capital, and the departmental assembly met there, the military headquarters, the archives and the treasury remained at Monterey. But, notwithstanding this division of the spoils of office, the old feud between the *arribeños* and the *abajeros* would not down, and soon the old-time quarrel was on with all its bitterness. Castro, as military *comandante*, ignored the governor, and Alvarado was regarded by the *sureños* as an emissary of Castro's. The departmental assembly met at Los Angeles, in March, 1846. Pico presided, and in his opening message set forth the unfortunate condition of affairs in the department. Education was neglected; justice was not administered; the mis-

sions were so burdened by debt that but few of them could be rented; the army was disorganized and the treasury empty.

Not even the danger of war with the Americans could make the warring factions forget their fratricidal strife. Castro's proclamation against Fremont was construed by the *sureños* into a scheme to inveigle the governor to the north so that the *comandante-general* could depose him and seize the office for himself. Castro's preparations to resist by force the encroachments of the Americans were believed by Pico and the *Angelenians* to be fitting out of an army to attack Los Angeles and overthrow the government.

On the 16th of June, Pico left Los Angeles for Monterey with a military force of a hundred men. The object of the expedition was to oppose, and, if possible, to depose Castro. He left the capital under the care of the *ayuntamiento*. On the 20th of June, *Alcalde* Gallardo reported to the *ayuntamiento* that he had positive information "that Don Castro had left Monterey and would arrive here in three days with a military force for the purpose of capturing this city." (Castro had left Monterey with a force of seventy men, but he had gone north to San José.) The sub-prefect, Don Abel Stearns, was authorized to enlist troops to preserve order. On the 23d of June three companies were organized, an artillery company under Miguel Pryor, a company of riflemen under Benito Wilson, and a cavalry company under Gorge Palomares. Pico, with his army at San Luis Obispo, was preparing to march against Monterey, when the news reached him of the capture of Sonoma by the Americans, and next day, July 12th, the news reached Los Angeles just as the council had decided on a plan of defense against Castro, who was five hundred miles away. Pico, on the impulse of the moment, issued a proclamation, in which he arraigned the United States for perfidy and treachery, and the gang of "North American adventurers," who captured Sonoma "with the blackest treason the spirit of evil can invent." His arraignment of the "North American nation" was so severe that some of his American friends in Los Angeles took umbrage at his

*Hall's History of San José.

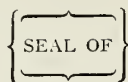
pronunciamento. He afterwards tried to recall it, but it was too late; it had been published.

Castro, finding the "foreign adventurers" too numerous and too aggressive in the northern part of the territory, determined, with what men he could induce to go with him, to retreat to the south; but before so doing he sent a mediator to Pico to negotiate a treaty of peace and amity between the factions. On the 12th of July the two armies met at Santa Margarita, near San Luis Obispo. Castro brought the news that Commodore Sloat had hoisted the United States flag at Monterey and taken possession of the country for his government. The meeting of the governor and the comandante-general was not very cordial, but in the presence of the impending danger to the territory they concealed their mutual dislike and decided to do their best to defend the country they both loved.

Sorrowfully they began their retreat to the capital; but even threatened disaster to their common country could not wholly unite the north and the south. The respective armies, Castro's numbering about one hundred and fifty men, and Pico's one hundred and twenty, kept about a day's march apart. They reached Los Angeles, and preparations were begun to resist the invasion of the Americans. Pico issued a proclamation ordering all able-bodied men between fifteen and sixty years of age, native and naturalized, to take up arms to defend the country; any able-bodied Mexican refusing was to be treated as a traitor. There was no enthusiasm for the cause. The old factional jealousy and distrust was as potent as ever. The militia of the south would obey none but their own officers; Castro's troops, who considered themselves regulars, ridiculed the raw recruits of the sureños, while the naturalized foreigners of American extraction secretly sympathized with their own people.

Pico, to counteract the malign influence of his Santa Barbara proclamation and enlist the sympathy and more ready adhesion of the foreign element of Los Angeles, issued the following circular: (This circular or proclamation has never before found its way into print. I find no allusion to it in Bancroft's or Hittell's His-

tories. A copy, probably the only one in existence, was donated some years since to the Historical Society of Southern California.)



*Gobierno del Dep.
de Californias.*

"CIRCULAR.—As owing to the unfortunate condition of things that now prevails in this department in consequence of the war into which the United States has provoked the Mexican nation, some ill feeling might spring up between the citizens of the two countries, out of which unfortunate occurrences might grow, and as this government desires to remove every cause of friction, it has seen fit, in the use of its power, to issue the present circular.

"The Government of the department of California declares in the most solemn manner that all the citizens of the United States that have come lawfully into its territory, relying upon the honest administration of the laws and the observance of the prevailing treaties, shall not be molested in the least, and their lives and property shall remain in perfect safety under the protection of the Mexican laws and authorities legally constituted.

"Therefore, in the name of the supreme government of the nation, and by virtue of the authority vested upon me, I enjoin upon all the inhabitants of California to observe towards the citizens of the United States that have lawfully come among us, the kindest and most cordial conduct, and to abstain from all acts of violence against their persons or property; provided they remain neutral, as heretofore, and take no part in the invasion effected by the armies of their nation.

"The authorities of the various municipalities and corporations will be held strictly responsible for the faithful fulfillment of this order, and shall, as soon as possible, take the necessary measures to bring it to the knowledge of the people. God and Liberty.

"PIO PICO.

"JOSE MATIAS MARENO, *Secretary pro tem.*"
Angeles, July 27, 1846.

When we consider the conditions existing in California at the time this circular was issued, its sentiments reflect great credit on Pico for his humanity and forbearance. A little over a month before, a party of Americans seized General Vallejo and several other prominent Californians in their homes and incarcerated them in prison at Sutter's Fort. Nor was this outrage mitigated when the stars and stripes were raised. The perpetrators of the outrage were not punished. These native Californians were kept in prison nearly two months without any charge against them. Besides, Governor Pico and the leading Californians very well knew that the Americans whose lives and property this proclamation was designed to protect would not remain neutral when their countrymen invaded the territory. Pio Pico deserved better treatment from the Americans than he received. He was robbed of his landed possessions by unscrupulous land sharks, and his character defamed by irresponsible historical scribblers.

Pico made strenuous efforts to raise men and means to resist the threatened invasion. He had mortgaged the government house to de Celis for \$2,000, the mortgage to be paid "as soon as order shall be established in the department." This loan was really negotiated to fit out the expedition against Castro, but a part of it was expended after his return to Los Angeles in procuring supplies while preparing to meet the American army. The government had but little credit. The moneyed men of the pueblo were averse to putting money into what was almost sure to prove a lost cause. The bickerings and jealousies between the factions neutralized to a considerable degree the efforts of Pico and Castro to mobilize the army.

Castro established his camp on the mesa east of the river. Here he and Andres Pico undertook to drill the somewhat incongruous collection of hombres in military maneuvering. Their entire force at no time exceeded three hundred men. These were poorly armed and lacking in discipline.

We left Stockton at Monterey preparing an expedition against Castro at Los Angeles. On taking command of the Pacific squadron, July

29, he issued a proclamation. It was as bombastic as the pronunciamiento of a Mexican governor. Bancroft says: "The paper was made up of falsehood, of irrelevant issues and bombastic ranting in about equal parts, the tone being offensive and impolitic even in those inconsiderable portions which were true and legitimate." His only object in taking possession of the country was "to save from destruction the lives and property of the foreign residents and citizens of the territory who had invoked his protection." In view of Pico's humane circular and the uniform kind treatment that the Californians accorded the American residents, there was very little need of Stockton's interference on that score. Commodore Sloat did not approve of Stockton's proclamation or of his policy.

On the 6th of August, Stockton reached San Pedro and landed three hundred and sixty sailors and marines. These were drilled in military movements on land and prepared for the march to Los Angeles.

Castro sent two commissioners, Pablo de La Guerra and José M. Flores, to Stockton, asking for a conference and a cessation of hostilities while negotiations were pending. They asked that the United States forces remain at San Pedro while the terms of the treaty were under discussion. These requests Commodore Stockton peremptorily refused, and the commissioners returned to Los Angeles without stating the terms on which they proposed to treat.

In several so-called histories, I find a very dramatic account of this interview. On the arrival of the commissioners they were marched up to the mouth of an immense mortar, shrouded in skins save its huge aperture. Their terror and discomfiture were plainly discernible. Stockton received them with a stern and forbidding countenance, harshly demanding their mission, which they disclosed in great confusion. They bore a letter from Castro proposing a truce, each party to hold its own possessions until a general pacification should be had. This proposal Stockton rejected with contempt, and dismissed the commissioners with the assurance that only an immediate disbandment of his forces and an unconditional surrender would

shield Castro from the vengeance of an incensed foe. The messengers remounted their horses in dismay and fled back to Castro." The mortar story, it is needless to say, is pure fabrication, yet it runs through a number of so-called histories of California. Castro, on the 9th of August, held a council of war with his officers at the Campo en La Mesa. He announced his intention of leaving the country for the purpose of reporting to the supreme government, and of returning at some future day to punish the usurpers. He wrote to Pico: "I can count only one hundred men, badly armed, worse supplied and discontented by reason of the miseries they suffer; so that I have reason to fear that not even these men will fight when the necessity arises." And this is the force that some imaginative historians estimate at eight hundred to one thousand men.

Pico and Castro left Los Angeles on the night of August 10, for Mexico; Castro going by the Colorado River route to Sonora, and Pico, after being concealed for a time by his brother-in-law, Juan Froster, at the Santa Margarita and narrowly escaping capture by Fremont's men, finally reached Lower California and later on crossed the Gulf to Sonora.

Stockton began his march on Los Angeles August 11. He took with him a battery of four guns. The guns were mounted on carretas, and each gun drawn by four oxen. He had with him a good brass band.

Major Fremont, who had been sent to San Diego with his battalion of one hundred and seventy men, had, after considerable skirmishing among the ranchos, secured enough horses to move, and on the 8th of August had begun his march to join Stockton. He took with him one hundred and twenty men, leaving about fifty to garrison San Diego.

Stockton consumed three days on the march. Fremont's troops joined him just south of the city, and at 4 p. m. of the 13th the combined force, numbering nearly five hundred men, entered the town without opposition, "our entry," says Major Fremont, "having more the effect of a parade of home guards than of an enemy taking possession of a conquered town." Stockton reported finding at Castro's abandoned camp

ten pieces of artillery, four of them spiked. Fremont says he (Castro) "had buried part of his guns." Castro's troops that he had brought down with him took their departure for their northern homes soon after their general left, breaking up into small squads as they advanced. The southern troops that Pico had recruited dispersed to their homes before the arrival of the Americans. Squads of Fremont's battalion were sent out to scour the country and bring in any of the Californian officers or leading men whom they could find. These, when found, were paroled.

Another of those historical myths, like the mortar story previously mentioned, which is palmed off on credulous readers as genuine history, runs as follows: "Stockton, while en route from San Pedro to Los Angeles, was informed by a courier from Castro 'that if he marched upon the town he would find it the grave of himself and men.' 'Then,' answered the commodore, 'tell the general to have the bells ready to toll at eight o'clock, as I shall be there by that time.'" As Castro left Los Angeles the day before Stockton began his march from San Pedro, and when the commodore entered the city the Mexican general was probably two hundred miles away, the bell tolling myth goes to join its kindred myths in the category of history as it should not be written.

On the 17th of August, Stockton issued a second proclamation, in which he signs himself commander-in-chief and governor of the territory of California. It was milder in tone and more dignified than the first. He informed the people that their country now belonged to the United States. For the present it would be governed by martial law. They were invited to elect their local officers if those now in office refused to serve.

Four days after the capture of Los Angeles, The Warren, Captain Hull, commander, anchored at San Pedro. She brought official notice of the declaration of war between the United States and Mexico. Then for the first time Stockton learned that there had been an official declaration of war between the two countries. United States officers had waged war and had taken possession of California upon

the strength of a rumor that hostilities existed between the countries.

The conquest, if conquest it can be called, was accomplished without the loss of a life, if we except the two Americans, Fowler and Cowie, of the Bear Flag party, who were brutally murdered by a band of Californians under Padillo, and the equally brutal shooting of Beryessa and the two de Haro boys by the Americans at San Rafael. These three men were shot as spies, but there was no proof that they were such, and they were not tried. These murders occurred before Commodore Sloat raised the stars and stripes at Monterey.

On the 15th of August, 1846, just thirty-seven days after the raising of the stars and stripes at Monterey, the first newspaper ever published in California made its appearance. It was published at Monterey by Semple and Colton and named *The Californian*. Rev. Walter Colton was a chaplain in the United States navy and came to California on the Congress with Commodore Stockton. He was made alcalde of Monterey and built, by the labor of the chain

gang and from contributions and fines, the first schoolhouse in California, named for him Colton Hall. Colton thus describes the other member of the firm, Dr. Robert Semple: "My partner is an emigrant from Kentucky, who stands six feet eight in his stockings. He is in a buckskin dress, a foxskin cap; is true with his rifle, ready with his pen and quick at the type case." Semple came to California in 1845, with the Hastings party, and was one of the leaders in the Bear Flag revolution. The type and press used were brought to California by Augustin V. Zamorano in 1834, and by him sold to the territorial government, and had been used for printing bandos and pronunciamientos. The only paper the publishers of *The Californian* could procure was that used in the manufacture of cigarettes, which came in sheets a little larger than foolscap. The font of type was short of w's, so two v's were substituted for that letter, and when these ran out two u's were used. The paper was moved to San Francisco in 1848 and later on consolidated with the *California Star*.

CHAPTER XVII.

REVOLT OF THE CALIFORNIANS.

HOSTILITIES had ceased in all parts of the territory. The leaders of the Californians had escaped to Mexico, and Stockton, regarding the conquest as completed, set about organizing a government for the conquered territory. Fremont was to be appointed military governor. Detachments from his battalion were to be detailed to garrison different towns, while Stockton, with what recruits he could gather in California, and his sailors and marines, was to undertake a naval expedition against the west coast of Mexico, land his forces at Mazatlan or Acapulco and march overland to "shake hands with General Taylor at the gates of Mexico." Captain Gillespie was made military commandant of the southern department, with headquarters at Los Angeles, and assigned a garrison of fifty men. Commodore Stockton left Los Angeles for the north Sep-

tember 2. Fremont, with the remainder of his battalion, took up his line of march for Monterey a few days later. Gillespie's orders were to place the city under martial law, but not to enforce the more burdensome restrictions upon quiet and well-disposed citizens. A conciliatory policy in accordance with instructions of the secretary of the navy was to be adopted and the people were to be encouraged to "neutrality, self-government and friendship."

Nearly all historians who have written upon this subject lay the blame for the subsequent uprising of the Californians and their revolt against the rule of the military commandant, Gillespie, to his petty tyrannies. Col. J. J. Warner, in his Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, says: "Gillespie attempted by a coercive system to effect a moral and social change in the habits, diversions and pastimes of

the people and to reduce them to his standard of propriety." Warner was not an impartial judge. He had a grievance against Gillespie which embittered him against the captain. Gillespie may have been lacking in tact, and his schooling in the navy under the tyrannical régime of the quarterdeck of sixty years ago was not the best training to fit him for government, but it is hardly probable that in two weeks' time he undertook to enforce a "coercive system" looking toward an entire change in the moral and social habits of the people. Los Angeles under Mexican domination was a hotbed of revolutions. It had a turbulent and restless element among its inhabitants that was never happier than when fomenting strife and conspiring to overthrow those in power. Of this class Colton, writing in 1846, says: "They drift about like Arabs. If the tide of fortune turns against them they disband and scatter to the four winds. They never become martyrs to any cause. They are too numerous to be brought to punishment by any of their governors, and thus escape justice." There was a conservative class in the territory, made up principally of the large landed proprietors, both native and foreign-born, but these exerted small influence in controlling the turbulent. While Los Angeles had a monopoly of this turbulent and revolutionary element, other settlements in the territory furnished their full quota of that class of political knight errants whose chief pastime was revolution, and whose capital consisted of a gaily caparisoned steed, a riata, a lance, a dagger and possibly a pair of horse pistols. These were the fellows whose "habits, diversions and pastimes" Gillespie undertook to reduce "to his standard of propriety."

That Commodore Stockton should have left Gillespie so small a garrison to hold the city and surrounding country in subjection shows that either he was ignorant of the character of the people, or that he placed too great reliance in the completeness of their subjection. With Castro's men in the city or dispersed among the neighboring ranchos, many of them still retaining their arms, and all of them ready to rally at a moment's notice to the call of their leaders; with no reinforcements nearer than five hundred

miles to come to the aid of Gillespie in case of an uprising, it was foolhardiness in Stockton to entrust the holding of the most important place in California to a mere handful of men, half disciplined and poorly equipped, without fortifications for defense or supplies to hold out in case of a siege.

Scarcely had Stockton and Fremont, with their men, left the city before trouble began. The turbulent element of the city fomented strife and seized every occasion to annoy and harass the military commandant and his men. While his "petty tyrannies," so called, which were probably nothing more than the enforcement of martial law, may have been somewhat provocative, the real cause was more deep seated. The Californians, without provocation on their part and without really knowing the cause why, found their country invaded, their property taken from them and their government in the hands of an alien race, foreign to them in customs and religion. They would have been a tame and spiritless people indeed, had they neglected the opportunity that Stockton's blundering gave them to regain their liberties. They did not waste much time. Within two weeks from the time Stockton sailed from San Pedro hostilities had begun and the city was in a state of siege.

Gillespie, writing in the *Sacramento Statesman* in 1858, thus describes the first attack: "On the 22d of September, at three o'clock in the morning, a party of sixty-five Californians and Sonorens made an attack upon my small command quartered in the government house. We were not wholly surprised, and with twenty-one rifles we beat them back without loss to ourselves, killing and wounding three of their number. When daylight came, Lieutenant Hensley, with a few men, took several prisoners and drove the Californians from the town. This party was merely the nucleus of a revolution commenced and known to Colonel Fremont before he left Los Angeles. In twenty-four hours, six hundred well-mounted horsemen, armed with escopetas (shotguns), lances and one fine brass piece of light artillery, surrounded Los Angeles and summoned me to surrender. There were three old honey-combed iron guns (spiked)

in the corral of my quarters, which we at once cleared and mounted upon the axles of carts."

Serbulo Varela, a young man of some ability, but of a turbulent and reckless character, had been the leader at first, but as the uprising assumed the character of a revolution, Castro's old officers came to the front. Capt. José Maria Flores was chosen comandante-general; José Antonio Carrillo, major-general; and Andres Pico, comandante de escuadron. The main camp of the insurgents was located on the mesa, east of the river, at a place called Paredon Blanco (White Bluff).

On the 24th of September, from the camp at White Bluff, was issued the famous Pronunciamiento de Barelas y otros Californias contra Los Americanos (The Proclamation of Barelas and other Californians against the Americans). It was signed by Serbulo Varela (spelled Barelas), Leonardo Cota and over three hundred others. Although this proclamation is generally credited to Flores, there is no evidence to show that he had anything to do with framing it. He promulgated it over his signature October 1. It is probable that it was written by Varela and Cota. It has been the custom of American writers to sneer at this production as florid and bombastic. In fiery invective and fierce denunciation it is the equal of Patrick Henry's famous "Give me liberty or give me death!" Its recital of wrongs is brief, but to the point. "And shall we be capable of permitting ourselves to be subjugated and to accept in silence the heavy chains of slavery? Shall we lose the soil inherited from our fathers, which cost them so much blood? Shall we leave our families victims of the most barbarous servitude? Shall we wait to see our wives outraged, our innocent children beaten by American whips, our property sacked, our temples profaned, to drag out a life full of shame and disgrace? No! a thousand times no! Compatriots, death rather than that! Who of you does not feel his heart beat and his blood boil on contemplating our situation? Who will be the Mexican that will not be indignant and rise in arms to destroy our oppressors? We believe there will be not one so vile and cowardly!"

Gillespie had left the government house (lo-

cated on what is now the site of the St. Charles Hotel) and taken a position on Fort Hill, where he had erected a temporary barricade of sacks filled with earth and had mounted his cannon there. The Americans had been summoned to surrender, but had refused. They were besieged by the Californians. There was but little firing between the combatants, an occasional sortie and a volley of rifle balls by the Americans when the Californians approached too near. The Californians were well mounted, but poorly armed, their weapons being principally muskets, shotguns, pistols, lances and riatas; while the Americans were armed with long-range rifles, of which the Californians had a wholesome dread. The fear of these arms and his cannon doubtless saved Gillespie and his men from capture.

On the 24th Gillespie dispatched a messenger to find Stockton at Monterey, or at San Francisco if he had left Monterey, and apprise him of the perilous situation of the Americans at Los Angeles. Gillespie's dispatch bearer, John Brown, better known by his California nickname, Juan Flaco or Lean John, made one of the most wonderful rides in history. Gillespie furnished Juan Flaco with a package of cigarettees, the paper of each bearing the inscription, "Believe the bearer;" these were stamped with Gillespie's seal. Brown started from Los Angeles at 8 p. m., September 24, and claimed to have reached Yerba Buena at 8 p. m. of the 28th, a ride of six hundred and thirty miles in four days. This is incorrect. Colton, who was alcalde of Monterey at that time, notes Brown's arrival at that place on the evening of the 29th. Colton, in his "Three Years in California," says that Brown rode the whole distance (Los Angeles to Monterey) of four hundred and sixty miles in fifty-two hours, during which time he had not slept. His intelligence was for Commodore Stockton and, in the nature of the case, was not committed to paper, except a few words rolled in a cigar fastened in his hair. But the commodore had sailed for San Francisco and it was necessary he should go one hundred and forty miles further. He was quite exhausted and was allowed to sleep three hours. Before day he was up and away on his journey. Gil-

lespie, in a letter published in the *Los Angeles Star*, May 28, 1858, describing Juan Flaco's ride says: "Before sunrise of the 29th he was lying in the bushes at San Francisco, in front of the Congress frigate, waiting for the early market boat to come on shore, and he delivered my dispatches to Commodore Stockton before 7 o'clock."

In trying to steal through the picket line of the Mexicans at Los Angeles, he was discovered and pursued by a squad of them. A hot race ensued. Finding the enemy gaining on him he forced his horse to leap a wide ravine. A shot from one of his pursuers mortally wounded his horse, which, after running a short distance, fell dead. Flaco, carrying his spurs and riata, made his way on foot in the darkness to Las Virgines, a distance of twenty-seven miles. Here he secured another mount and again set off on his perilous journey. The trail over which Flaco held his way was not like "the road from Winchester town, a good, broad highway leading down," but instead a Camino de heradura, bridle path, now winding up through rocky cañons, skirting along the edge of precipitous cliffs, then zigzagging down chaparral covered mountains; now over the sands of the sea beach and again across long stretches of brown mesa, winding through narrow valleys and out onto the rolling hills—a trail as nature made it, unchanged by the hand of man. Such was the highway over which Flaco's steeds "stretched away with utmost speed." Harassed and pursued by the enemy, facing death night and day, with scarcely a stop or a stay to eat or sleep, Juan Flaco rode six hundred miles.

"Of all the rides since the birth of time,
Told in story or sung in rhyme,
The fleetest ride that ever was sped,"

was Juan Flaco's ride from Los Angeles to San Francisco. Longfellow has immortalized the "Ride of Paul Revere," Robert Browning tells in stirring verse of the riders who brought the good news from Ghent to Aix, and Buchanan Read thrills us with the heroic measures of Sheridan's Ride. No poet has sung of Juan Flaco's wonderful ride, fleetest, longer and more perilous than any of these. Flaco rode six hundred miles

through the enemy's country, to bring aid to a besieged garrison, while Revere and Jorris and Sheridan were in the country of friends or protected by an army from enemies.

Gillespie's situation was growing more and more desperate each day. B. D. Wilson, who with a company of riflemen had been on an expedition against the Indians, had been ordered by Gillespie to join him. They reached the Chino ranch, where a fight took place between them and the Californians. Wilson's men being out of ammunition were compelled to surrender. In the charge upon the adobe, where Wilson and his men had taken refuge, Carlos Ballestaros had been killed and several Californians wounded. This and Gillespie's stubborn resistance had embittered the Californians against him and his men. The Chino prisoners had been saved from massacre after their surrender by the firmness and bravery of Varela. If Gillespie continued to hold the town his obstinacy might bring down the vengeance of the Californians not only upon him and his men, but upon many of the American residents of the south, who had favored their countrymen.

Finally Flores issued his ultimatum to the Americans, surrender within twenty-four hours or take the consequences of an onslaught by the Californians, which might result in the massacre of the entire garrison. In the meantime he kept his cavalry deployed on the hills, completely investing the Americans. Despairing of assistance from Stockton, on the advice of Wilson, who had been permitted by Flores to intercede with Gillespie, articles of capitulation were drawn up and signed by Gillespie and the leaders of the Californians. On the 30th of September the Americans marched out of the city with all the honors of war, drums beating, colors flying and two pieces of artillery mounted on carts drawn by oxen. They arrived at San Pedro without molestation and four or five days later embarked on the merchant ship *Vandalia*, which remained at anchor in the bay. Gillespie in his march was accompanied by a few of the American residents and probably a dozen of the Chino prisoners, who had been exchanged for the same number of Californians, whom he had held under arrest most likely as hostages.

Gillespie took two cannon with him when he evacuated the city, leaving two spiked and broken on Fort Hill. There seems to have been a proviso in the articles of capitulation requiring him

to deliver the guns to Flores on reaching the embarcadero. If there was such a stipulation Gillespie violated it. He spiked the guns, broke off the trunnions and rolled one of them into the bay.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DEFEAT AND RETREAT OF MERVINE'S MEN.

THE revolt of the Californians at Los Angeles was followed by similar uprisings in the different centers of population where American garrisons were stationed. Upon the receipt of Gillespie's message Commodore Stockton ordered Captain Mervine to proceed at once to San Pedro to regain, if possible, the lost territory. Juan Flaco had delivered his message to Stockton on September 30. Early on the morning of October 1st, Captain Mervine got under way for San Pedro. "He went ashore at Sausalito," says Gillespie, "on some trivial excuse, and a dense fog coming on he was compelled to remain there until the 4th."

Of the notable events occurring during the conquest of California there are few others of which there are so contradictory accounts as that known as the battle of Dominguez Ranch, where Mervine was defeated and compelled to retreat to San Pedro. Historians differ widely in the number engaged and in the number killed. The following account of Mervine's expedition I take from a log book kept by Midshipman and Acting-Lieut. Robert C. Duvall of the Savannah. He commanded a company during the battle. This book was donated to the Historical Society of Southern California by Dr. J. E. Cowles of Los Angeles, a nephew of Lieutenant Duvall. The account given by Lieutenant Duvall is one of the fullest and most accurate in existence.

"At 9.30 a. m." (October 1, 1846), says Lieutenant Duvall, "we commenced working out of the harbor of San Francisco on the ebb tide. The ship anchored at Sausalito, where, on account of a dense fog, it remained until the 4th, when it put to sea. On the 7th the ship entered the harbor of San Pedro. At 6:30 p. m., as we

were standing in for anchorage, we made out the American merchant ship *Vandalia*, having on her decks a body of men. On passing she saluted with two guns, which was repeated with three cheers, which we returned. * * * * Brevet Capt. Archibald Gillespie came on board and reported that he had evacuated the Pueblo de Los Angeles on account of the overpowering force of the enemy and had retired with his men on board the *Vandalia* after having spiked his guns, one of which he threw into the water. He also reported that the whole of California below the pueblo had risen in arms against our authorities, headed by Flores, a Mexican captain on furlough in this country, who had but a few days ago given his parole of honor not to take up arms against the United States. We made preparations to land a force to march to the pueblo at daylight.

"October 8, at 6 a. m., all the boats left the ship for the purpose of landing the forces, numbering in all two hundred and ninety-nine men, including the volunteers under command of Captain Gillespie. At 6:30 all were landed without opposition, the enemy in small detachments retreating toward the pueblo. From their movements we apprehended that their whole force was near. Captain Mervine sent on board ship for a reinforcement of eighty men, under command of Lieut. R. B. Hitchcock. At 8 a. m. the several companies, all under command of Capt. William Mervine, took up the line of march for the purpose of retaking the pueblo. The enemy retreated as our forces advanced. (On landing, William A. Smith, first cabin boy, was killed by the accidental discharge of a Colt's pistol.) The reinforcements under the com-

mand of Lieut. R. B. Hitchcock returned on board ship. For the first four miles our march was through hills and ravines, which the enemy might have taken advantage of, but preferred to occupy as spectators only, until our approach. A few shots from our flankers (who were the volunteer riflemen) would start them off; they returned the compliment before going. The remainder of our march was performed over a continuous plain overgrown with wild mustard, rising in places to six or eight feet in height. The ground was excessively dry, the clouds of dust were suffocating and there was not a breath of wind in motion. There was no water on our line of march for ten or twelve miles and we suffered greatly from thirst.

"At 2:30 p. m. we reached our camping ground. The enemy appeared in considerable numbers. Their numbers continued to increase until sundown, when they formed on a hill near us, gradually inclining towards our camp. They were admirably formed for a cavalry charge. We drew up our forces to meet them, but finding they were disposed to remain stationary, the marines, under command of Captain Marston, the Colt's riflemen, under command of Lieut. I. B. Carter and myself, and the volunteers, under command of Capt. A. Gillespie, were ordered to charge on them, which we did. They stood their ground until our shots commenced 'telling' on them, when they took to flight in every direction. They continued to annoy us by firing into our camp through the night. About 2 a. m. they brought a piece of artillery and fired into our camp, the shot striking the ground near us. The marines, riflemen and volunteers were sent in pursuit of the gun, but could see or hear nothing of it.

"We left our camp the next morning at 6 o'clock. Our plan of march was in column by platoon. We had not proceeded far before the enemy appeared before us drawn up on each side of the road, mounted on fine horses, each man armed with a lance and carbine. They also had a field piece (a four-pounder), to which were hitched eight or ten horses, placed on the road ahead of us.

"Captain Mervine, thinking it was the enemy's intention to throw us into confusion by using

their gun on us loaded with round shot and copper grape shot and then charge us with their cavalry, ordered us to form a square—which was the order of march throughout the battle. When within about four hundred yards of them the enemy opened on us with their artillery. We made frequent charges, driving them before us, and at one time causing them to leave some of their cannon balls and cartridges; but owing to the rapidity with which they could carry off the gun, using their lassos on every part, enabled them to choose their own distance, entirely out of all range of our muskets. Their horsemen kept out of danger, apparently content to let the gun do the fighting. They kept up a constant fire with their carbines, but these did no harm. The enemy numbered between one hundred and seventy-five and two hundred strong.

"Finding it impossible to capture the gun, the retreat was sounded. The captain consulted with his officers on the best steps to be taken. It was decided unanimously to return on board ship. To continue the march would sacrifice a number of lives to no purpose, for, admitting we could have reached the pueblo, all communications would be cut off with the ship, and we would further be constantly annoyed by their artillery without the least chance of capturing it. It was reported that the enemy were between five and six hundred strong at the city and it was thought he had more artillery. On retreating they got the gun planted on a hill ahead of us.

"The captain made us an address, saying to the troops that it was his intention to march straight ahead in the same orderly manner in which we had advanced, and that sooner than he would surrender to such an enemy, he would sacrifice himself and every other man in his command. The enemy fired into us four times on the retreat, the fourth shot falling short, the report of the gun indicating a small quantity of powder, after which they remained stationary and manifested no further disposition to molest us. We proceeded quietly on our march to the landing, where we found a body of men under command of Lieutenant Hitchcock with two nine-pounder cannon gotten from the Vandalia

to render us assistance in case we should need it.

"We presented truly a pitiable condition, many being barely able to drag one foot after the other from excessive fatigue, having gone through the exertions and excitement in battle and afterwards performing a march of eighteen or twenty miles without rest. This is the first battle I have ever been engaged in, and, having taken particular notice of those around me, I can assert that no men could have acted more bravely. Even when their shipmates were falling by their sides, I saw but one impulse and that was to push forward, and when retreat was ordered I noticed a general reluctance to turn their backs to the enemy.

"The following is a list of the killed and wounded: Michael Hoey, ordinary seaman, killed; David Johnson, ordinary seaman, killed; William H. Berry, ordinary seaman, mortally wounded; Charles Sommers, musician, mortally wounded; John Tyre, seaman, severely wounded; John Anderson, seaman, severely wounded; recovery doubtful. The following-named were slightly wounded: William Conland, marine; Hiram Rockvill, marine; H. Linland, marine; James Smith, marine.

"On the following morning we buried the bodies of William A. Smith, Charles Sommers, David Johnson and Michael Hoey on an island in the harbor.

"At 11 a. m. the captain called a council of commissioned officers regarding the proper course to adopt in the present crisis, which decided that no force should be landed, and that the ship remain here until further orders from the commodore, who is daily expected."

Entry in the log for Sunday, 11th: "William H. Berry, ordinary seaman, departed this life from the effect of wounds received in battle. Sent his body for interment to Dead Man's Island, so named by us. Mustered the command at quarters, after which performed divine service."

From this account it will be seen that the number killed and died of wounds received in battle was four; number wounded six, and one accidentally killed before the battle. On October 22d, Henry Lewis died and was buried on the island. Lewis' name does not appear in the list

of wounded. It is presumable that he died of disease. Six of the crew of the Savannah were buried on Dead Man's Island, four of whom were killed in battle. Lieutenant Duvall gives the following list of the officers in the "Expedition on the march to retake Pueblo de Los Angeles:" Capt. William Mervine, commanding; Capt. Ward Marston, commanding marines; Brevet Capt. A. H. Gillespie, commanding volunteers; Lieut. Henry W. Queen, adjutant; Lieut. B. F. Pinckney, commanding first company; Lieut. W. Rinckindoff, commanding second company; Lieut. I. B. Carter, Colt's riflemen; Midshipman R. D. Minor, acting lieutenant second company; Midshipman S. P. Griffin, acting lieutenant first company; Midshipman P. G. Walmough, acting lieutenant second company; Midshipman R. C. Duvall, acting lieutenant Colt's riflemen; Captain Clark and Captain Goodsall, commanding pikemen; Lieutenant Hensley, first lieutenant volunteers; Lieutenant Russ'au, second lieutenant volunteers.

The piece of artillery that did such deadly execution on the Americans was the famous Old Woman's gun. It was a bronze four-pounder, or pedréro (swivel-gun) that for a number of years had stood on the plaza in front of the church, and was used for firing salutes on feast days and other occasions. When on the approach of Stockton's and Fremont's forces Castro abandoned his artillery and fled, an old lady, Dona Clara Cota de Reyes, declared that the gringos should not have the church's gun; so, with the assistance of her daughters, she buried it in a cane patch near her residence, which stood on the east side of Alameda street, near First. When the Californians revolted against Gillespie's rule the gun was unearthed and used against him. The Historical Society of Southern California has in its possession a brass grapeshot, one of a charge that was fired into the face of Fort Hill at Gillespie's men when they were posted on the hill. This gun was in the exhibit of trophies at the New Orleans Exposition in 1885. The label on it read: "Trophy 53, No. 63, Class 7. Used by Mexico against the United States at the battle of Dominguez' Ranch, October 9, 1846; at San Gabriel and the Mesa, January 8 and 9, 1847; used by the United

States forces against Mexico at Mazatlan, November 11, 1847; Urios (crew all killed or wounded), Palos Prietos, December 13, 1847, and Lower California, at San José, February 15, 1848."

Before the battle the old gun had been mounted on forward axle of a Jersey wagon, which a man by the name of Hunt had brought across the plains the year before. It was lashed to the axle by means of rawhide thongs, and was drawn by riatas, as described by Lieutenant Duvall. The range was obtained by raising or lowering the pole of the wagon. Ignacio Aguilar acted as gunner, and having neither lanyard or pent-stock to fire it, he touched off the gun with the lighted end of a cigarette. Never before or since, perhaps, was a battle won with such crude artillery. José Antonio Carrillo was in command of the Californians. During the skirmishing of the first day he had between eighty and ninety men. During the night of the 8th Flores joined him with a force of sixty men. Next morning Flores returned to Los Angeles, taking with him twenty men. Carrillo's force in the battle numbered about one hundred and twenty men. Had Mervine known that the Californians had fired their last shot (their powder being exhausted) he could have pushed on and captured the pueblo.

The expulsion of Gillespie's garrison from Los Angeles and the defeat of Mervine's force raised the spirits of the Californians, and there was great rejoicing at the pueblo. Detachments of Flores' army were kept at Sepulveda's rancho, the Palos Verdes, and at Temple's rancho of the Cerritos, to watch the Savannah and report any attempt at landing. The leaders of the revolt were not so sanguine of success as the rank and file. They were without means to procure arms and supplies. There was a scarcity of ammunition, too. An inferior article of gunpowder was manufactured in limited quantities at San Gabriel. The only uniformity in weapons was in lances. These were rough, home-made affairs, the blade beaten out of a rasp or file, and the shaft a willow pole about eight feet long. These weapons were formidable in a charge against infantry, but easily parried by a swordsman in a cavalry charge.

After the defeat of Mervine, Flores set about reorganizing the territorial government. He called together the departmental assembly. It met at the capital (Los Angeles) October 26th. The members present, Figueroa, Botello, Guerra and Olvera, were all from the south. The assembly decided to fill the place of governor, vacated by Pico, and that of comandante-general, left vacant by the flight of Castro.

José Maria Flores, who was now recognized as the leader of the revolt against American rule, was chosen to fill both offices, and the two offices, as had formerly been the custom, were united in one person. He chose Narciso Botello for his secretary. Flores, who was Mexican born, was an intelligent and patriotic officer. He used every means in his power to prepare his forces for the coming conflict with the Americans, but with little success. The old jealousy of the hijos del pais against the Mexican would crop out, and it neutralized his efforts. There were bickerings and complaints in the ranks and among the officers. The natives claimed that a Californian ought to be chief in command.

The feeling of jealousy against Flores at length culminated in open revolt. Flores had decided to send the prisoners taken at the Chino fight to Mexico. His object was twofold—first, to enhance his own glory with the Mexican government, and, secondly, by showing what the Californians had already accomplished to obtain aid in the coming conflict. As most of these men were married to California wives, and by marriage related to many of the leading California families of the south, there was at once a family uproar and fierce denunciations of Flores. But as the Chino prisoners were foreigners, and had been taken while fighting against the Mexican government, it was necessary to disguise the hostility to Flores under some other pretext. He was charged with the design of running away to Sonora with the public funds. On the night of December 3, Francisco Rico, at the head of a party of Californians, took possession of the cuartel, or guard house, and arrested Flores. A special session of the assembly was called to investigate the charges.

Flores expressed his willingness to give up

his purpose of sending the Chino prisoners to Mexico, and the assembly found no foundation to the charge of his design of running away with the public funds, nor did they find any funds to run away with. Flores was liberated, and Rico imprisoned in turn.

Flores was really the last Mexican governor of California. Like Pico, he was elected by the territorial legislature, but he was not confirmed by the Mexican congress. Generals Scott and Taylor were keeping President Santa Anna and

his congress on the move so rapidly they had no time to spare for California affairs.

Flores was governor from October 26, 1846, to January 8, 1847.

With a threatened invasion by the Americans and a divided people within, it was hard times in the old pueblo. The town had to supply the army with provisions. The few who possessed money hid it away and all business was suspended except preparations to meet the invaders.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FINAL CONQUEST OF CALIFORNIA.

COMMODORE STOCKTON, convinced that the revolt of the Californians was a serious affair, ordered Fremont's battalion, which had been recruited to one hundred and sixty men, to proceed to the south to co-operate with him in quelling the rebellion. The battalion sailed on the *Sterling*, but shortly after putting to sea, meeting the *Vandalia*, Fremont learned of Mervine's defeat and also that no horses could be procured in the lower country; the vessel was put about and the battalion landed at Monterey, October 28. It was decided to recruit the battalion to a regiment and mounting it to march down the coast. Recruiting was actively begun among the newly arrived immigrants. Horses and saddles were procured by giving receipts on the government, payable after the close of the war or by confiscation if it brought returns quicker than receipts.

The report of the revolt in the south quickly spread among the Californians in the north and they made haste to resist their spoilers. Manuel Castro was made comandante of the military forces of the north, headquarters at San Luis Obispo. Castro collected a force of about one hundred men, well mounted but poorly armed. His purpose was to carry on a sort of guerrilla warfare, capturing men and horses from the enemy whenever an opportunity offered.

Fremont, now raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regular army with head-

quarters at Monterey, was rapidly mobilizing his motley collection of recruits into a formidable force. Officers and men were scouring the country for recruits, horses, accouterments and supplies. Two of these recruiting squads encountered the enemy in considerable force and an engagement known as the battle of *Natividad* ensued. Capt. Charles Burroughs with thirty-four men and two hundred horses, recruited at Sacramento, arrived at San Juan Bautista, November 15, on his way to Monterey on the same day Captain Thompson, with about the same number of men recruited at San José, reached San Juan. The Californians, with the design of capturing the horses, made a night march from their camp on the Salinas. At Gomez rancho they took prisoner Thomas O. Larkin, the American consul, who was on his way from Monterey to San Francisco on official business. On the morning of the 16th the Americans began their march for Monterey. At Gomez rancho their advance learned of the presence of the enemy and of the capture of Larkin. A squad of six or eight scouts was sent out to find the Californians. The scouts encountered a detachment of Castro's force at Encinalitos (Little Oaks) and a fight ensued. The main body of the enemy came up and surrounded the grove of oaks. The scouts, though greatly outnumbered, were well armed with long range rifles and held the enemy at bay, until Captains Burroughs

and Thompson brought up their companies. Burroughs, who seems to have been the ranking officer, hesitated to charge the Californians, who had the superior force, and besides he was fearful of losing his horses and thus delaying Fremont's movements. But, taunted with cowardice and urged on by Thompson, a fire eater, who was making loud protestations of his bravery, Burroughs ordered a charge. The Americans, badly mounted, were soon strung out in an irregular line. The Californians, who had made a feint of retreating, turned and attacked with vigor, Captain Burroughs and four or five others were killed. The straggling line fell back on the main body and the Californians, having expended their ammunition, retreated. The loss in killed and wounded amounted to twelve or fifteen on each side.

The only other engagement in the north was the bloodless battle of Santa Clara. Fremont's methods of procuring horses, cattle and other supplies was to take them and give in payment demands on the government, payable after the close of the war. After his departure the same method was continued by the officers of the garrisons at San Francisco, San José and Monterey. Indeed, it was their only method of procuring supplies. The quartermasters were without money and the government without credit. On the 8th of December, Lieutenant Bartlett, also alcalde of Yerba Buena, with a squad of five men started down the peninsula toward San José to purchase supplies. Francisco Sanchez, a rancher, whose horse and cattle corrals had been raided by former purchasers, with a band of Californians waylaid and captured Bartlett and his men. Other California rancheros who had lost their stock in similar raids rallied to the support of Sanchez and soon he found himself at the head of one hundred men. The object of their organization was rather to protect their property than to fight. The news soon spread that the Californians had revolted and were preparing to massacre the Americans. Captain Weber of San José had a company of thirty-three men organized for defense. There was also a company of twenty men under command of Captain Aram stationed at the ex-mission of Santa Clara. On the 29th

of December, Capt. Ward Marston with a detachment of thirty-four men and a field piece in charge of Master de Long and ten sailors was sent to Santa Clara. The entire force collected at the seat of war numbered one hundred and one men. On January 2 the American force encountered the Californians, one hundred strong, on the plains of Santa Clara. Firing at long range began and continued for an hour or more. Sanchez sent in a flag of truce asking an armistice preparatory to the settlement of difficulties. January 3, Captain Maddox arrived from Monterey with fifty-nine mounted men, and on the 7th Lieutenant Grayson came with fifteen men. On the 8th a treaty of peace was concluded, by which the enemy surrendered Lieutenant Bartlett and all the other prisoners, as well as their arms, including a small field piece and were permitted to go to their homes. Upon "reliable authority" four Californians were reported killed, but their graves have never been discovered nor did their living relatives, so far as known, mourn their loss.

Stockton with his flagship, the Congress, arrived at San Pedro on the 23d of October, 1846. The Savannah was still lying at anchor in the harbor. The commodore had now at San Pedro a force of about eight hundred men; but, notwithstanding the contemptuous opinion he held of the Californian soldiers, he did not march against the pueblo. Stockton in his report says: "Elated by this transient success (Mervine's defeat), which the enemy with his usual want of veracity magnified into a great victory, they collected in large bodies on all the adjacent hills and would not permit a hoof except their own horses to be within fifty miles of San Pedro." But "in the face of their boasting insolence" Stockton landed and again hoisted "the glorious stars and stripes in the presence of their horse covered hills." "The enemy had driven off every animal, man and beast from that section of the country; and it was not possible by any means in our power to carry provisions for our march to the city." The city was only thirty miles away and American soldiers have been known to carry rations in their haversacks for a march of one hundred miles. The "transient success" of the insolent enemy

had evidently made an impression on Stockton. He estimated the California force in the vicinity of the landing at eight hundred men, which was just seven hundred too high. He determined to approach Los Angeles by way of San Diego, and on the last day of October he sailed for that port. B. D. Wilson, Stephen C. Foster and others attribute Stockton's abandonment of an attack on Los Angeles from San Pedro to a trick played on him by José Antonio Carrillo. Carrillo was in command of the detachment stationed at the Cerritos and the Palos Verdes. Carrillo was anxious to obtain an interview with Stockton and if possible secure a cessation of hostilities until the war then progressing in Mexico should be decided, thus settling the fate of California. B. D. Wilson, one of the Chino prisoners, was sent with a Mexican sergeant to raise a white flag as the boats of the Congress approached the landing and present Carrillo's proposition for a truce. Carrillo, with the intention of giving Stockton an exaggerated idea of the number of his troops and thus obtaining more favorable terms in the proposed treaty, collected droves of wild horses from the plains; these his caballeros kept in motion, passing and repassing through a gap in the hills, which was in plain view from Stockton's vessel. Owing to the dust raised by the cavalcade it was impossible to discover that most of the horses were riderless. The troops were signalled to return to the vessel, and the commodore shortly afterwards sailed to San Diego. Carrillo always regretted that he made too much demonstration.

As an illustration of the literary trash that has been palmed off for California history, I give an extract from Frost's Pictorial History of California, a book written the year after the close of the Mexican war by Prof. John Frost, a noted compiler of histories, who writes LL. D. after his name. It relates to Stockton's exploits at San Pedro. "At the Rancho Sepulveda (the Palos Verdes) a large force of Californians were posted, Commodore Stockton sent one hundred men forward to receive the fire of the enemy and then fall back on the main body without returning it. The main body of Stockton's army was formed in a

triangle with the guns hid by the men. By the retreat of the advance party the enemy were decoyed close to the main force, when the wings (of the triangle) were extended and a deadly fire from the artillery opened upon the astonished Californians. More than one hundred were killed, the same number wounded and one hundred prisoners taken." The mathematical accuracy of Stockton's artillerists was truly astonishing. They killed a man for every one wounded and took a prisoner for every man they killed. As Flores' army never amounted to more than three hundred, if we are to believe Frost, Stockton had all the enemy "present or accounted for." This silly fabrication of Frost runs through a number of so-called histories of California. Stockton was a brave man and a very energetic commander, but he would boast of his achievements, and his reports are unreliable.

As previously mentioned, Fremont after his return to Monterey proceeded to recruit a force to move against Los Angeles by land from Monterey. His recruits were principally obtained from the recently arrived immigrants. Each man was furnished with a horse and was to receive \$25 a month. A force of about four hundred and fifty was obtained. Fremont left Monterey November 17 and rendezvoused at San Juan Bautista, where he remained to the 29th of the month organizing his battalion. On the 29th of November he began his march southward to co-operate with Stockton against Flores.

After the expulsion of Gillespie and his men from Los Angeles, detachments from Flores' army were sent to Santa Barbara and San Diego to recapture these places. At Santa Barbara Fremont had left nine men of his battalion under Lieut. Theodore Talbot to garrison the town. A demand was made on the garrison to surrender by Colonel Garfias of Flores' army. Two hours were given the Americans to decide. Instead of surrendering they fell back into the hills, where they remained three or four days, hoping that reinforcements might be sent them from Monterey. Their only subsistence was the flesh of an old gray mare of Daniel Hill's that they captured, brought into camp and killed. They secured one of Micheltorena's cholos that

had remained in the country and was living in a cañon among the hills for a guide. He furnished them a horse to carry their blankets and conducted them through the mountains to the San Joaquin valley. Here the guide left them with the Indians, he returning to Santa Barbara. The Indians fed them on chia (wild flaxseed), mush and acorn bread. They traveled down the San Joaquin valley. On their journey they lived on the flesh of wild horses, seventeen of which they killed. After many hardships they reached Monterey on the 8th of November, where they joined Fremont's battalion.

Captain Merritt, of Fremont's battalion, had been left at San Diego with forty men to hold the town when the battalion marched north to co-operate with Stockton against Los Angeles. Immediately after Gillespie's retreat, Francisco Rico was sent with fifty men to capture the place. He was joined by recruits at San Diego. Merritt being in no condition to stand a siege, took refuge on board the American whale ship Stonington, which was lying at anchor. After remaining on board the Stonington ten days, taking advantage of the laxity of discipline among the Californians, he stole a march on them, recapturing the town and one piece of artillery. He sent Don Miguel de Pedorena, who was one of his allies, in a whale boat with four sailors to San Pedro to obtain supplies and assistance. Pedorena arrived at San Pedro on the 13th of October with Merritt's dispatches. Captain Mervine chartered the whale ship Magnolia, which was lying in the San Pedro harbor, and dispatched Lieutenant Minor, Midshipman Duvall and Morgan with thirty-three sailors and fifteen of Gillespie's volunteers to reinforce Merritt. They reached San Diego on the 16th. The combined forces of Minor and Merritt, numbering about ninety men, put in the greater part of the next two weeks in dragging cannon from the old fort and mounting them at their barracks, which were located on the hill at the edge of the plain on the west side of the town, convenient to water. They succeeded in mounting six brass nine-pounders and building two bastions of adobes, taken from an old house. There was constant skirmishing between the hostile parties,

but few fatalities. The Americans claimed to have killed three of the enemy, and one American was ambushed and killed.

The Californians kept well out of range, but prevented the Americans from obtaining supplies. Their provisions were nearly exhausted, and when reduced to almost the last extreme they made a successful foraging expedition and procured a supply of mutton. Midshipman Duvall thus describes the adventure: "We had with us an Indian (chief of a numerous tribe) who, from his knowledge of the country, we thought could avoid the enemy; and getting news of a number of sheep about thirty-five miles to the south on the coast, we determined to send him and his companion to drive them onto an island which at low tide connected with the mainland. In a few days a signal was made on the island, and the boats of the whale ship Stonington, stationed off the island, were sent to it. Our good old Indian had managed, through his cunning and by keeping concealed in ravines, to drive onto the island about six hundred sheep, but his companion had been caught and killed by the enemy. I shall never forget his famished appearance, but pride in his Indian triumph could be seen playing in his dark eyes.

"For thirty or forty days we were constantly expecting, from the movements of the enemy, an attack, soldiers and officers sleeping on their arms and ready for action. About the 1st of November, Commodore Stockton arrived, and, after landing Captain Gillespie with his company and about forty-three marines, he suddenly disappeared, leaving Lieutenant Minor governor of the place and Captain Gillespie commandant."*

Foraging continued, the whale ship Stonington, which had been impressed into the government service, being used to take parties down the coast, who made raids inland and brought back with them cattles and horses.

It was probably on one of these excursions that the flag-making episode occurred, of which there are more versions than Homer had birth-places. The correct version of the story is as follows: A party had been sent under com-

*Log Book of Acting Lieutenant Duvall.

mand of Lieutenant Hensley to Juan Bandini's rancho in Lower California to bring up bands of cattle and horses. Bandini was an adherent of the American cause. He and his family returned with the cavalcade to San Diego. At their last camping place before reaching the town, Hensley, in a conversation with Bandini, regretted they had no flag with them to display on their entry into the town. Señora Bandini volunteered to make one, which she did from red, white and blue dresses of her children. This flag, fastened to a staff, was carried at the head of the cavalcade when it made its triumphal entry into San Diego. The Mexican government confiscated Bandini's ranchos in Lower California on account of his friendship to the Americans during the war.

Skirmishing continued almost daily. José Antonio Carrillo was now in command of the Californians, their force numbering about one hundred men. Commodore Stockton returned and decided to fortify. Midshipman Duvall, in the Log Book referred to in the previous chapter, thus describes the fort: "The commodore now commenced to fortify the hill which overlooked the town by building a fort, constructed by placing three hundred gallon casks full of sand close together. The inclosure was twenty by thirty yards. A bank of earth and small gravel was thrown up in front as high as the top of the casks and a ditch dug around on the outside. Inside a ball-proof vault of ketch was built out of plank and lined on the inside with adobes, on top of which a swivel was mounted. The entrance was guarded by a strong gate, with a drawbridge in front across the ditch or moat. The whole fortification was completed and the guns mounted on it in about three weeks. Our men working on the fort were on short allowance of beef and wheat, and for a time without bread, tea, sugar or coffee, many of them being destitute of shoes, but there were few complaints.

"About the 1st of December, information having been received that General Kearny was at Warner's Pass, about eighty miles distant, with one hundred dragoons on his march to San Diego, Commodore Stockton immediately sent an escort of fifty men under command of Cap-

tain Gillespie, accompanied by Past Midshipmen Beale and Duncan, having with them one piece of artillery. They reached General Kearny without molestation. On the march the combined force was surprised by about ninety-three Californians at San Pasqual, under command of Andres Pico, who had been sent to that part of the country to drive off all the cattle and horses to prevent us from getting them. In the battle that ensued General Kearny lost in killed Captains Johnston and Moore and Lieutenant Hammond, and fifteen dragoons. Seventeen dragoons were severely wounded. The enemy captured one piece of artillery. General Kearny and Captains Gillespie and Gibson were severely wounded; also one of the engineer officers. Some of the dragoons have since died."

* * *

"After the engagement General Kearny took position on a hill covered with large rocks. It was well suited for defense. Lieutenant Godey of Gillespie's volunteers, the night after the battle, escaped through the enemy's line of sentries and came in with a letter from Captain Turner to the commodore. Whilst among the rocks, Past Midshipman Beale and Kit Carson managed, under cover of night, to pass out through the enemy's ranks, and after three days' and nights' hard marching through the mountains without water, succeeded in getting safely into San Diego, completely famished. Soon after arriving Lieutenant Beale fainted away, and for some days entirely lost his reason."

On the night of Beale's arrival, December 9, about 9 p. m., detachments of two hundred sailors and marines from the Congress and Portsmouth, under the immediate command of Captain Zeilin, assisted by Lieutenants Gray, Hunter, Renshaw, Parrish, Thompson and Tilghman and Midshipmen Duvall and Morgan, each man carrying a blanket, three pounds of jerked beef and the same of hard-tack, began their march to relieve General Kearny. They marched all night and camped on a chaparral covered mountain during the day. At 4 p. m. of the second night's march they reached Kearny's camp, surprising him. Godey, who had been sent ahead to inform Kearny that assistance was coming, had been captured by the

enemy. General Kearny had burnt and destroyed all his baggage and camp equipage, saddles, bridles, clothing, etc., preparatory to forcing his way through the enemy's line. Burdened with his wounded, it is doubtful whether he could have escaped. Midshipman Duvall says: "It would not be a hazard of opinion to say he would have been overpowered and compelled to surrender." The enemy disappeared on the arrival of reinforcements. The relief expedition, with Kearny's men, reached San Diego after two days' march.

A brief explanation of the reason why Kearny was at San Pasqual may be necessary. In June, 1846, Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, commander of the Army of the West, as his command was designated, left Fort Leavenworth with a force of regulars and volunteers to take possession of New Mexico. The conquest of that territory was accomplished without a battle. Under orders from the war department, Kearny began his march to California with a part of his force to co-operate with the naval forces there. October 6, near Socorro, N. M., he met Kit Carson with an escort of fifteen men en route from Los Angeles to Washington, bearing dispatches from Stockton, giving the report of the conquest of California. Kearny required Carson to turn back and act as his guide. Carson was very unwilling to do so, as he was within a few days' journey of his home and family, from whom he had been separated for nearly two years. He had been guide for Fremont on his exploring expedition. He, however, obeyed Kearny's orders.

General Kearny sent back about three hundred of his men, taking with him one hundred and twenty. After a toilsome march by way of the Pima villages, Tucson, the Gila and across the Colorado desert, they reached the Indian village of San Pasqual (about forty miles from San Diego), where the battle was fought. It was the bloodiest battle of the conquest; Kearny's men, at daybreak, riding on broken down mules and half broken horses, in an irregular and disorderly line, charged the Californians. While the American line was stretched out over the plain Capt. Andres Pico, who was in command, wheeled his column and charged

the Americans. A fierce hand to hand fight ensued, the Californians using their lances and lariats, the Americans clubbed guns and sabers. Of Kearny's command eighteen men were killed and nineteen wounded; three of the wounded died. Only one, Capt. Abraham R. Johnston (a relative of the author's), was killed by a gunshot; all the others were lanced. The mules to one of the howitzers became unmanageable and ran into the enemy's lines. The driver was killed and the gun captured. One Californian was captured and several slightly wounded; none were killed. Less than half of Kearny's one hundred and seventy men* took part in the battle. His loss in killed and wounded was fifty per cent of those engaged. Dr. John S. Griffin, for many years a leading physician of Los Angeles, was the surgeon of the command.

The foraging expeditions in Lower California having been quite successful in bringing in cattle, horses and mules, Commodore Stockton hastened his preparation for marching against Los Angeles. The enemy obtained information of the projected movement and left for the pueblo.

"The Cyane having arrived," says Duvall, "our force was increased to about six hundred men, most of whom, understanding the drill, performed the evolutions like regular soldiers. Everything being ready for our departure, the commodore left Captain Montgomery and officers in command of the town, and on the 29th of December took up his line of march for Los Angeles. General Kearny was second in command and having the immediate arrangement of the forces, reserving for himself the prerogative which his rank necessarily imposed upon him. Owing to the weak state of our oxen we had not crossed the dry bed of the river San Diego before they began breaking down, and the carts, which were thirty or forty in number, had to be dragged by the men. The general urged on the commodore that it was useless to commence such a march as was before us with our present means of transportation, but the commodore insisted on performing at least one day's march

*General Kearny's original force of one hundred and twenty had been increased by Gillespie's command, numbering fifty men.

even if we should have to return the next day. We succeeded in reaching the valley of the Soledad that night by dragging our carts. Next day the commodore proposed to go six miles farther, which we accomplished, and then continued six miles farther. Having obtained some fresh oxen, by assisting the carts up hill we made ten or twelve miles a day. At San Luis Rey we secured men, carts and oxen, and after that our days' marches ranged from fifteen to twenty-two miles a day.

"The third day out from San Luis Rey a white flag was seen ahead, the bearer of which had a communication from Flores, signing himself 'Commander-in-Chief and Governor of California,' asking for a conference for the purpose of coming to terms, which would be alike 'honorable to both countries.' The commodore refused to answer him in writing, saying to the bearer of the truce that his answer was, 'he knew no such person as Governor Flores; that he himself was the only governor in California; that he knew a rebel by that name, a man who had given his parole of honor not to take up arms against the government of the United States, who, if the people of California now in arms against the forces of the United States would deliver up, he (Stockton) would treat with them on condition that they surrender their arms and retire peaceably to their homes and he would grant them, as citizens of the United States, protection from further molestation.' This the embassy refused to entertain, saying 'they would prefer to die with Flores than to surrender on such terms.'"

* * *

"On the 8th of January, 1847, they met us on the banks of the river San Gabriel with between five and six hundred men mounted on good horses and armed with lances and carbines, having also four pieces of artillery planted on the heights about three hundred and fifty yards distant from the river. Owing to circumstances which have occurred since the surrender of the enemy, I prefer not mentioning the particulars of this day's battle and also that of the day following, or of referring to individuals concerned in the successful management of our forces." (The circumstance to which Lieutenant Duvall

refers was undoubtedly the quarrel between Stockton and Kearny after the capture of Los Angeles.) "It is sufficient to say that on the 8th of January we succeeded in crossing the river and driving the enemy from the heights. Having resisted all their charges, dismounted one of their pieces and put them to flight in every direction, we encamped on the ground they had occupied during the fight.

"The next day the Californians met us on the plains of the mesa. For a time the fighting was carried on by both sides with artillery, but that proving too hot for them they concentrated their whole force in a line ahead of us and at a given signal divided from the center and came down on us like a tornado, charging us on all sides at the same time; but they were effectually defeated and fled in every direction in the utmost confusion. Many of their horses were left dead on the field. Their loss in the two battles, as given by Andres Pico, second in command, was eighty-three killed and wounded; our loss, three killed (one accidentally), and fifteen or twenty wounded, none dangerously. The enemy abandoned two pieces of artillery in an Indian village near by."

I have given at considerable length Midshipman Duvall's account of Stockton's march from San Diego and of the two battles fought, not because it is the fullest account of those events, but because it is original historical matter, never having appeared in print before, and also because it is the observations of a participant written at the time the events occurred. In it the losses of the enemy are greatly exaggerated, but that was a fault of his superior officers as well. Commodore Stockton, in his official reports of the two battles, gives the enemy's loss in killed and wounded "between seventy and eighty." And General Kearny, in his report of the battle of San Pasqual, claimed it as a victory, and states that the enemy left six dead on the field. The actual loss of the Californians in the two battles (San Gabriel river and La Mesa) was three killed and ten or twelve wounded.*

*The killed were Ignacio Sepulveda, Francisco Rubio, and El Guaymeno, a Yaqui Indian.

While the events recorded in this chapter were transpiring at San Diego and its vicinity, what was the state of affairs in the capital, Los Angeles? After the exultation and rejoicing over the expulsion of Gillespie's garrison, Mervine's defeat and the victory over Kearny at San Pasqual there came a reaction. Dissension continued between the leaders. There was lack of arms and laxity of discipline. The army was but little better than a mob. Obedience to orders of a superior was foreign to the nature of a Californian. His wild, free life in the saddle made him impatient of all restraint. Then the impossibility of successful resistance against the Americans became more and more apparent as the final conflict approached. Fremont's army was moving down on the doomed city from the north, and Stockton's was coming up from the south. Either one of these, in numbers, exceeded the force that Flores could bring into action; combined they would crush him out of existence. The California troops were greatly discouraged and it was with great difficulty that the officers kept their men together. There was another and more potent element of disintegration. Many of the wealthier natives and all the foreigners, regarding the contest as hopeless, secretly favored the American cause, and it was only through fear of loss of property that they furnished Flores and his officers any supplies for the army.

During the latter part of December and the first days of January Flores' army was stationed at the San Fernando Mission, on the lookout for Fremont's battalion; but the more rapid advance of Stockton's army compelled a change of base. On the 6th and 7th of January Flores moved his army back secretly through the

Cahuenga Pass, and, passing to the southward of the city, took position where La Jaboneria (the soap factory) road crosses the San Gabriel river. Here his men were stationed in the thick willows to give Stockton a surprise. Stockton received information of the trap set for him and after leaving the Los Coyotes swung off to the right until he struck the Upper Santa Ana road. The Californians had barely time to effect a change of base and get their cannon planted when the Americans arrived at the crossing.

Stockton called the engagement there the battle of San Gabriel river; the Californians call it the battle of Paso de Bartolo, which is the better name. The place where the battle was fought is on bluff just south of the Upper Santa Ana road, near where the Southern California railroad crosses the old San Gabriel river. (The ford or crossing was formerly known as Pico's Crossing.) There was, at the time of the battle, but one San Gabriel river. The new river channel was made in the great flood of 1868. What Stockton, Emory, Duvall and other American officers call the battle of the Plains of the Mesa the Californians call the battle of La Mesa, which is most decidedly a better name than the "Plains of the Plain." It was fought at a ravine, the Canada de Los Alisos, near the southeastern corner of the Los Angeles city boundary. In these battles the Californians had four pieces of artillery, two iron nine-pounders, the old woman's gun and the howitzer captured from Kearny. Their powder was very poor. It was made at San Gabriel. It was owing to this that they did so little execution in the fight. That the Californians escaped with so little punishment was probably due to the wretched marksmanship of Stockton's sailors and marines.

CHAPTER XX.

CAPTURE AND OCCUPATION OF THE CAPITAL.

AFTER the battle of La Mesa, the Americans, keeping to the south, crossed the Los Angeles river at about the point where the south boundary line of the city crosses it and camped on the right bank. Here, under a willow tree, those killed in battle were buried. Lieutenant Emory, in his "Notes of a Military Reconnaissance," says: "The town, known to contain great quantities of wine and aguardiente, was four miles distant (four miles from the battlefield). From previous experience of the difficulty of controlling men when entering towns, it was determined to cross the river San Fernando (Los Angeles), halt there for the night and enter the town in the morning, with the whole day before us.

"After we had pitched our camp, the enemy came down from the hills, and four hundred horsemen with four pieces of artillery drew off towards the town, in order and regularity, whilst about sixty made a movement down the river on our rear and left flank. This led us to suppose they were not yet whipped, as we thought, and that we should have a night attack.

"January 10 (1847)—. Just as we had raised our camp, a flag of truce, borne by Mr. Celis, a Castilian; Mr. Workman, an Englishman, and Alvarado, the owner of the rancho at the Alisos, was brought into camp. They proposed, on behalf of the Californians, to surrender their dear City of the Angels provided we would respect property and persons. This was agreed to, but not altogether trusting to the honesty of General Flores, who had once broken his parole, we moved into the town in the same order we should have done if expecting an attack. It was a wise precaution, for the streets were full of desperate and drunken fellows, who brandished their arms and saluted us with every term of reproach. The crest, overlooking the town, in rifle range, was covered with horsemen engaged in the same hospitable manner.

"Our men marched steadily on, until crossing the ravine leading into the public square (plaza), when a fight took place amongst the Californians on the hill; one became disarmed and to avoid death rolled down the hill towards us, his adversary pursuing and lancing him in the most cold-blooded manner. The man tumbling down the hill was supposed to be one of our vaqueros, and the cry of 'rescue him' was raised. The crew of the *Cyane*, nearest the scene, at once and without any orders, halted and gave the man that was lancing him a volley; strange to say, he did not fall. The general gave the jack tars a cursing, not so much for the firing without orders, as for their bad marksmanship."

Shortly after the above episode, the Californians did open fire from the hill on the vaqueros in charge of the cattle. (These vaqueros were Californians in the employ of the Americans and were regarded by their countrymen as traitors.) A company of riflemen was ordered to clear the hill. A single volley effected this, killing two of the enemy. This was the last bloodshed in the war; and the second conquest of California was completed as the first had been by the capture of Los Angeles. Two hundred men, with two pieces of artillery, were stationed on the hill.

The Angeleños did not exactly welcome the invaders with "bloody hands to inhospitable graves," but they did their best to let them know they were not wanted. The better class of the native inhabitants closed their houses and took refuge with foreign residents or went to the ranchos of their friends in the country. The fellows of the baser sort, who were in possession of the city, exhausted their vocabularies of abuse on the invading gringos. There was one paisano who excelled all his countrymen in this species of warfare. It is a pity his name has not been preserved in history with that of

other famous scolds and kickers. He rode by the side of the advancing column up Main street, firing volleys of invective and denunciation at the hated gringos. At certain points of his tirade he worked himself to such a pitch of indignation that language failed him; then he would solemnly go through the motions of "Make ready, take aim!" with an old shotgun he carried, but when it came to the order "Fire!" discretion got the better of his valor; he lowered his gun and began again, firing invective at the gringo soldiers; his mouth would go off if his gun would not.

Commodore Stockton's headquarters were in the Abila house, the second house on Olvera street, north of the plaza. The building is still standing, but has undergone many changes in fifty years. A rather amusing account was recently given me by an old pioneer of the manner in which Commodore Stockton got possession of the house. The widow Abila and her daughters, at the approach of the American army, had abandoned their house and taken refuge with Don Luis Vignes of the Aliso. Vignes was a Frenchman and friendly to both sides. The widow left a young Californian in charge of her house (which was finely furnished), with strict orders to keep it closed. Stockton had with him a fine brass band, something new in California. When the troops halted on the plaza, the band began to play. The boyish guardian of the Abila casa could not resist the temptation to open the door and look out. The enchanting music drew him to the plaza. Stockton and his staff, hunting for a place suitable for headquarters, passing by, found the door invitingly open, entered, and, finding the house deserted, took possession. The recreant guardian returned to find himself dispossessed and the house in possession of the enemy. "And the band played on."

It is a fact not generally known that there were two forts planned and partially built on Fort Hill during the war for the conquest of California. The first was planned by Lieut. William H. Emory, topographical engineer of General Kearny's staff, and work was begun on it by Commodore Stockton's sailors and marines. The second was planned by Lieut. J. W. Davidson, of the First United States Dragoons, and

built by the Mormon battalion. The first was not completed and not named. The second was named Fort Moore. Their location seems to have been identical. The first was designed to hold one hundred men. The second was much larger. Flores' army was supposed to be in the neighborhood of the city ready to make a dash into it, so Stockton decided to fortify.

"On January 11th," Lieutenant Emory writes, "I was ordered to select a site and place a fort capable of containing a hundred men. With this in view a rapid reconnoissance of the town was made and the plan of a fort sketched, so placed as to enable a small garrison to command the town and the principal avenues to it, the plan was approved."

"January 12. I laid off the work and before night broke the first ground. The population of the town and its dependencies is about three thousand; that of the town itself about fifteen hundred. * * * Here all the revolutions have had their origin, and it is the point upon which any Mexican force from Sonora would be directed. It was therefore desirable to establish a fort which, in case of trouble, should enable a small garrison to hold out till aid might come from San Diego, San Francisco or Monterey, places which are destined to become centers of American settlements."

"January 13. It rained steadily all day and nothing was done on the work. At night I worked on the details of the fort."

"January 15. The details to work on the fort were by companies. I sent to Captain Tilghman, who commanded on the hill, to detach one of the companies under his command to commence the work. He furnished, on the 16th, a company of artillery (seamen from the Congress) for the day's work, which was performed bravely, and gave me great hopes of success."

On the 18th Lieutenant Emory took his departure with General Kearny for San Diego. From there he was sent with despatches, via Panama, to the war department. In his book he says: "Subsequent to my departure the entire plan of the fort was changed, and I am not the projector of the work finally adopted for defense of that town."

As previously stated, Fremont's battalion began its march down the coast on the 29th of November, 1846. The winter rains set in with great severity. The volunteers were scantily provided with clothing and the horses were in poor condition. Many of the horses died of starvation and hard usage. The battalion encountered no opposition from the enemy on its march and did no fighting. On the 11th of January, a few miles above San Fernando, Colonel Fremont received a message from General Kearny informing him of the defeat of the enemy and the capture of Los Angeles. That night the battalion encamped in the mission buildings at San Fernando. From the mission that evening Jesus Pico, a cousin of Gen. Andres Pico, set out to find the Californian army and open negotiations with its leaders. Jesus Pico, better known as Tortoi, had been arrested at his home near San Luis Obispo, tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot for breaking his parole. Fremont, moved by the pleadings of Pico's wife and children, pardoned him. He became a warm admirer and devoted friend of Fremont's.

He found the advance guard of the Californians encamped at Verdugas. He was detained here, and the leading officers of the army were summoned to a council. Pico informed them of Fremont's arrival and the number of his men. With the combined forces of Fremont and Stockton against them, their cause was hopeless. He urged them to surrender to Fremont, as they could obtain better terms from him than from Stockton.

General Flores, who held a commission in the Mexican army, and who had been appointed by the territorial assembly governor and comandante-general by virtue of his rank, appointed Andres Pico general and gave him command of the army. The same night he took his departure for Mexico, by way of San Gorgonio Pass, accompanied by Colonel Garfias, Diego Sepulveda, Manuel Castro, Segura, and about thirty privates. General Pico, on assuming command, appointed Francisco Rico and Francisco de La Guerra to go with Jesus Pico to confer with Colonel Fremont. Fremont appointed as commissioners to negotiate a treaty, Major P.

B. Reading, Major William H. Russell and Capt. Louis McLane. On the return of Guerra and Rico to the Californian camp, Gen. Andres Pico appointed as commissioners, José Antonio Carrillo, commander of the cavalry squadron, and Agustin Olvera, diputado of the assembly, and moved his army near the river at Cahuenga. On the 13th Fremont moved his camp to the Cahuenga. The commissioners met in the deserted ranch-house, and the treaty was drawn up and signed.

The principal conditions of the treaty or capitulation of "Cahuenga," as it was termed, were that the Californians, on delivering up their artillery and public arms, and promising not again to take arms during the war, and conforming to the laws and regulations of the United States, shall be allowed peaceably to return to their homes. They were to be allowed the same rights and privileges as are allowed to citizens of the United States, and were not to be compelled to take an oath of allegiance until a treaty of peace was signed between the United States and Mexico, and were given the privilege of leaving the country if they wished to. An additional section was added to the treaty on the 16th at Los Angeles releasing the officers from their paroles. Two cannon were surrendered, the howitzer captured from General Kearny at San Pasqual and the woman's gun that won the battle of Dominguez. On the 14th, Fremont's battalion marched through the Cahuenga Pass to Los Angeles in a pouring rainstorm, and entered it four days after its surrender to Stockton. The conquest of California was completed. Stockton approved the treaty, although it was not altogether satisfactory to him. On the 16th he appointed Colonel Fremont governor of the territory, and William H. Russell, of the battalion, secretary of state.

This precipitated a quarrel between Stockton and Kearny, which had been brewing for some time. General Kearny claimed that under his instructions from the government he should be recognized as governor. As he had directly under his command but the one company of dragoons that he brought across the plain with him, he was unable to enforce his authority. He left on the 18th for San Diego, taking with him the

officers of his staff. On the 20th Commodore Stockton, with his sailors and marines, marched to San Pedro, where they all embarked on a man-of-war for San Diego to re-

join their ships. Shortly afterwards Commodore Stockton was superseded in the command of the Pacific squadron by Commodore Shu-
brick.

CHAPTER XXI.

TRANSITION AND TRANSFORMATION.

THE capitulation of Gen. Andres Pico at Cahuenga put an end to the war in California. The instructions from the secretary of war were to pursue a policy of conciliation towards the Californians with the ultimate design of transforming them into American citizens. Colonel Fremont was left in command at Los Angeles. He established his headquarters on the second floor of the Bell block (corner of Los Angeles and Aliso streets), then the best building in the city. One company of his battalion was retained in the city; the others, under command of Captain Owens, were quartered at the Mission San Gabriel.

The Mormons had been driven out of Illinois and Missouri. A sentiment of antagonism had been engendered against them and they had begun their migration to the far west, presumably to California. They were encamped on the Missouri river at Kanesville, now Council Bluffs, preparatory to crossing the plains, when hostilities broke out between the United States and Mexico, in April, 1846. A proposition was made by President Polk to their leaders to raise a battalion of five hundred men to serve as United States volunteers for twelve months. These volunteers, under command of regular army officers, were to march to Santa Fe, or, if necessary, to California, where, at the expiration of their term of enlistment, they were to be discharged and allowed to retain their arms. Through the influence of Brigham Young and other leaders, the battalion was recruited and General Kearny, commanding the Army of the West, detailed Capt. James Allen, of the First United States Dragoons, to muster them into the service and take command of the battalion. On the 16th of July, at Council Bluffs, the bat-

talion was mustered into service and on the 14th of August it began its long and weary march. About eighty women and children, wives and families of the officers and some of the enlisted men, accompanied the battalion on its march. Shortly after the beginning of the march, Allen, who had been promoted to lieutenant-colonel, fell sick and died. The battalion was placed temporarily under the command of Lieut. A. J. Smith, of the regular army. At Santa Fe Lieut.-Col. Philip St. George Cooke took command under orders from General Kearny. The battalion was detailed to open a wagon road by the Gila route to California. About sixty of the soldiers who had become unfit for duty and all the women except five were sent back and the remainder of the force, after a toilsome journey, reached San Luis Rey, Cal., January 29, 1847, where it remained until ordered to Los Angeles, which place it reached March 17.

Captain Owens, in command of Fremont's battalion, had moved all the artillery, ten pieces, from Los Angeles to San Gabriel, probably with the design of preventing it falling into the hands of Colonel Cooke, who was an adherent of General Kearny. General Kearny, under additional instructions from the general government, brought by Colonel Mason from the war department, had established himself as governor at Monterey. With a governor in the north and one in the south, antagonistic to each other, California had fallen back to its normal condition under Mexican rule. Colonel Cooke, shortly after his arrival in the territory, thus describes the condition prevailing: "General Kearny is supreme somewhere up the coast. Colonel Fremont is supreme at Pueblo de Los Angeles; Colonel Stockton is commander-in-

chief at San Diego; Commodore Shubrick the same at Monterey; and I at San Luis Rey; and we are all supremely poor, the government having no money and no credit, and we hold the territory because Mexico is the poorest of all."

Col. R. B. Mason was appointed inspector of the troops in California and made an official visit to Los Angeles. In a misunderstanding about some official matters he used insulting language to Colonel Fremont. Fremont promptly challenged him to fight a duel. The challenge was accepted; double-barreled shot-guns were chosen as the weapons and the Rancho Rosa del Castillo as the place of meeting. Mason was summoned north and the duel was postponed until his return. General Kearny, hearing of the proposed affair of honor, put a stop to further proceedings by the duelists.

Col. Philip St. George Cooke, of the Mormon battalion, was made commander of the military district of the south with headquarters at Los Angeles. Fremont's battalion was mustered out of service. The Mormon soldiers and the two companies of United States Dragoons who came with General Kearny were stationed at Los Angeles to do guard duty and prevent any uprising of the natives.

Colonel Fremont's appointment as governor of California had never been recognized by General Kearny. So when the general had made himself supreme at Monterey he ordered Fremont to report to him at the capital and turn over the papers of his governorship. Fremont did so and passed out of office. He was nominally governor of the territory about two months. His appointment was made by Commodore Stockton, but was never confirmed by the president or secretary of war. His jurisdiction did not extend beyond Los Angeles. He left Los Angeles May 12 for Monterey. From that place, in company with General Kearny, on May 31, he took his departure for the states. The relations between the two were strained. While ostensibly traveling as one company, each officer, with his staff and escort, made separate camps. At Fort Leavenworth General Kearny placed Fremont under arrest and preferred charges against him for disobedience of orders. He was tried by court-martial at Wash-

ington and was ably defended by his father-in-law, Colonel Benton, and his brother-in-law, William Carey Jones. The court found him guilty and fixed the penalty, dismissal from the service. President Polk remitted the penalty and ordered Colonel Fremont to resume his sword and report for duty. He did so, but shortly afterward resigned his commission and left the army.

While Colonel Cooke was in command of the southern district rumors reached Los Angeles that the Mexican general, Bustamente, with a force of fifteen hundred men, was preparing to reconquer California. "Positive information," writes Colonel Cooke, under date of April 20, 1847, "has been received that the Mexican government has appropriated \$600,000 towards fitting out this force." It was also reported that cannon and military stores had been landed at San Vicente, in Lower California. Rumors of an approaching army came thick and fast. The natives were supposed to be in league with Bustamente and to be secretly preparing for an uprising. Precautions were taken against a surprise. A troop of cavalry was sent to Warner's ranch to patrol the Sonora road as far as the desert. The construction of a fort on the hill fully commanding the town, which had previously been determined upon, was begun and a company of infantry posted on the hill.

On the 23d of April, three months after work had ceased on Emory's fort, the construction of the second fort was begun and pushed vigorously. Rumors continued to come of the approach of the enemy. May 3, Colonel Cooke writes: "A report was received through the most available sources of information that General Bustamente had crossed the Gulf of California near its head, in boats of the pearl fishers, and at last information was at a rancho on the western road, seventy leagues below San Diego." Colonel Stevenson's regiment of New York volunteers had recently arrived in California. Two companies of that regiment had been sent to Los Angeles and two to San Diego. The report that Colonel Cooke had received reinforcement and that Los Angeles was being fortified was supposed to have frightened

Bustamente into abandoning his invasion of California. Bustamente's invading army was largely the creation of somebody's fertile imagination. The scare, however, had the effect of hurrying up work on the fort. May 13, Colonel Cooke resigned and Col. J. B. Stevenson succeeded him in the command of the southern military district.

Colonel Stevenson continued work on the fort and on the 1st of July work had progressed so far that he decided to dedicate and name it on the 4th. He issued an official order for the celebration of the anniversary of the birthday of American independence at this port, as he called Los Angeles. "At sunrise a Federal salute will be fired from the field work on the hill which commands this town and for the first time from this point the American standard will be displayed. At 11 o'clock all the troops of the district, consisting of the Mormon battalion, the two companies of dragoons and two companies of the New York volunteers, were formed in a hollow square at the fort. The Declaration of Independence was read in English by Captain Stuart Taylor and in Spanish by Stephen C. Foster. The native Californians, seated on their horses in rear of the soldiers, listened to Don Esteban as he rolled out in sonorous Spanish the Declaration's arraignment of King George III., and smiled. They had probably never heard of King George or the Declaration of Independence, either, but they knew a pronunciamiento when they heard it, and after a pronunciamiento in their governmental system came a revolution, therefore they smiled at the prospect of a gringo revolution. "At the close of this ceremony (reading of the Declaration) the field work will be dedicated and appropriately named; and at 12 o'clock a national salute will be fired. The field work at this post having been planned and the work conducted entirely by Lieutenant Davidson of the First Dragoons, he is requested to hoist upon it for the first time on the morning of the 4th the American standard." * * * The commander directs that from and after the 4th instant the fort shall bear the name of Moore. Benjamin D. Moore, after whom the fort was named, was captain of Company A, First United States Dragoons. He was killed by a

lance thrust in the disastrous charge at the battle of San Pasqual. This fort was located on what is now called Fort Hill, near the geographical center of Los Angeles. It was a breastwork about four hundred feet long with bastions and embrasures for cannon. The principal embrasure commanded the church and the plaza, two places most likely to be the rallying points in a rebellion. It was built more for the suppression of a revolt than to resist an invasion. It was in a commanding position; two hundred men, about its capacity, could have defended it against a thousand if the attack came from the front; but as it was never completed, in an attack from the rear it could easily have been captured with an equal force.

Col. Richard B. Mason succeeded General Kearny as commander-in-chief of the troops and military governor of California. Col. Philip St. George Cooke resigned command of the military district of the south May 13, joined General Kearny at Monterey and went east with him. As previously stated, Col. J. D. Stevenson, of the New York volunteers, succeeded him. His regiment, the First New York, but really the Seventh, had been recruited in the eastern part of the state of New York in the summer of 1846, for the double purpose of conquest and colonization. The United States government had no intention of giving up California once it was conquered, and therefore this regiment came to the coast well provided with provisions and implements of husbandry. It came to California via Cape Horn in three transports. The first ship, the Perkins, arrived at San Francisco, March 6, 1847; the second, the Drew, March 19; and the third, the Loo Choo, March 26. Hostilities had ceased in California before their arrival. Two companies, A and B, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Burton, were sent to Lower California, where they saw hard service and took part in several engagements. The other companies of the regiment were sent to different towns in Alta California to do garrison duty.

Another military organization that reached California after the conquest was Company F of the Third United States Artillery. It landed at Monterey January 28, 1847. It was com-

manded by Capt. C. Q. Thompkins. With it came Lieuts. E. O. C. Ord, William T. Sherman and H. W. Halleck, all of whom became prominent in California affairs and attained national reputation during the Civil war. The Mormon battalion was mustered out in July, 1847. One company under command of Captain Hunt re-enlisted. The others made their way to Utah, where they joined their brethren who the year before had crossed the plains and founded the City of Salt Lake. The New York volunteers were discharged in August, 1848. After the treaty of peace, in 1848, four companies of United States Dragoons, under command of Major L. P. Graham, marched from Chihuahua, by way of Tucson, to California. Major Graham was the last military commander of the south.

Commodore W. Branford Shubrick succeeded Commodore Stockton in command of the naval forces of the north Pacific coast. Jointly with General Kearny he issued a circular or proclamation to the people of California, printed in English and Spanish, setting forth "That the president of the United States, desirous to give and secure to the people of California a share of the good government and happy civil organization enjoyed by the people of the United States, and to protect them at the same time from the attacks of foreign foes and from internal commotions, has invested the undersigned with separate and distinct powers, civil and military; a cordial co-operation in the exercise of which, it is hoped and believed, will have the happy results desired.

"To the commander-in-chief of the naval forces the president has assigned the regulation of the import trade, the conditions on which vessels of all nations, our own as well as foreign, may be admitted into the ports of the territory, and the establishment of all port regulations. To the commanding military officer the president has assigned the direction of the operations on land and has invested him with administrative functions of government over the people and territory occupied by the forces of the United States.

"Done at Monterey, capital of California, this 1st day of March, A. D. 1847. W. Branford

Shubrick, commander-in-chief of the naval forces. S. W. Kearny, Brig.-Gen. United States Army, and Governor of California."

Under the administration of Col. Richard B. Mason, the successor of General Kearny as military governor, the reconstruction, or, more appropriately, the transformation period began. The orders from the general government were to conciliate the people and to make no radical changes in the form of government. The Mexican laws were continued in force. Just what these laws were, it was difficult to find out. No code commissioner had codified the laws and it sometimes happened that the judge made the law to suit the case. Under the old régime the alcalde was often law-giver, judge, jury and executioner, all in one. Occasionally there was friction between the military and civil powers, and there were rumors of insurrections and invasions, but nothing came of them. The Californians, with easy good nature so characteristic of them, made the best of the situation. "A thousand things," says Judge Hays, "combined to smooth the asperities of war. Fremont had been courteous and gay; Mason was just and firm. The natural good temper of the population favored a speedy and perfect conciliation. The American officers at once found themselves happy in every circle. In suppers, balls, visiting in town and country, the hours glided away with pleasant reflections."

There were, however, a few individuals who were not happy unless they could stir up dissensions and cause trouble. One of the chief of these was Serbulo Varela, agitator and revolutionist. Varela, for some offense not specified in the records, had been committed to prison by the second alcalde of Los Angeles. Colonel Stevenson turned him out of jail, and Varela gave the judge a tongue lashing in refuse Castilian. The judge's official dignity was hurt. He sent a communication to the ayuntamiento saying: "Owing to personal abuse which I received at the hands of a private individual and from the present military commander, I tender my resignation."

The ayuntamiento sent a communication to Colonel Stevenson asking why he had turned Varela out of jail and why he had insulted the

judge. The colonel curtly replied that the military would not act as jailers over persons guilty of trifling offenses while the city had plenty of persons to do guard duty at the jail. As to the abuse of the judge, he was not aware that any abuse had been given, and would take no further notice of him unless he stated the nature of the insult offered him. The council decided to notify the governor of the outrage perpetrated by the military commander, and the second alcalde said since he could get no satisfaction for insults to his authority from the military despot, he would resign; but the council would not accept his resignation, so he refused to act, and the city had to worry along with one alcalde.

Although foreigners had been coming to California ever since 1814, their numbers had not increased very rapidly. Nearly all of these had found their way there by sea. Those who had become permanent residents had married native Californian women and adopted the customs of the country. Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, in 1827, crossed the Sierra Nevada mountains from California and by way of the Humboldt, or, as he named it, the Mary River, had reached the Great Salt Lake. From there through the South Pass of the Rocky mountains the route had been traveled for several years by the fur trappers. This latter became the great emigrant route to California a few years later. A southern route by way of Santa Fe had been marked out and the Pattee party had found their way to the Colorado by the Gila route, but so far no emigrant trains had come from the States to California with women and children. The first of these mixed trains was organized in western Missouri in May, 1841. The party consisted of sixty-nine persons, including men, women and children. This party divided at Soda Springs, half going to Oregon and the others keeping on their way to California. They reached the San Joaquin valley in November, 1841, after a toilsome journey of six months. The first settlement they found was Dr. Marsh's ranch in what is now called Contra Costa county. Marsh gave them a cordial reception at first, but afterwards treated them meanly.

Fourteen of the party started for the Pueblo de San José. At the Mission of San José,

twelve miles from the Pueblo, they were all arrested by order of General Vallejo. One of the men was sent to Dr. Marsh to have him come forthwith and explain why an armed force of his countrymen were roaming around the country without passports. Marsh secured their release and passports for all the party. On his return home he charged the men who had remained at his ranch \$5 each for a passport, although the passports had cost him nothing. As there was no money in the party, each had to put up some equivalent from his scanty possessions. Marsh had taken this course to reimburse himself for the meal he had given the half-starved emigrants the first night of their arrival at his ranch.

In marked contrast with the meanness of Marsh was the liberality of Captain Sutter. Sutter had built a fort at the junction of the American river and the Sacramento in 1839 and had obtained extensive land grants. His fort was the frontier post for the overland emigration. Gen. John Bidwell, who came with the first emigrant train to California, in a description of "Life in California Before the Gold Discovery," says: "Nearly everybody who came to California then made it a point to reach Sutter's Fort. Sutter was one of the most liberal and hospitable of men. Everybody was welcome, one man or a hundred, it was all the same."

Another emigrant train, known as the Workman-Rowland party, numbering forty-five persons, came from Santa Fe by the Gila route to Los Angeles. About twenty-five of this party were persons who had arrived too late at Westport, Mo., to join the northern emigrant party, so they went with the annual caravan of St. Louis traders to Santa Fe and from there, with traders and trappers, continued their journey to California. From 1841 to the American conquest immigrant trains came across the plains every year.

One of the most noted of these, on account of the tragic fate that befell it, was the Donner party. The nucleus of this party, George and Jacob Donner and James K. Reed, with their families, started from Springfield, Ill., in the spring of 1846. By accretions and combinations, when it reached Fort Bridger, July 25, it had

increased to eighty-seven persons—thirty-six men, twenty-one women and thirty children, under the command of George Donner. A new route called the Hastings Cut-Off, had just been opened by Lansford W. Hastings. This route passed to the south of Great Salt Lake and struck the old Fort Hall emigrant road on the Humboldt. It was claimed that the "cut-off" shortened the distance three hundred miles. The Donner party, by misrepresentations, were induced to take this route. The cut-off proved to be almost impassable. They started on the cut-off the last day of July, and it was the end of September when they struck the old emigrant trail on the Humboldt. They had lost most of their cattle and were nearly out of provisions. From this on, unmerciful disaster followed them fast and faster. In an altercation, Reed, one of the best men of the party, killed Snyder. He was banished from the train and compelled to leave his wife and children behind. An old Belgian named Harcoop and Wolfinger, a German, unable to keep up, were abandoned to die on the road. Pike was accidentally shot by Foster. The Indians stole a number of their cattle, and one calamity after another delayed them. In the latter part of October they had reached the Truckee. Here they encountered a heavy snow storm, which blocked all further progress. They wasted their strength in trying to ascend the mountains in the deep snow that had fallen. Finally, finding this impossible, they turned back and built cabins at a lake since known as Donner Lake, and prepared to pass the winter. Most of their oxen had strayed away during the storm and perished. Those still alive they killed and preserved the meat.

A party of fifteen, ten men and five women,

known as the "Forlorn Hope," started, December 16, on snowshoes to cross the Sierras. They had provisions for six days, but the journey consumed thirty-two days. Eight of the ten men perished, and among them the noble Stanton, who had brought relief to the emigrants from Sutter's Fort before the snows began to fall. The five women survived. Upon the arrival of the wretched survivors of the "Forlorn Hope," the terrible sufferings of the snow-bound immigrants were made known at Sutter's Fort, and the first relief party was organized, and on the 5th of February started for the lake. Seven of the thirteen who started succeeded in reaching the lake. On the 19th they started back with twenty-one of the immigrants, three of whom died on the way. A second relief, under Reed and McCutchen, was organized. Reed had gone to Yerba Buena to seek assistance. A public meeting was called and \$1,500 subscribed. The second relief started from Johnston's Ranch, the nearest point to the mountains, on the 23d of February and reached the camp on March 1st. They brought out seventeen. Two others were organized and reached Donner Lake, the last on the 17th of April. The only survivor then was Kescburg, a German, who was hated by all the company. There was a strong suspicion that he had killed Mrs. Donner, who had refused to leave her husband (who was too weak to travel) with the previous relief. There were threats of hanging him. Kescburg had saved his life by eating the bodies of the dead. Of the original party of eighty-seven, a total of thirty-nine perished from starvation. Most of the survivors were compelled to resort to cannibalism. They were not to blame if they did.

CHAPTER XXII.

MEXICAN LAWS AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS.

UPON the departure of General Kearny, May 31, 1847, Col. Richard B. Mason became governor and commander-in-chief of the United States forces in California by order of the president. Stockton, Kearny and Fremont had taken their departure, the dissensions that had existed since the conquest of the territory among the conquerors ceased, and peace reigned.

There were reports of Mexican invasions and suspicions of secret plottings against gringo rule, but the invaders came not and the plottings never produced even the mildest form of a Mexican revolution. Mexican laws were administered for the most part by military officers. The municipal authorities were encouraged to continue in power and perform their governmental functions, but they were indifferent and sometimes rebelled. Under Mexican rule there was no trial by jury. The *alcalde* acted as judge and in criminal cases a council of war settled the fate of the criminal. The Rev. Walter Colton, while acting as *alcalde* of Monterey, in 1846-47, impaneled the first jury ever summoned in California. "The plaintiff and defendant," he writes, "are among the principal citizens of the country. The case was one involving property on the one side and integrity of character on the other. Its merits had been pretty widely discussed, and had called forth an unusual interest. One-third of the jury were Mexicans, one-third Californians and the other third Americans. This mixture may have the better answered the ends of justice, but I was apprehensive at one time it would embarrass the proceedings; for the plaintiff spoke in English, the defendant in French; the jury, save the Americans, Spanish, and the witnesses, all the languages known to California. By the tact of Mr. Hartnell, who acted as interpreter, and the absence of young lawyers, we got along very well.

"The examination of witnesses lasted five or six hours. I then gave the case to the jury, stating the questions of fact upon which they were to render their verdict. They retired for an hour and then returned, when the foreman handed in their verdict, which was clear and explicit, though the case itself was rather complicated. To this verdict both parties bowed without a word of dissent. The inhabitants who witnessed the trial said it was what they liked, that there could be no bribery in it, that the opinion of twelve honest men should set the case forever at rest. And so it did, though neither party completely triumphed in the issue. One recovered his property, which had been taken from him by mistake, the other his character, which had been slandered by design."

The process of Americanizing the people was no easy undertaking. The population of the country and its laws were in a chaotic condition. It was an arduous task that Colonel Mason and the military commanders at the various pueblos had to perform, that of evolving order out of the chaos that had been brought about by the change in nations. The native population neither understood the language nor the customs of their new rulers, and the newcomers among the Americans had very little toleration for the slow-going Mexican ways and methods they found prevailing. To keep peace between the factions required more tact than knowledge of law, military or civil, in the commanders.

Los Angeles, under Mexican domination, had been the storm center of revolutions, and here under the new régime the most difficulty was encountered in transforming the quondam revolutionists into law-abiding and peaceful American citizens. The *ayuntamiento* was convened in 1847, after the conquest, and continued in power until the close of the year. When the time came round for the election of a new *ayun-*

tamiento there was trouble. Stephen C. Foster, Colonel Stevenson's interpreter, submitted a paper to the council stating that the government had authorized him to get up a register of voters. The ayuntamiento voted to return the paper just as it was received. Then the colonel made a demand of the council to assist Stephen in compiling a register of voters. Regidor Chavez took the floor and said such a register should not be gotten up under the auspices of the military, but, since the government had so disposed, thereby outraging this honorable body, no attention should be paid to said communication. But the council decided that the matter did not amount to much, so they granted the request, much to the disgust of Chavez. The election was held and a new ayuntamiento elected. At the last meeting of the old council, December 29, 1847, Colonel Stevenson addressed a note to it requesting that Stephen C. Foster be recognized as first alcalde and judge of the first instance. The council decided to turn the whole business over to its successor, to deal with as it sees fit.

Colonel Stevenson's request was made in accordance with the wish of Governor Mason that a part of the civil offices be filled by Americans. The new ayuntamiento resented the interference. How the matter terminated is best told in Stephen C. Foster's own words: "Colonel Stevenson was determined to have our inauguration done in style. So on the day appointed, January 1, 1848, he, together with myself and colleague, escorted by a guard of soldiers, proceeded from the colonel's quarters to the alcalde's office. There we found the retiring ayuntamiento and the new one awaiting our arrival. The oath of office was administered by the retiring first alcalde. We knelt to take the oath, when we found they had changed their minds, and the alcalde told us that if two of their number were to be kicked out they would all go. So they all marched out and left us in possession. Here was a dilemma, but Colonel Stevenson was equal to the emergency. He said he could give us a swear as well as the alcalde. So we stood up and he administered to us an oath to support the constitution of the United States and administer justice in ac-

cordance with Mexican law. I then knew as much about Mexican law as I did about Chinese, and my colleague knew as much as I did. Guerrero gathered up the books that pertained to his office and took them to his house, where he established his office, and I took the archives and records across the street to a house I had rented, and there I was duly installed for the next seventeen months, the first American alcalde and carpet-bagger in Los Angeles."

Colonel Stevenson issued a call for the election of a new ayuntamiento, but the people stayed at home and no votes were cast. At the close of the year the voters had gotten over their pet and when a call was made a council was elected, but only Californians (*hijos del pais*) were returned. The ayuntamientos continued to be the governing power in the pueblos until superseded by city and county governments in 1850.

The most difficult problem that General Kearny in his short term had to confront and, unsolved, he handed down to his successor, Colonel Mason, was the authority and jurisdiction of the alcaldes. Under the Mexican régime these officers were supreme in the pueblo over which they ruled. For the Spanish transgressor fines of various degrees were the usual penalty; for the mission neophyte, the lash, well laid on, and labor in the chain gang. There was no written code that defined the amount of punishment; the alcalde meted out justice and sometimes injustice, as suited his humor. Kearny appointed John H. Nash alcalde of Sonoma. Nash was a rather erratic individual, who had taken part in the Bear Flag revolution. When the offices of the prospective California Republic were divided among the revolutionists, he was to be the chief justice. After the collapse of that short-lived republic, Nash was elected alcalde. His rule was so arbitrary and his decisions so biased by favoritism or prejudice that the American settlers soon protested and General Kearny removed him or tried to. He appointed L. W. Boggs, a recently arrived immigrant, to the office. Nash refused to surrender the books and papers of the office. Lieut. W. T. Sherman was detailed by Colonel Mason, after his succession to the office of governor, to

proceed to Sonoma and arrest Nash. Sherman quietly arrested him at night and before the bellicose alcalde's friends (for he had quite a following) were aware of what was going on, marched him off to San Francisco. He was put on board the Dale and sent to Monterey. Finding that it was useless for him to resist the authority of the United States, its army and navy as well, Nash expressed his willingness to submit to the inevitable, and surrendered his office. He was released and ceased from troubling. Another strenuous alcalde was William Blackburn, of Santa Cruz. He came to the country in 1845, and before his elevation to the honorable position of a judge of the first instance he had been engaged in making shingles in the redwoods. He had no knowledge of law and but little acquaintance with books of any kind. His decisions were always on the side of justice, although some of the penalties imposed were somewhat irregular.

In Alcalde Blackburn's docket for August 14, 1847, appears this entry: "Pedro Gomez was tried for the murder of his wife, Barbara Gomez, and found guilty. The sentence of the court is that the prisoner be conducted back to prison, there to remain until Monday, the 16th of August, and then be taken out and shot." August 17, sentence carried into effect on the 16th accordingly. WILLIAM BLACKBURN, Alcalde.

It does not appear in the records that Blackburn was the executioner. He proceeded to dispose of the two orphaned children of the murderer. The older daughter he indentured to Jacinto Castro "to raise until she is twenty-one years of age, unless sooner married, said Jacinto Castro, obligating himself to give her a good education, three cows and calves at her marriage or when of age." The younger daughter was disposed of on similar terms to A. Rodriguez. Colonel Mason severely reprimanded Blackburn, but the alcalde replied that there was no use making a fuss over it; the man was guilty, he had a fair trial before a jury and deserved to die. Another case in his court illustrates the versatility of the judge. A Spanish boy, out of revenge, sheared the mane and tail of a neighbor's horse. The offense was proved,

but the judge was sorely perplexed when he came to sentence the culprit. He could find no law in his law books to fit the case. After pondering over the question a while, he gave this decision: "I find no law in any of the statutes to fit this case, except in the law of Moses, 'An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' Let the prisoner be taken out in front of this office and there sheared close." The sentence was immediately executed.

Another story is told of Blackburn, which may or may not be true. A mission Indian who had committed murder took the right of sanctuary in the church, and the padre refused to give him up. Blackburn wrote to the governor, stating the case. The Indian, considering himself safe while with the padre, left the church in company with the priest. Blackburn seized him, tried him and hung him. He then reported to the governor: "I received your order to suspend the execution of the condemned man, but I had hung him. When I see you I will explain the affair."

Some of the military commanders of the presidios and pueblos gave Governor Mason as much trouble as the alcaldes. These, for the most part, were officers of the volunteers who had arrived after the conquest. They were unused to "war's alarms," and, being new to the country and ignorant of the Spanish language, they regarded the natives with suspicion. They were on the lookout for plots and revolutions. Sometimes they found these incubating and undertook to crush them, only to discover that the affair was a hoax or a practical joke. The Cañon Perdido (lost cañon) of Santa Barbara episode is a good illustration of the trouble one "finicky" man can make when entrusted with military power.

In the winter of 1847-48 the American bark Elisabeth was wrecked on the Santa Barbara coast. Among the flotsam of the wreck was a brass cannon of uncertain calibre; it might have been a six, a nine or a twelve pounder. What the capacity of its bore matters not, for the gun unloaded made more noise in Santa Barbara than it ever did when it belched forth shot and shell in battle. The gun, after its rescue from a watery grave, lay for some time on the beach,

devoid of carriage and useless, apparently, for offense or defense.

One dark night a little squad of native Californians stole down to the beach, loaded the gun in an ox cart, hauled it to the estero and hid it in the sands. What was their object in taking the gun no one knows. Perhaps they did not know themselves. It might come handy in a revolution, or maybe they only intended to play a practical joke on the gringos. Whatever their object, the outcome of their prank must have astonished them. There was a company (F) of Stevenson's New York volunteers stationed at Santa Barbara, under command of Captain Lippett. Lippett was a fussy, nervous individual who lost his head when anything unusual occurred. In the theft of the cannon he thought he had discovered a California revolution in the formative stages, and he determined to crush it in its infancy. He sent post haste a courier to Governor Mason at Monterey, informing him of the prospective uprising of the natives and the possible destruction of the troops at Santa Barbara by the terrible gun the enemy had stolen.

Colonel Mason, relying on Captain Lippett's report, determined to give the natives a lesson that would teach them to let guns and revolutions alone. He issued an order from headquarters at Monterey, in which he said that ample time having been allowed for the return of the gun, and the citizens having failed to produce it, he ordered that the town be laid under a contribution of \$500, assessed in the following manner: A capitation tax of \$2 on all males over twenty years of age; the balance to be paid by the heads of families and property-holders in the proportion of the value of their respective real and personal estate in the town of Santa Barbara and vicinity. Col. J. D. Stevenson was appointed to direct the appraisal of the property and the collection of the assessment. If any failed to pay his capitation, enough of his property was to be seized and sold to pay his enforced contribution.

The promulgation of the order at Santa Barbara raised a storm of indignation at the old pueblo. Colonel Stevenson came up from Los Angeles and had an interview with Don Pablo

de La Guerra, a leading citizen of Santa Barbara. Don Pablo was wrathfully indignant at the insult put upon his people, but after talking over the affair with Colonel Stevenson, he became somewhat mollified. He invited Colonel Stevenson to make Santa Barbara his headquarters and inquired about the brass band at the lower pueblo. Stevenson took the hint and ordered up the band from Los Angeles. July 4th had been fixed upon as the day for the payment of the fines, doubtless with the idea of giving the Californians a little celebration that would remind them hereafter of Liberty's natal day. Colonel Stevenson contrived to have the band reach Santa Barbara on the night of the 3d. The band astonished Don Pablo and his family with a serenade. The Don was so delighted that he hugged the colonel in the most approved style. The band serenaded all the Dons of note in town and tooted until long after midnight, then started in next morning and kept it up till ten o'clock, the time set for each man to contribute his "dos pesos" to the common fund. By that time every hombre on the list was so filled with wine, music and patriotism that the greater portion of the fine was handed over without protest. The day closed with a grand ball. The beauty and the chivalry of Santa Barbara danced to the music of a gringo brass band and the brass cannon for the nonce was forgotten.

But the memory of the city's ransom rankled, and although an American band played Spanish airs, American injustice was still remembered. When the city's survey was made in 1850 the nomenclature of three streets, Cañon Perdido (Lost Cannon street), Quinientos (Five Hundred street) and Mason street kept the cannon episode green in the memory of the Barbareños. When the pueblo, by legislative act, became a ciudad, the municipal authorities selected this device for a seal: In the center a cannon emblazoned, encircled with these words, Vale Quinientos Pesos—Worth \$500, or, more liberally translated, Good-bye, \$500, which, by the way, as the sequel of the story will show, is the better translation. This seal was used from the incorporation of the city in 1850 to 1860, when another design was chosen.

After peace was declared, Colonel Mason sent the \$500 to the prefect at Santa Barbara, with instructions to use it in building a city jail; and although there was pressing need for a jail, the jail was not built. The prefect's needs were pressing, too. Several years passed; then the city council demanded that the prefect turn the money into the city treasury. He replied that the money was entrusted to him for a specific purpose, and he would trust no city treasurer with it. The fact was that long before he had lost it in a game of monte.

Ten years passed, and the episode of the lost cannon was but a dimly remembered story of the olden time. The old gun reposed peacefully in its grave of sand and those who buried it had forgotten the place of its interment. One stormy night in December, 1858, the estero (creek) cut a new channel to the ocean. In the morning, as some Barbareños were surveying the changes caused by the flood, they saw the muzzle of a large gun protruding from the cut in the bank. They unearthed it, cleaned off the sand and discovered that it was El Cañon Perdido, the lost cannon. It was hauled up State street to Cañon Perdido, where it was mounted on an improvised carriage. But the sight of it was a reminder of an unpleasant incident. The finders sold it to a merchant for \$80. He shipped it to San Francisco and sold it at a handsome profit for old brass.

Governor Pio Pico returned from Mexico to California, arriving at San Gabriel July 17, 1848. Although the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico had been signed and proclaimed, the news had not reached California. Pico, from San Fernando, addressed letters to Colonel Stevenson at Los Angeles and Governor Mason at Monterey, stating that as Mexican governor of California he had come back to the country with the object of carrying out the armistice which then existed between the United States and Mexico. He further stated that he had no desire to impede the establishment of peace between the two countries; and that he wished to see the Mexicans and Americans treat each other in a spirit of fraternity. Mason did not like Pico's assumption of the title of Mexican governor of California, al-

though it is not probable that Pico intended to assert any claim to his former position. Governor Mason sent a special courier to Los Angeles with orders to Colonel Stevenson to arrest the ex-governor, who was then at his Santa Margarita rancho, and send him to Monterey, but the news of the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo reached Los Angeles before the arrest was made, and Pico was spared this humiliation.

The treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, a hamlet a few miles from the City of Mexico, February 2, 1848; ratifications were exchanged at Queretaro, May 30 following, and a proclamation that peace had been established between the two countries was published July 4, 1848. Under this treaty the United States assumed the payment of the claims of American citizens against Mexico, and paid, in addition, \$15,000,000 to Mexico for Texas, New Mexico and Alta California. Out of what was the Mexican territory of Alta California there has been carved all of California, all of Nevada, Utah and Arizona and part of Colorado and Wyoming. The territory acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was nearly equal to the aggregated area of the thirteen original states at the time of the Revolutionary war.

The news of the treaty of peace reached California August 6, 1848. On the 7th Governor Mason issued a proclamation announcing the ratification of the treaty. He announced that all residents of California, who wished to become citizens of the United States, were absolved from their allegiance to Mexico. Those who desired to retain their Mexican citizenship could do so, provided they signified such intention within one year from May 30, 1848. Those who wished to go to Mexico were at liberty to do so without passports. Six months before, Governor Mason had issued a proclamation prohibiting any citizen of Sonora from entering California except on official business, and then only under flag of truce. He also required all Sonorans in the country to report themselves either at Los Angeles or Monterey.

The war was over; and the treaty of peace had made all who so elected, native or foreign

born, American citizens. Strict military rule was relaxed and the people henceforth were to be self-governing. American and Californian were one people and were to enjoy the same rights and to be subject to the same penalties. The war ended, the troops were no longer needed. Orders were issued to muster out the volunteers. These all belonged to Stevenson's New York regiment. The last company of the Mormon battalion had been discharged in April.

The New York volunteers were scattered all along the coast from Sonoma to Cape St. Lucas, doing garrison duty. They were collected at different points and mustered out. Although those stationed in Alta California had done no fighting, they had performed arduous service in keeping peace in the conquered territory. Most of them remained in California after their discharge and rendered a good account of themselves as citizens.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GOLD! GOLD! GOLD!

SEBASTIAN VISCAINO, from the bay of Monterey, writing to the King of Spain three hundred years ago, says of the Indians of California: "They are well acquainted with gold and silver, and said that these were found in the interior." Viscaino was endeavoring to make a good impression on the mind of the king in regard to his discoveries, and the remark about the existence of gold and silver in California was thrown to excite the cupidity of his Catholic majesty. The traditions of the existence of gold in California before any was discovered are legion. Most of these have been evolved since gold was actually found. Col. J. J. Warner, a pioneer of 1831, in his *Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County*, briefly and very effectually disposes of these rumored discoveries. He says: "While statements respecting the existence of gold in the earth of California and its procurement therefrom have been made and published as historical facts, carrying back the date of the knowledge of the auriferous character of this state as far as the time of the visit of Sir Francis Drake to this coast, there is no evidence to be found in the written or oral history of the missions, the acts and correspondence of the civil or military officers, or in the unwritten and traditional history of Upper California that the existence of gold, either with ores or in its virgin state, was ever suspected by any inhabitant of California previous to 1841, and, furthermore, there is conclusive testimony

that the first known grain of native gold dust was found upon or near the San Francisco ranch, about forty-five miles north-westerly from Los Angeles City, in the month of June, 1841. This discovery consisted of grain gold fields (known as placer mines), and the auriferous fields discovered in that year embraced the greater part of the country drained by the Santa Clara river from a point some fifteen or twenty miles from its mouth to its source, and easterly beyond Mount San Bernardino."

The story of the discovery as told by Warner and by Don Abel Stearns agrees in the main facts, but differs materially in the date. Stearns says gold was first discovered by Francisco Lopez, a native of California, in the month of March, 1842, at a place called San Francisquito, about thirty-five miles northwest from this city (Los Angeles). The circumstances of the discovery by Lopez, as related by himself, are as follows: "Lopez, with a companion, was out in search of some stray horses, and about midday they stopped under some trees and tied their horses out to feed, they resting under the shade, when Lopez, with his sheath-knife, dug up some wild onions, and in the dirt discovered a piece of gold, and, searching further, found some more. He brought these to town, and showed them to his friends, who at once declared there must be a placer of gold. This news being circulated, numbers of the citizens went to the place, and commenced prospecting in the neigh-

borhood, and found it to be a fact that there was a placer of gold."

Colonel Warner says: "The news of this discovery soon spread among the inhabitants from Santa Barbara to Los Angeles, and in a few weeks hundreds of people were engaged in washing and winnowing the sands and earth of these gold fields."

Warner visited the mines a few weeks after their discovery. He says: "From these mines was obtained the first parcel of California gold dust received at the United States mint in Philadelphia, and which was sent with Alfred Robinson, and went in a merchant ship around Cape Horn." This shipment of gold was 18.34 ounces before and 18.1 ounces after melting; fineness, .925; value, \$344.75, or over \$19 to the ounce, a very superior quality of gold dust. It was deposited in the mint July 8, 1843.

It may be regarded as a settled historical fact that the first authenticated discovery of gold in Alta California was made on the San Francisco rancho in the San Feliciano Cañon, Los Angeles county. This cañon is about ten miles northwest of Newhall station on the Southern Pacific railroad, and about forty miles northwest of Los Angeles.

The date of the discovery is in doubt. A petition to the governor (Alvarado) asking permission to work the placers, signed by Francisco Lopez, Manuel Cota and Domingo Bermudez is on file in the California archives. It recites: "That as Divine Providence was pleased to give us a placer of gold on the 9th of last March in the locality of San Francisco rancho, that belongs to the late Don Antonio del Valle." This petition fixes the day of the month the discovery was made, but unfortunately omits all other dates. The evidence is about equally divided between the years 1841 and 1842.

It is impossible to obtain definite information in regard to the yield of the San Fernando placers, as these mines are generally called. William Heath Davis, in his "Sixty Years in California," states that from \$80,000 to \$100,000 was taken out for the first two years after their discovery. He says that Mellus at one time shipped \$5,000 of dust on the ship *Alert*. Bancroft says: "That by December, 1843, two thou-

sand ounces of gold had been taken from the San Fernando mines." Don Antonio Coronel informed the author that he, with the assistance of three Indian laborers, in 1842, took out \$600 worth of dust in two months. De Mofras, in his book, states that Carlos Baric, a Frenchman, in 1842, was obtaining an ounce a day of pure gold from his placer.

These mines were worked continuously from the time of their discovery until the American conquest, principally by Sonorians. The discovery of gold at Coloma, January 24, 1848, drew away the miners, and no work was done on these mines between 1848 and 1854. After the latter dates work was resumed, and in 1855, Francisco Garcia, working a gang of Indians, is reported to have taken out \$65,000 in one season. The mines are not exhausted, but the scarcity of water prevents working them profitably.

It is rather a singular coincidence that the exact dates of both the first and second authenticated discoveries of gold in California are still among the undecided questions of history. In the first, we know the day but not the year; in the second, we know the year but not the day of the month on which Marshall picked up the first nuggets in the millrace at Coloma. For a number of years after the anniversary of Marshall's discovery began to be observed the 19th of January was celebrated. Of late years January 24 has been fixed upon as the correct date, but the Associated Pioneers of the Territorial Days of California, an association made up of men who were in the territory at the time of Marshall's discovery or came here before it became a state, object to the change. For nearly thirty years they have held their annual dinners on January 18, "the anniversary of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, Coloma, Cal." This society has its headquarters in New York City. In a circular recently issued, disapproving of the change of date from the 18th to the 24th, the trustees of that society say: "Upon the organization of this society, February 11, 1875, it was decided to hold its annual dinners on the anniversary of the discovery of gold at Sutter's sawmill, Coloma, Cal. Through the Hon. Newton Booth, of the United States Senate, this infor-

mation was sought, with the result of a communication from the secretary of the state of California to the effect 'that the archives of the state of California recorded the date as of January 18, 1848. Some years ago this date was changed by the society at San Francisco to that of January 24, and that date has been adopted by other similar societies located upon the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. This society took the matter under advisement, with the result that the new evidence upon which it was proposed to change the date was not deemed sufficient to justify this society in ignoring its past records, founded on the authority of the state of California; therefore it has never accepted the new date.'

Marshall himself was uncertain about the exact date. At various times he gave three different dates—the 18th, 19th and 20th, but never moved it along as far as the 24th. In the past thirty years three different dates—the 18th, 19th and 24th of January—have been celebrated as the anniversary of Marshall's gold discovery.

The evidence upon which the date was changed to the 24th is found in an entry in a diary kept by H. W. Bigler, a Mormon, who was working for Marshall on the millrace at the time gold was discovered. The entry reads: "January 24. This day some kind of metal that looks like gold was found in the tailrace." On this authority about ten years ago the California Pioneers adopted the 24th as the correct date of Marshall's discovery.

While written records, especially if made at the time of the occurrence of the event, are more reliable than oral testimony given long after, yet when we take into consideration the conflicting stories of Sutter, Marshall, the Winners and others who were immediately concerned in some way with the discovery, we must concede that the Territorial Pioneers have good reasons to hesitate about making a change in the date of their anniversary. In Dr. Trywhitt Brook's "Four Months Among the Gold Finders," a book published in London in 1849, and long since out of print, we have Sutter's version of Marshall's discovery given only three months after that discovery was made. Dr. Brooks

visited Sutter's Fort early in May, 1848, and received from Sutter himself the story of the find. Sutter stated that he was sitting in his room at the fort, one afternoon, when Marshall, whom he supposed to be at the mill, forty miles up the American river, suddenly burst in upon him. Marshall was so wildly excited that Sutter, suspecting that he was crazy, looked to see whether his rifle was in reach. Marshall declared that he had made a discovery that would give them both millions and millions of dollars. Then he drew his sack and poured out a handful of nuggets on the table. Sutter, when he had tested the metal and found that it was gold, became almost as excited as Marshall. He eagerly asked if the workmen at the mill knew of the discovery. Marshall declared that he had not spoken to a single person about it. They both agreed to keep it secret. Next day Sutter and Marshall arrived at the sawmill. The day after their arrival, they prospected the bars of the river and the channels of some of the dry creeks and found gold in all.

"On our return to the mill," says Sutter, "we were astonished by the work-people coming up to us in a body and showing us some flakes of gold similar to those we had ourselves procured. Marshall tried to laugh the matter off with them, and to persuade them that what they had found was only some shining mineral of trifling value; but one of the Indians, who had worked at a gold mine in the neighborhood of La Paz, Lower California, cried out: 'Ora! Ora!' (gold! gold!), and the secret was out."

Captain Sutter continues: "I heard afterward that one of them, a sly Kentuckian, had dogged us about and, that, looking on the ground to see if he could discover what we were in search of, he lighted on some of the flakes himself."

If this account is correct, Bigler's entry in his diary was made on the day that the workmen found gold, which was five or six days after Marshall's first find, and consequently the 24th is that much too late for the true date of the discovery. The story of the discovery given in the "Life and Adventures of James W. Marshall," by George Frederick Parsons, differs materially from Sutter's account. The date of the discovery given in that book is January 19,

1848. On the morning of that day Marshall, after shutting off the water, walked down the tailrace to see what sand and gravel had been removed during the night. (The water was turned into the tailrace during the night to cut it deeper.) While examining a mass of debris, "his eye caught the glitter of something that lay lodged in a crevice on a raffle of soft granite some six inches under water." Picking up the nugget and examining it, he became satisfied that it must be one of three substances—mica, sulphurets of copper, or gold. Its weight satisfied him that it was not mica. Knowing that gold was malleable, he placed the specimen on a flat rock and struck it with another; it bent, but did not crack or break. He was satisfied that it was gold. He showed the nugget to his men. In the course of a few days he had collected several ounces of precious metal. "Some four days after the discovery it became necessary for him to go below, for Sutter had failed to send a supply of provisions to the mill, and the men were on short commons. While on his way down he discovered gold in a ravine at a place afterwards known as Mormon island. Arrived at the fort, he interviewed Sutter in his private office and showed him about three ounces of gold nuggets. Sutter did not believe it to be gold, but after weighing it in scales against \$3.25 worth of silver, all the coin they could raise at the fort, and testing it with nitric acid obtained from the gun shop, Sutter became convinced and returned to the mill with Marshall. So little did the workmen at the mill value the discovery that they continued to work for Sutter until the mill was completed, March 11, six weeks after the nuggets were found in the tailrace.

The news of the discovery spread slowly. It was two months in reaching San Francisco, although the distance is not over one hundred and twenty-five miles. The great rush to the mines from San Francisco did not begin until the middle of May, nearly four months after the discovery. On the 10th of May, Dr. Brooks, who was in San Francisco, writes: "A number of people have actually started off with shovels, mattocks and pans to dig the gold themselves. It is not likely, however, that this will be allowed, for Captain Folsom has already written to Colonel Mason

about taking possession of the mine on behalf of the government, it being, he says, on public land."

As the people began to realize the richness and extent of the discovery, the excitement increased rapidly. May 17, Dr. Brooks writes: "This place (San Francisco) is now in a perfect furore of excitement; all the workpeople have struck. Walking through the town to-day, I observed that laborers were employed only upon about half a dozen of the fifty new buildings which were in course of being run up. The majority of the mechanics at this place are making preparations for moving off to the mines, and several people of all classes—lawyers, storekeepers, merchants, etc., are smitten with the fever; in fact, there is a regular gold mania springing up. I counted no less than eighteen houses which were closed, the owners having left. If Colonel Mason is moving a force to the American Fork, as is reported here, their journey will be in vain."

Colonel Mason's soldiers moved without orders—they nearly all deserted, and ran off to the mines.

The first newspaper announcement of the discovery appeared in *The Californian* of March 15, 1848, nearly two months after the discovery. But little attention was paid to it. In the issue of April 19, another discovery is reported. The item reads: "New gold mine. It is stated that a new gold mine has been discovered on the American Fork of the Sacramento, supposed to be on the land of W. A. Leidesdorff, of this place. A specimen of the gold has been exhibited, and is represented to be very pure." On the 29th of May, *The Californian* had suspended publication. "Othello's occupation is gone," wails the editor. "The majority of our subscribers and many of our advertising patrons have closed their doors and places of business and left town, and we have received one order after another conveying the pleasant request that the printer will please stop my paper or my ad, as I am about leaving for Sacramento."

The editor of the other paper, *The California Star*, made a pilgrimage to the mines in the latter part of April, but gave them no extended write-up. "Great country, fine climate," he wrote on his return. "Full flowing streams, mighty

timber, large crops, luxuriant clover, fragrant flowers, gold and silver," were his comments on what he saw. The policy of both papers seems to have been to ignore as much as possible the gold discovery. To give it publicity was for a time, at least, to lose their occupation.

In *The Star* of May 20, 1848, its eccentric editor, E. C. Kemble, under the caption "El Dorado Anew," discourses in a dubious manner upon the effects of the discovery and the extent of the gold fields: "A terrible visitant we have had of late. A fever which has well-nigh depopulated a town, a town hard pressing upon a thousand souls, and but for the gracious interposition of the elements, perhaps not a goose would have been spared to furnish a quill to pen the melancholy fate of the remainder. It has preyed upon defenseless old age, subdued the elasticity of careless youth and attacked indiscriminately sex and class, from town councilman to tow-frocked cartman, from tailor to tippler, of which, thank its pestilential powers, it has beneficially drained (of tipplers, we mean) every villainous pulperia in the place.

"And this is the gold fever, the only form of that popular southerner, yellow jack, with which we can be alarmingly threatened. The insatiate maw of the monster, not appeased by the easy conquest of the rough-fisted yeomanry of the north, must needs ravage a healthy, prosperous place beyond his dominion and turn the town topsy-turvy in a twinkling.

"A fleet of launches left this place on Sunday and Monday last bound up the Sacramento river, close stowed with human beings, led by love of filthy lucre to the perennial yielding gold mines of the north. When any man can find two ounces a day and two thousand men can find their hands full, of work, was there ever anything so superlatively silly!

"Honestly, though, we are inclined to believe the reputed wealth of that section of country, thirty miles in extent, all sham, a superb take-in as was ever got up to guzzle the gullible. But it is not improbable that this mine, or, properly, placer of gold can be traced as far south as the city of Los Angeles, where the precious metal has been found for a number of years in the bed of a stream issuing from its mountains, said

to be a continuation of this gold chain which courses southward from the base of the snowy mountains. But our best information respecting the metal and the quantity in which it is gathered varies much from many reports current, yet it is beyond a question that no richer mines of gold have ever been discovered upon this continent.

"Should there be no paper forthcoming on Saturday next, our readers may assure themselves it will not be the fault of us individually. To make the matter public, already our devil has rebelled, our pressman (poor fellow) last seen was in search of a pickaxe, and we feel like Mr. Hamlet, we shall never again look upon the likes of him. Then, too, our compositors have, in defiance, sworn terrible oaths against type-sticking as vulgar and unfashionable. Hope has not yet fled us, but really, in the phraseology of the day, 'things is getting curious.'"

And things kept getting more and more curious. The rush increased. The next issue of *The Star* (May 27) announces that the Sacramento, a first-class craft, left here Thursday last thronged with passengers for the gold mines, a motley assemblage, composed of lawyers, merchants, grocers, carpenters, cartmen and cooks, all possessed with the desire of becoming rich. The latest accounts from the gold country are highly flattering. Over three hundred men are engaged in washing gold, and numbers are continually arriving from every part of the country. Then the editor closes with a wail: "Persons recently arrived from the country speak of ranches deserted and crops neglected and suffered to waste. The unhappy consequence of this state of affairs is easily foreseen. One more twinkle, and *The Star* disappeared in the gloom. On June 14 appeared a single sheet, the size of foolscap. The editor announced: "In fewer words than are usually employed in the announcement of similar events, we appear before the remnant of a reading community on this occasion with the material or immaterial information that we have stopped the paper, that its publication ceased with the last regular issue (June 7). On the approach of autumn, we shall again appear to announce *The Star's* redivus. We have done. Let our parting word be hasto

luego." (*Star and Californian* reappeared November 14, 1848. *The Star* had absorbed *The Californian*. E. C. Kemble was its editor and proprietor.)

Although there was no paper in existence on the coast to spread the news from the gold fields, it found its way out of California, and the rush from abroad began. It did not acquire great force in 1848, but in 1849 the immigration to California exceeded all previous migrations in the history of the race.

Among the first foreigners to rush to the mines were the Mexicans of Sonora. Many of these had had some experience in placer mining in their native country, and the report of rich placers in California, where gold could be had for the picking up, aroused them from their lazy self-content and stimulated them to go in search of it. Traveling in squads of from fifty to one hundred, they came by the old Auza trail across the Colorado desert, through the San Gorgonio Pass, then up the coast and on to the mines. They were a job lot of immigrants, poor in purse and poor in brain. They were despised by the native Californians and maltreated by the Americans. Their knowledge of mining came in play, and the more provident among them soon managed to pick up a few thousand dollars, and then returned to their homes, plutocrats. The improvident gambled away their earnings and remained in the country to add to its criminal element. The Oregonians came in force, and all the towns in California were almost depopulated of their male population. By the close of 1848, there were ten thousand men at work in the mines.

The first official report of the discovery was sent to Washington by Thomas O. Larkin, June 1, and reached its destination about the middle of September. Lieutenant Beale, by way of Mexico, brought dispatches dated a month later, which arrived about the same time as Larkin's report. These accounts were published in the eastern papers, and the excitement began.

In the early part of December, Lieutenant Loeser arrived at Washington with Governor Mason's report of his observations in the mines made in August. But the most positive evidence was a tea caddy of gold dust containing about

two hundred and thirty ounces that Governor Mason had caused to be purchased in the mines with money from the civil service fund. This the lieutenant had brought with him. It was placed on exhibition at the war office. Here was tangible evidence of the existence of gold in California, the doubters were silenced and the excitement was on and the rush began.

By the 1st of January, 1849, vessels were fitting out in every seaport on the Atlantic coast and the Gulf of Mexico. Sixty ships were announced to sail from New York in February and seventy from Philadelphia and Boston. All kinds of crafts were pressed into the service, some to go by way of Cape Horn, others to land their passengers at Vera Cruz, Greytown and Chagres, the voyagers to take their chances on the Pacific side for a passage on some unknown vessel.

With opening of spring, the overland travel began. Forty thousand men gathered at different points on the Missouri river, but principally at St. Joseph and Independence. Horses, mules, oxen and cows were used for the propelling power of the various forms of vehicles that were to convey the provisions and other impedimenta of the army of gold seekers. By the 1st of May the grass was grown enough on the plains to furnish feed for the stock, and the vanguard of the grand army of gold hunters started. For two months, company after company left the rendezvous and joined the procession until for one thousand miles there was an almost unbroken line of wagons and pack trains. The first half of the journey was made with little inconvenience, but on the last part there was great suffering and loss of life. The cholera broke out among them, and it is estimated that five thousand died on the plains. The alkali desert of the Humboldt was the place where the immigrants suffered most. Exhausted by the long journey and weakened by lack of food, many succumbed under the hardship of the desert journey and died. The crossing of the Sierras was attended with great hardships. From the loss of their horses and oxen, many were compelled to cross the mountains on foot. Their provisions exhausted, they would have perished but for relief sent out from California. The

greatest sufferers were the woman and children, who in considerable numbers made the perilous journey.

The overland immigration of 1850 exceeded that of 1849. According to record kept at Fort Laramie, there passed that station during the season thirty-nine thousand men, two thousand five hundred women and six hundred children, making a total of forty-two thousand one hundred persons. These immigrants had with them when passing Fort Laramie twenty-three thousand horses, eight thousand mules, three thousand six hundred oxen, seven thousand cows and nine thousand wagons.

Besides those coming by the northern route, that is by the South Pass and the Humboldt river, at least ten thousand found their way to the land of gold by the old Spanish trail, by the Gila route and by Texas, Coahuila and Chihuahua into Arizona, and thence across the Colorado desert to Los Angeles, and from there by the coast route or the San Joaquin valley to the mines.

The Pacific Mail Steamship Company had been organized before the discovery of gold in California. March 3, 1847, an act of Congress was passed authorizing the secretary of the navy to advertise for bids to carry the United States mails by one line of steamers between New York and Chagres, and by another line between Panama and Astoria, Ore. On the Atlantic side the contract called for five ships of one thousand five hundred tons burden, on the Pacific side two of one thousand tons each, and one of six hundred tons. These were deemed sufficient for the trade and travel between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts of the United States. The Pacific Mail Steamship Company was incorporated April 12, 1848, with a capital stock of \$500,000. October 6, 1848, the *California*, the first steamer for the Pacific, sailed from New York, and was followed in the two succeeding months by the *Oregon* and the *Panama*. The *California* sailed before the news of the gold discovery had reached New York, and she had taken no passengers. When she arrived at Panama, January 30, 1849, she encountered a rush of fifteen hundred gold hunters, clamorous for a passage. These had reached Chagres on sailing vessels, and ascended the

Chagres river in bongos or dugouts to Corganona, and from thence by land to Panama. The *California* had accommodations for only one hundred, but four hundred managed to find some place to stow themselves away. The price of tickets rose to a fabulous sum, as high as \$1,000 having been paid for a steerage passage. The *California* entered the bay of San Francisco February 28, 1849, and was greeted by the boom of cannon and the cheers of thousands of people lining the shores of the bay. The other two steamers arrived on time, and the Pacific Mail Steamship Company became the predominant factor in California travel for twenty years, or up to the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869. The charges for fare on these steamers in the early '50s were prohibitory to men of small means. From New York to Chagres in the saloon the fare was \$150, in the cabin \$120. From Panama to San Francisco in the saloon, \$250; cabin, \$200. Add to these the expense of crossing the isthmus, and the argonaut was out a goodly sum when he reached the land of the golden fleece, indeed, he was often fleeced of his last dollar before he entered the Golden Gate.

The first effect of the gold discovery on San Francisco, as we have seen, was to depopulate it, and of necessity suspend all building operations. In less than three months the reaction began, and the city experienced one of the most magical booms in history. Real estate doubled in some instances in twenty-four hours. The *Californian* of September 3, 1848, says: "The vacant lot on the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets was offered the day previous for \$5,000 and next day sold readily for \$10,000." Lumber went up in value until it was sold at a dollar per square foot. Wages kept pace with the general advance. Sixteen dollars a day was mechanic's wages, and the labor market was not overstocked even at these high rates. With the approach of winter, the gold seekers came flocking back to the city to find shelter and to spend their suddenly acquired wealth. The latter was easily accomplished, but the former was more difficult. Any kind of a shelter that would keep out the rain was utilized for a dwelling. Rows of tents that circled around the business por-

tion, shanties patched together from pieces of packing boxes and sheds thatched with brush from the chaparral-covered hills constituted the principal dwellings at that time of the future metropolis of California. The yield of the mines for 1848 has been estimated at ten million dollars. This was the result of only a few months' labor of not to exceed at any time ten thousand men. The rush of miners did not reach the mines until July, and mining operations were mainly suspended by the middle of October.

New discoveries had followed in quick succession Marshall's find at Coloma until by the close of 1848 gold placers had been located on all the principal tributaries of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers. Some of the richest yields were obtained from what was known as "Dry Diggins." These were dry ravines from which pay dirt had to be packed to water for washing or the gold separated by dry washing, tossing the earth into the air until it was blown away by the wind, the gold, on account of its weight, remaining in the pan.

A correspondent of the *Californian*, writing August 15, 1848, from what he designates as "Dry Diggins," gives this account of the richness of that gold field: "At the lower mines (Mormon Island) the miners count the success of the day in dollars; at the upper mines near the mill (Coloma), in ounces, and here in pounds. The only instrument used at first was a butcher knife, and the demand for that article was so great that \$40 has been refused for one.

"The earth is taken out of the ravines which make out of the mountains and is carried in wagons or packed on horses from one to three miles to water and washed. Four hundred dollars is the average to the cart load. In one instance five loads yielded \$16,000. Instances are known here where men have carried the earth on their backs and collected from \$800 to \$1,500 a day."

The rapidity with which the country was explored by prospectors was truly remarkable. The editor of the *Californian*, who had suspended the publication of his paper on May 29 to visit the mines, returned and resumed it on July 15 (1848). In an editorial in that issue he gives his observations: "The country from the Ajuba (Yuba) to the San Joaquin rivers, a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, and from the base toward the summit of the mountains as far as Snow Hill, about seventy miles, has been explored, and gold found in every part. There are probably three thousand men, including Indians, engaged in collecting gold. The amount collected by each man who works ranges from \$10 to \$350 per day. The publisher of this paper, while on a tour alone to the mining district, collected, with the aid of a shovel, pick and pan, from \$44 to \$128 a day, averaging about \$100. The largest piece of gold known to be found weighed four pounds." Among other remarkable yields the *Californian* reports these: "One man dug \$12,000 in six days, and three others obtained thirty-six pounds of pure metal in one day."

CHAPTER XXIV.

MAKING A STATE.

COL. R. B. MASON, who had been the military governor of California since the departure of General Kearny in May, 1847, had grown weary of his task. He had been in the military service of his country thirty years and wished to be relieved. His request was granted, and on the 12th of April, 1849, Brevet Brigadier General Bennett Riley,

his successor, arrived at Monterey and the next day entered upon his duties as civil governor. Gen. Persifer F. Smith, who had been appointed commander of the Pacific division of the United States army, arrived at San Francisco February 26, 1849, and relieved Colonel Mason of his military command. A brigade of troops six hundred and fifty strong had been sent to

California for military service on the border and to maintain order. Most of these promptly deserted as soon as an opportunity offered and found their way to the mines.

Colonel Mason, who under the most trying circumstances had faithfully served his government and administered justice to the people of California, took his departure May 1, 1849. The same year he died at St. Louis of cholera.

A year had passed since the treaty of peace with Mexico had been signed, which made California United States territory, but Congress had done nothing toward giving it a government. The anomalous condition existed of citizens of the United States, living in the United States, being governed by Mexican laws administered by a mixed constituency of Mexican-born and American-born officials. The pro-slavery element in Congress was determined to foist the curse of human slavery on a portion of the territory acquired from Mexico, but the discovery of gold and the consequent rush of freemen to the territory had disarranged the plans of the slave-holding faction in Congress, and as a consequence all legislation was at a standstill.

The people were becoming restive at the long delay. The Americanized Mexican laws and forms of government were unpopular and it was humiliating to the conqueror to be governed by the laws of the people conquered. The question of calling a convention to form a provisional government was agitated by the newspapers and met a hearty response from the people. Meetings were held at San José, December 11, 1848; at San Francisco, December 21, and at Sacramento, January 6, 1849, to consider the question of establishing a provisional government. It was recommended by the San José meeting that a convention be held at that place on the second Monday of January. The San Francisco convention recommended the 5th of March; this the Monterey committee considered too early as it would take the delegates from below fifteen days to reach the pueblo of San José. There was no regular mail and the roads in February (when the delegates would have to start) were impassable. The committee recommended May 1 as the earliest

date for the meeting to consider the question of calling of a convention. Sonoma, without waiting, took the initiative and elected ten delegates to a provisional government convention. There was no unanimity in regard to the time of meeting or as to what could be done if the convention met. It was finally agreed to postpone the time of meeting to the first Monday of August, when, if Congress had done nothing towards giving California some form of government better than that existing, the convention should meet and organize a provisional government.

The local government of San Francisco had become so entangled and mixed up by various councils that it was doubtful whether it had any legal legislative body. When the term of the first council, which had been authorized by Colonel Mason in 1848, was about to expire an election was held December 27, to choose their successors. Seven new councilmen were chosen. The old council declared the election fraudulent and ordered a new one. An election was held, notwithstanding the protest of a number of the best citizens, and another council chosen. So the city was blessed or cursed with three separate and distinct councils. The old council voted itself out of existence and then there were but two, but that was one too many. Then the people, disgusted with the condition of affairs, called a public meeting, at which it was decided to elect a legislative assembly of fifteen members, who should be empowered to make the necessary laws for the government of the city. An election was held on the 21st of February, 1849, and a legislative assembly and justices elected. Then Alcalde Levenworth refused to turn over the city records to the Chief Magistrate-elect Norton. On the 22d of March the legislative assembly abolished the office of alcalde, but Levenworth still held on to the records. He was finally compelled by public opinion and a writ of replevin to surrender the official records to Judge Norton. The confusion constantly arising from the attempt to carry on a government that was semi-military and semi-Mexican induced Governor Riley to order an election to be held August 1st, to elect delegates to a convention to meet in Monterey September 1st.

1849, to form a state constitution or territorial organization to be ratified by the people and submitted to Congress for its approval. Judges, prefects and alcaldes were to be elected at the same time in the principal municipal districts. The constitutional convention was to consist of thirty-seven delegates, apportioned as follows: San Diego two, Los Angeles four, Santa Barbara two, San Luis Obispo two, Monterey five, San José five, San Francisco five, Sonoma four, Sacramento four, and San Joaquin four. Instead of thirty-seven delegates as provided for in the call, forty-eight were elected and seated.

The convention met September 1, 1849, at Monterey in Colton Hall. This was a stone building erected by Alcalde Walter Colton for a town hall and school house. The money to build it was derived partly from fines and partly from subscriptions, the prisoners doing the greater part of the work. It was the most commodious public building at that time in the territory.

Of the forty-eight delegates elected twenty-two were natives of the northern states; fifteen of the slave states; four were of foreign birth, and seven were native Californians. Several of the latter neither spoke nor understood the English language and William E. P. Hartnell was appointed interpreter. Dr. Robert Semple of Bear Flag fame was elected president, William G. Marcy and J. Ross Browne reporters.

Early in the session the slavery question was disposed of by the adoption of a section declaring that neither slavery or involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this state. The question of fixing the boundaries of the future state excited the most discussion. The pro-slavery faction was led by William M. Gwin, who had a few months before migrated from Mississippi to California with the avowed purpose of representing the new state in the United States senate. The scheme of Gwin and his southern associates was to make the Rocky mountains the eastern boundary. This would create a state with an area of about four hundred thousand square miles. They reasoned that when the admission of the state came before congress the southern members would oppose the admission

of so large an area under a free state constitution and that ultimately a compromise might be effected. California would be split in two from east to west, the old dividing line, the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, would be established and Southern California come into the Union as a slave state. There were at that time fifteen free and fifteen slave states. If two states, one free and one slave, could be made out of California, the equilibrium between the opposing factions would be maintained. The Rocky mountain boundary was at one time during the session adopted, but in the closing days of the session the free state men discovered Gwin's scheme and it was defeated. The present boundaries were established by a majority of two.

A committee had been appointed to receive propositions and designs for a state seal. Only one design was offered. It was presented by Caleb Lyon of Lyondale, as he usually signed his name, but was drawn by Major Robert S. Garnett, an army officer. It contained a figure of Minerva in the foreground, a grizzly bear feeding on a bunch of grapes; a miner with an uplifted pick; a gold rocker and pan; a view of the Golden Gate with ships riding at anchor in the Bay of San Francisco; the peaks of the Sierra Nevadas in the distance; a sheaf of wheat; thirty-one stars and above all the word "Eureka" (I have found it), which might apply either to the miner or the bear. The design seems to have been an attempt to advertise the resources of the state. General Vallejo wanted the bear taken out of the design, or if allowed to remain, that he be made fast by a lasso in the hands of a vaquero. This amendment was rejected, as was also one submitted by O. M. Wozencraft to strike out the figures of the gold digger and the bear and introduce instead bales of merchandise and bags of gold. The original design was adopted with the addition of the words, "The Great Seal of the State of California." The convention voted to give Lyon \$1,000 as full compensation for engraving the seal and furnishing the press and all appendages.

Garnett, the designer of the seal, was a Virginian by birth. He graduated from West Point in 1841, served through the Mexican war and through several of the Indian wars on the

Pacific coast. At the breaking out of the rebellion in 1861 he joined the Confederates and was made a brigadier general. He was killed at the battle of Carrick's Ford July 15, 1861.

The constitution was completed on the 11th of October and an election was called by Governor Riley to be held on the 13th of November to vote upon the adoption of the constitution and to elect state officers, a legislature and members of congress.

At the election Peter H. Burnett, recently from Oregon territory, who had been quite active in urging the organization of a state government, was chosen governor; John McDougall, lieutenant governor, and George W. Wright and Edward Gilbert members of congress. San José had been designated by the constitutional convention the capital of the state pro tem.

The people of San José had pledged themselves to provide a suitable building for the meeting of the legislature in hopes that their town might be made the permanent capital. They were unable to complete the building designed for a state capital in time for the meeting. The uncomfortable quarters furnished created a great deal of dissatisfaction. The legislature consisted of sixteen senators and thirty-six assemblymen. There being no county organization, the members were elected by districts. The representation was not equally distributed; San Joaquin district had more senators than San Francisco. The senate and assembly were organized on the 17th of December. E. K. Chamberlain of San Diego was elected president pro tem. of the senate and Thomas J. White of Sacramento speaker of the assembly. The governor and lieutenant-governor were sworn in on the 20th. The state government being organized the legislature proceeded to the election of United States senators. The candidates were T. Butler King, John C. Fremont, William M. Gwin, Thomas J. Henly, John W. Geary, Robert Semple and H. W. Halleck. Fremont received twenty-nine out of forty-six votes on the first ballot and was declared elected. Of the aspirants, T. Butler King and William M. Gwin represented the

ultra pro-slavery element. King was a cross-roads politician from down in Georgia, who had been sent to the coast as a confidential agent of the government. The officers of the army and navy were enjoined to "in all matters aid and assist him in carrying out the views of the government and be guided by his advice and council in the conduct of all proper measures within the scope of those instructions." He made a tour of the mines, accompanied by General Smith and his staff; Commodore Ap Catesby Jones and staff and a cavalry escort under Lieutenant Stoneman. He wore a black stovepipe hat and a dress coat. He made himself the laughing stock of the miners and by traveling in the heat of the day contracted a fever that very nearly terminated his existence. He had been active so far as his influence went in trying to bring California into the Union with the hope of representing it in the senate. Gwin had come a few months before from Mississippi with the same object in view. Although the free state men were in the majority in the legislature they recognized the fact that to elect two senators opposed to the extension of slavery would result in arraying the pro-slavery faction in congress against the admission of the state into the Union. Of the two representatives of the south, Gwin was the least objectionable and on the second ballot he was elected. On the 21st Governor Burnett delivered his message. It was a wordy document, but not marked by any very brilliant ideas or valuable suggestions. Burnett was a southerner from Missouri. He was hobbied on the subject of the exclusion of free negroes. The African, free to earn his own living unrestrained by a master, was, in his opinion, a menace to the perpetuity of the commonwealth.

On the 22d the legislature elected the remaining state officers, viz.: Richard Roman, treasurer; John I. Houston, controller; E. J. C. Kewen, attorney general; Charles J. Whiting, surveyor-general; S. C. Hastings, chief justice; Henry Lyons and Nathaniel Bennett, associate justices. The legislature continued in session until April 22, 1850. Although it was nicknamed the "Legislature of a thousand drinks," it did a vast amount of work and did most of it well. It was not made up of hard

drinkers. The majority of its members were above the average legislator in intelligence, temperance and patriotism. The members were not there for pay or for political preferment. They were there for the good of their adopted state and labored conscientiously for its benefit. The opprobrious nickname is said to have originated thus: A roystering individual by the name of Green had been elected to the senate from Sacramento as a joke. He regarded the whole proceedings as a huge joke. He kept a supply of liquors on hand at his quarters and when the legislature adjourned he was in the habit of calling: "Come, boys, let us take a thousand drinks."

The state had set up housekeeping without a cent on hand to defray expenses. There was not a quire of paper, a pen, nor an inkstand belonging to the state and no money to buy supplies. After wrestling with the financial problem some time an act authorizing a loan of \$200,000 for current expenses was passed. Later on in the session another act was passed authorizing the bonding of the state for \$300,000 with interest at the rate of three per cent a month. The legislature divided the state into twenty-seven counties, created nine judicial districts, passed laws for the collection of revenue, taxing all real and personal property and imposing a poll tax of \$5 on all male inhabitants over twenty-one and under fifty years of age.

California was a self-constituted state. It had organized a state government and put it into successful operation without the sanction of congress. Officials, state, county and town, had been elected and had sworn to support the constitution of the state of California and yet there was really no state of California. It had not been admitted into the Union. It was only a state de facto and it continued in that condition nine months before it became a state de jure.

When the question of admitting California into the Union came before congress it evoked a bitter controversy. The senate was equally divided, thirty senators from the slave states and the same number from the free. There were among the southern senators some broad minded and patriotic men, willing to do what was right, but they were handicapped by an

ultra pro-slavery faction, extremists, who would willingly sacrifice the Union if by that they could extend and perpetuate that sum of all villainies, human slavery. This faction in the long controversy resorted to every known parliamentary device to prevent the admission of California under a free state constitution. To admit two senators from a free state would destroy the balance of power. That gone, it could never be regained by the south. The north was increasing in power and population, while the south, under the blighting influence of slavery, was retrograding.

Henry Clay, the man of compromises, undertook to bridge over the difficulty by a set of resolutions known as the Omnibus bill. These were largely concessions to the slave holding faction for the loss of the territory acquired by the Mexican war. Among others was this, that provision should be made by law for the restitution of fugitive slaves in any state or territory of the Union. This afterward was embodied into what was known as the fugitive slave law and did more perhaps than any other cause to destroy the south's beloved institution.

These resolutions were debated through many months and were so amended and changed that their author could scarcely recognize them. Most of them were adopted in some form and effected a temporary compromise.

On August 13th the bill for the admission of California finally came to a vote. It passed the senate, thirty-four ayes to eighteen noes. Even then the opposition did not cease. Ten of the southern pro-slavery extremists, led by Jefferson Davis, joined in a protest against the action of the majority, the language of which was an insult to the senate and treason to the government. In the house the bill passed by a vote of one hundred and fifty ayes to fifty-six ultra southern noes. It was approved and signed by President Fillmore September 9, 1850. On the 11th of September the California senators and congressmen presented themselves to be sworn in. The slave holding faction in the senate, headed by Jefferson Davis, who had been one of the most bitter opponents to the admission, objected. But their protest availed them nothing. Their ascendancy was gone. We

might sympathize with them had their fight been made for a noble principle, but it was not. From that day on until the attempt was made in 1861 these men schemed to destroy the Union. The admission of California as a free state was the beginning of the movement to destroy the Union of States.

The news of the admission of California reached San Francisco on the morning of October 18, by the mail steamer Oregon, nearly six weeks after congress had admitted it. Business was at once suspended, the courts were adjourned and the people went wild with excitement. Messengers, mounted on fleet steeds, spread the news throughout the state. Newspapers from the states containing an account of the proceedings of congress at the time of admission sold for \$5 each. It was decided to hold a formal celebration of the event on the 29th and preparations were begun for a grand demonstration. Neither labor nor money was spared to make the procession a success. The parade was cosmopolitan in the fullest meaning of that word. There were people in it from almost every nation under the sun. The Chinese made quite an imposing spectacle in the parade. Dressed in rich native costumes, each carrying a gaudily painted fan, they marched under command of their own marshals, Ah He and Ah Sing. At their head proudly marched a color bearer carrying a large blue silk banner, inscribed the "China boys." Following them came a triumphal car, in which was seated thirty boys in black trousers and white shirts, representing the thirty states. In the center of this group, seated on a raised platform, was a young girl robed in white with gold and silver gauze floating about her and supporting a breast plate, upon which was inscribed "California, the Union, it must and shall be preserved." The California pioneers carried a banner on which was represented a New Englander in the act of stepping ashore and facing a native Californian with lasso and serape. In the center the state seal and the inscription, "Far west, Eureka 1846, California pioneers, organized August, 1850." Army and navy officers, soldiers, sailors and marines, veterans of the Mexican war, municipal officers, the fire de-

partment, secret and benevolent societies and associations, with a company of mounted native Californians bearing a banner with thirty-one stars on a blue satin ground with the inscription in gold letters, California, E Pluribus Unum, all these various organizations and orders with their marshals and aids mounted on gaily caparisoned steeds and decked out with their gold and silver trimmed scarfs, made an imposing display that has seldom if ever been equaled since in the metropolis of California.

At the plaza a flag of thirty-one stars was raised to the mast head. An oration was delivered by Judge Nathaniel Bennett and Mrs. Wills recited an original ode of her own composition. The rejoicing over, the people settled down to business. Their unprecedented action in organizing a state government and putting it into operation without the sanction of congress had been approved and legalized by that body.

Like the Goddess Minerva, represented on its great seal, who sprung full grown from the brain of Jupiter, California was born a fully matured state. She passed through no territorial probation. No state had such a phenomenal growth in its infancy. No state before or since has met with such bitter opposition when it sought admission into the family of states. Never before was there such a medley of nationalities—Yankees, Mexicans, English, Germans, French, Spaniards, Peruvians, Polynesians, Mongolians—organized into a state and made a part of the body politic *nolens volens*.

The constitutional convention of 1849 did not definitely fix the state capital. San José was designated as the place of meeting for the legislature and the organization of the state government. San José had offered to donate a square of thirty-two acres, valued at \$60,000, for capitol grounds and provide a suitable building for the legislature and state officers. The offer was accepted, but when the legislature met there December 15, 1849, the building was unfinished and for a time the meetings of the legislature were held at a private residence. There was a great deal of complaining and dissatisfaction. The first capitol of the state was a two-story adobe building 40x60, which had been intended for a hotel. It was destroyed by fire April 29.

1853. The accommodations at San José were so unsatisfactory that the legislature decided to locate the capital at some other point. Propositions were received from Monterey, from Reed of San José, from Stevenson & Parker of New York of the Pacific and from Gen. M. G. Vallejo. Vallejo's proposition was accepted. He offered to donate one hundred and fifty-six acres of land in a new town that he proposed to lay out on the straits of Carquinez (now Vallejo) for a capital site and within two years to give \$370,000 in money for the erection of public buildings. He asked that his proposition be submitted to a vote of the people at the next general election. His proposition was accepted by the legislature. At the general election, October 7, 1850, Vallejo received seventy-four hundred and seventy-seven votes; San José twelve hundred and ninety-two, and Monterey three hundred and ninety-nine. The second legislature convened at San José. General Vallejo exerted himself to have the change made in accordance with the previous proposition. The citizens of San José made an effort to retain the capital, but a bill was passed making Vallejo the permanent seat of government after the close of the session, provided General Vallejo should give bonds to carry out his proposals. In June Governor McDougal caused the governmental archives to be removed from San José to Vallejo.

When the members of the third legislature met at the new capital January 2, 1852, they found a large unfurnished and partly unfinished wooden building for their reception. Hotel accommodations could not be obtained and there was even a scarcity of food to feed the hungry lawmakers. Sacramento offered its new court house and on the 16th of January the legislature convened in that city. The great flood of

March, 1852, inundated the city and the lawmakers were forced to reach the halls of legislation in boats and again there was dissatisfaction. Then Benicia came to the front with an offer of her new city hall, which was above high water mark. General Vallejo had become financially embarrassed and could not carry out his contract with the state, so it was annulled. The offer of Benicia was accepted and on May 18, 1853, that town was declared the permanent capital.

In the legislature of 1854 the capital question again became an issue. Offers were made by several aspiring cities, but Sacramento won with the proffer of her court house and a block of land between I and J, Ninth and Tenth streets. Then the question of the location of the capital got into the courts. The supreme court decided in favor of Sacramento. Before the legislature met again the court house that had been offered to the state burned down. A new and more commodious one was erected and rented to the state at \$12,000 a year. Oakland made an unsuccessful effort to obtain the capital. Finally a bill was passed authorizing the erection of a capitol building in Sacramento at a cost not to exceed \$500,000. Work was begun on the foundation in October, 1860. The great flood of 1861-62 inundated the city and ruined the foundations of the capitol. San Francisco made a vigorous effort to get the capital removed to that city, but was unsuccessful. Work was resumed on the building, the plans were changed, the edifice enlarged, and, finally, after many delays, it was ready for occupancy in December, 1869. From the original limit of half a million dollars its cost when completed had reached a million and a half. The amount expended on the building and grounds to date foots up \$2,600,000.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ARGONAUTS.

WHEN or by whom the name argonaut was first applied to the early California gold seekers I have not been able to ascertain. The earliest allusion to the similarity of Jason's voyage after the Golden Fleece and the miners' rush to the gold fields of California is found in a caricature published in the *London Punch* in 1849. On the shore of an island is a guide board bearing the inscription "California;" near it is a miner digging gold and presumably singing at his work. In a boat near the shore is a fat individual, a typical "Johnny Bull." He is struggling desperately with two individuals who are holding him back from leaping into the water, so fascinated is he by the song of the miner. Under the drawing are the words, "The Song of the Sirens."

If we include among the argonauts all who traveled by land or voyaged by sea in search of the golden fleece in the days of '49 we will have a motley mixture. The tales of the fabulous richness of the gold fields of California spread rapidly throughout the civilized world and drew to the territory all classes and conditions of men, the bad as well as the good, the indolent as well as the industrious, the vicious as well as the virtuous. They came from Europe, from South America and from Mexico. From Australia and Tasmania came the ex-convict and the ticket-of-leave man; from the isles of the sea came the Polynesian, and from Asia the Hindoo and the "Heathen Chinese."

The means of reaching the land of gold were as varied as the character of the people who came. Almost every form of vehicle was pressed into service on land. One individual, if not more, made the trip trundling his impedimenta in a wheelbarrow. Others started out in carriages, intent on making the journey in comfort and ease, but finished on foot, weary, worn and ragged. When the great rush came, old sailing vessels that had long been deemed unseaworthy

were fitted out for the voyage to California. It must have been the providence that protects fools which prevented these from going to the bottom of the ocean. With the desperate chances that the argonauts took on these old tubs, it is singular that there were so few shipwrecks and so little loss of life. Some of these were such slow sailers that it took them the greater part of a year to round Cape Horn and reach their destination. On one of these some passengers, exasperated at its slowness, landed near Cape St. Lucas and made the long journey up the peninsula of Lower California and on to San Francisco on foot, arriving there a month before their vessel. Another party undertook to make the voyage from Nicaragua in a whale boat and actually did accomplish seven hundred miles of it before they were picked up in the last extremities by a sailing vessel.

The Sierra Nevada region, in which gold was first found, comprised a strip about thirty miles wide and two hundred miles long from north to south in the basins of the Feather, Yuba, Bear, American, Cosumne, Mokolumne, Stanislaus, Tuolumne and Merced rivers, between the elevations of one thousand and five thousand feet. In all these streams miners washed gold in 1848. The placer mines on the Upper Sacramento and in the Shasta region were discovered and worked late in the fall of 1848. The Klammath mines were discovered later.

The southern mines, those on the San Joaquin, Fresno, Kern and San Gabriel rivers, were located between 1851 and 1855. Gold was found in some of the ravines and creeks of San Diego county. Practically the gold belt of California extends from the Mexican line to Oregon, but at some points it is rather thin. The first gold digging was done with butcher knives, the gold hunter scratching in the sand and crevices of the rock to find nuggets. Next the gold pan came into use and the miners became experts

in twirling the pan in a pool of water, so as to wash out the sand and gravel and leave the gold dust in the pan. Isaac Humphreys, who had mined gold in Georgia, was the first person to use a rocker or gold cradle in California. Although a very simple piece of machinery those who reached the mines early found it quite an expensive one. Dr. Brooks in his diary, under date of June 11, 1848, writes: "On Tuesday we set to work upon our cradle. We resolved upon the construction of two and for this purpose went down to the store in a body to see about the boards. We found timber extravagantly dear, being asked \$40 a hundred feet. The next question was as to whether we should hire a carpenter. We were told there was one or two in the diggings, who might be hired, though at a very extravagant rate. Accordingly Bradley and I proceeded to see one of these gentlemen, and found him washing away with a hollow log and a willow branch sieve. He offered to help us at the rate of \$35 a day, we finding provisions and tools, and could not be brought to charge less. We thought this by far too extravagant and left him, determined to undertake the work ourselves. After two days' work of seven men they produced two rough cradles and found that three men with a cradle or rocker could wash out as much gold in a day as six could with pans in the same time."

A rocker or gold cradle had some resemblance to a child's cradle with similar rockers and was rocked by means of a perpendicular handle fastened to the cradle box. The cradle box consisted of a wooden trough about twenty inches wide and forty inches long with sides four or five inches high. The lower end was left open. On the upper end sat the hopper, a box twenty inches square with sides four inches high and a bottom of sheet iron or zinc pierced with holes one-half inch in diameter. Where zinc or iron could not be obtained a sieve of willow rods was used. Under the hopper was an apron of canvas, which sloped down from the lower end of the hopper to the upper end of the cradle box. A wooden riffle bar an inch square was nailed across the bottom of the cradle box about its middle, and another at its lower end. Under the cradle box were nailed rockers, and near

the middle an upright handle by which motion was imparted. If water and pay dirt were convenient two men were sufficient to operate the machine. Seated on a stool or rock the operator rocked with one hand, while with a long handled dipper he dipped water from a pool and poured it on the sand and gravel in the hopper. When the sand and earth had been washed through the holes in the sieve the rocks were emptied and the hopper filled again from the buckets of pay dirt supplied by the other partner. The gold was caught on the canvas apron by the riffle bars, while the thin mud and sand were washed out of the machine by the water.

In the dry diggings a method of separating the gold from the earth was resorted to principally by Sonorans. The pay dirt was dug and dried in the sun, then pulverized by pounding into fine dust. With a batéa or bowl-shaped Indian basket filled with this dust, held in both hands, the Mexican skillfully tossed the earth in the air, allowing the wind to blow away the dust and catching the heavier particles and the gold in the basket, repeating the process until there was little left but the gold.

The Long Tom was a single sluice with a sieve and a box underneath at the end and riffle bars to stop the gold. The pay dirt was shoveled in at the upper end and a rapid current of water washed away the sand and earth, the gold falling into the receptacle below. Ground sluicing was resorted to where a current of water from a ditch could be directed against a bank of earth or hill with a sloping bedrock. The stream of water washing against the upper side of the bank caved it down and carried the loose earth through a string of sluices, depositing the gold in the riffle bars in the bottom of the sluices.

In the creeks and gulches where there was not much fall, sluice mining was commonly resorted to. A string of sluice boxes was laid, each fitting into the upper end of the one below, and in the lower ones riffle bars were placed to stop the gold. The sluice boxes were placed on trestles four feet from the ground and given an incline of five or six inches to the rod. The gravel from the bedrock up as far as there was any pay dirt was shoveled into the upper boxes and a rapid current of water flowing through the

boxes carried away the gravel and rocks, the gold remaining in the riffles. Quicksilver was placed between the riffles to catch the fine gold. The gold amalgamated with quicksilver was cleaned out of the boxes at the end of the day's work and separated from the quicksilver in a retort. These were the principal methods of mining used by the argonauts. The machinery and appliances were simple and inexpensive. Hydraulic mining came in later, when larger capital was required and the mines had fallen into the hands of corporations.

When the news spread throughout the states of the wonderful "finds" of gold in California, the crudest ideas prevailed in regard to how the precious metal was to be extracted from the earth. Gold mining was an almost unknown industry in the United States. Only in a few obscure districts of North Carolina and Georgia had gold been found, and but very few people outside of these districts had ever visited the mines. Not one in ten thousand of those who joined the rush to California in 1849 had ever seen a grain of virgin gold. The idea prevailed among the gold seekers that the gold being found in grains it could be winnowed from the sand and earth in which it was found like wheat is separated from chaff. Imbued with this idea Yankee ingenuity set to work to invent labor-saving machines that would accomplish the work quickly and enrich the miner proportionally. The ships that bore the argonauts from their native land carried out a variety of these gold machines, all guaranteed to wrest from the most secret recesses the auriferous deposits in nature's treasure vaults. These machines were of all varieties and patterns. They were made of copper, iron, zinc and brass. Some were operated by means of a crank, others had two cranks, while others were worked with a treadle. Some required that the operator should stand, others allowed the miner to sit in an arm chair and work in comfort.

Haskins, in his "Argonauts of California," describes one of these machines that was brought around the Horn in the ship he came on: "It was in the shape of a huge fanning mill, with sieves properly arranged for sorting

the gold ready for bottling. All chunks too large for the bottle would be consigned to the pork barrel." (The question of bringing home the gold in bottles or barrels had been seriously discussed and decided in favor of barrels because these could be rolled and thus save cost of transportation from the mines.)

"This immense machine which, during our passage, excited the envy and jealousy of all who had not the means and opportunity of securing a similar one required, of course, the services of a hired man to turn the crank, whilst the proprietor would be busily engaged in shoveling in pay dirt and pumping water; the greater portion of the time, however, being required, as was firmly believed, in corking the bottles and fitting the heads in the barrels. This machine was owned by a Mr. Allen of Cambridge, Mass., who had brought with him a colored servant to manage and control the crank portion of the invaluable institution.

"Upon landing we found lying on the sand and half buried in the mud hundreds of similar machines, bearing silent witness at once to the value of our gold saving machines without the necessity of a trial."

Nor was it the argonaut alone who came by sea that brought these machines. Some of these wonderful inventions were hauled across the plains in wagons, their owners often sacrificing the necessities of life to save the prized machine. And, when, after infinite toil and trouble, they had landed their prize in the mines, they were chagrined to find it the subject of jest and ridicule by those who had some experience in mining.

The gold rush came early in the history of California placer mining. The story of a rich strike would often depopulate a mining camp in a few hours. Even a bare rumor of rich diggings in some indefinite locality would send scores of miners tramping off on a wild goose chase into the mountains. Some of these rushes originated through fake stories circulated for sinister purpose; others were caused by exaggerated stories of real discoveries.

One of the most famous fakes of early days was the Gold Lake rush of 1850. This wonderful lake was supposed to be located about two

hundred miles northeast of Marysville, on the divide between the Feather and the Yuba rivers. The *Sacramento Transcript* of June 19, 1850, says: "We are informed by a gentleman from Marysville that it is currently reported there that the Indians upon this lake use gold for their commonest purposes; that they have a ready way of knocking out square blocks, which they use for seats and couches upon which to place their beds, which are simply bundles of wild oats, which grow so profusely in all sections of the state. According to report also they use for fishhooks crooked pieces of gold and kill their game with arrows made of the same material. They are reported to be thunderstruck at the movements of the whites and their eagerness to collect and hoard the materials of the very ground upon which they tread.

"A story is current that a man at Gold Lake saw a large piece of gold floating on the lake which he succeeded in getting ashore. So clear are the waters that another man saw a rock of gold on the bottom. After many efforts he succeeded in lassoing the rock. Three days afterward he was seen standing holding on to his rope."

The *Placer Times* of Marysville reports that the specimens brought into Marysville are of a value from \$1,500 down. Ten ounces is reported as no unusual yield to the pan. The first party of sixty which started out under guidance of one who had returned successful were assured that they would not get less than \$500 each per day. We were told that two hundred had left town with a full supply of provisions and four hundred mules. Mules and horses have doubled in value. Many places of business are closed. The diggings at the lake are probably the best ever discovered." The *Times* of June 19 says: "It is reported that up to last Thursday two thousand persons had taken up their journey. Many who were working good claims deserted them for the new discovery. Mules and horses were about impossible to obtain. Although the truth of the report rests on the authority of but two or three who have returned from Gold Lake, yet few are found who doubt the marvelous revelations. A party of Kanakas are said to have wintered

at Gold Lake, subsisting chiefly on the flesh of their animals. They are said to have taken out \$75,000 the first week. When a conviction takes such complete possession of a whole community, who are fully conversant with all the exaggerations that have had their day, it is scarcely prudent to utter even a qualified dissent from what is universally believed."

The denouement of the Gold Lake romance may be found in the *Transcript* of July 1, 1850. "The Gold Lake excitement, so much talked of and acted upon of late, has almost subsided. A crazy man comes in for a share of the responsibility. Another report is that they have found one of the pretended discoverers at Marysville and are about to lynch him. Indeed, we are told that a demonstration against the town is feared by many. People who have returned after traveling some one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles say that they left vast numbers of people roaming between the sources of the Yuba and the Feather rivers."

Scarcely had the deluded argonauts returned from a bootless search for the lake of gold when another rumored discovery of gold fields of fabulous richness sent them rushing off toward the sea coast. Now it was Gold Bluff that lured them away. On the northwest coast of California, near the mouth of the Klamath river, precipitous bluffs four hundred feet high mark the coast line of the ocean. A party of prospectors in the fall of 1850, who had been up in the Del Norte country, were making their way down to the little trading and trapping station of Trinidad to procure provisions. On reaching the bluffs, thirty miles above Trinidad, they were astonished to find stretching out before them a beach glittering with golden sands. They could not stop to gather gold; they were starving. So, scraping up a few handfuls of the glittering sands, they hastened on. In due time they reached San Francisco, where they exhibited their sand, which proved to be nearly half gold. The report of the wonderful find was spread by the newspapers and the excitement began. Companies were formed and claims located at long range. One company of nine locators sent an expert to examine their claims. He, by a careful mathematical calculation, as-

certained that the claim would yield forty-three million dollars to each partner. As there were fifteen miles of gold beach, the amount of gold in the sands was sufficient to demonetize the precious metal. A laudable desire to benefit the human race possessed some of the claim owners. They formed joint stock companies with shares at \$100 each. Gold Bluff mining stock went off like the proverbial hot cakes and prospectors went off as rapidly. Within two days after the expert's wonderful story was spread abroad nine ships were fitted out for Gold Bluff. The first to arrive off the Bluff was the vessel containing a party of the original discoverers. In attempting to land in a boat, the boat was upset in the breakers and five of the six occupants were drowned, Bertram, the leader of the party making the discovery, alone escaping. The vessel put back to Trinidad and the gold hunters made their way up the coast to the Bluff. But alas for their golden dreams! Where they had hoped to gather gold by the ship load no gold was found. Old ocean had gathered it back into his treasure vaults.

The bubble burst as suddenly as it had expanded. And yet there was gold at Gold Bluff and there is gold there yet. If the ocean could be drained or coffer dammed for two hundred miles along the gold coast of northern California and Oregon, all the wealth of Alaska would be but the panning out of a prospect hole compared to the richness that lies hidden in the sands of Gold Beach. For years after the bursting of the Gold Bluff bubble, when the tide was low, the sands along Gold Beach were mined with profit.

The Kern river excitement in the spring of 1855 surpassed everything that had preceded it. Seven years of mining had skimmed the richness of the placers. The northern and central gold fields of California had been thoroughly prospected. The miners who had been accustomed to the rich strikes of early years could not content themselves with moderate returns. They were on the qui vive for a rich strike and ready for a rush upon the first report of one. The first discoveries on the Kern river were made in the summer of 1854, but no excitement followed immediately. During the fall and win-

ter rumors were set afloat of rich strikes on the head waters of that stream. The stories grew as they traveled. One that had a wide circulation and was readily accepted ran about as follows: "A Mexican doctor had appeared in Mariposa loaded down with gold nuggets. He reported that he and four companions had found a region paved with gold. The very hills were yellow with outcroppings. While gloating over their wealth and loading it into sacks the Indians attacked them and killed his four companions. He escaped with one sack of gold. He proposed to organize a company large enough to exterminate the Indians and then bring out the gold on pack mules." This as well as other stories as improbable were spread broadcast throughout the state. Many of the reports of wonderful strikes were purposely magnified by merchants and dealers in mining supplies who were overstocked with unsalable goods; and by transportation companies with whom business was slack. Their purpose was accomplished and the rush was on. It began in January, 1855. Every steamer down the coast to Los Angeles was loaded to the guards with adventurers for the mines. The sleepy old metropolis of the cow counties waked up to find itself suddenly transformed into a bustling mining camp. The *Southern Californian* of February 8, 1855, thus describes the situation: "The road from our valley is literally thronged with people on their way to the mines. Hundreds of people have been leaving not only the city, but every portion of the county. Every description of vehicle and animal has been brought into requisition to take the exultant seekers after wealth to the goal of their hopes. Immense ten-mule wagons strung out one after another; long trains of pack mules and men mounted and on foot, with picks and shovels; boarding-house keepers with their tents; merchants with their stocks of miners' necessaries and gamblers with their 'papers' are constantly leaving for the Kern river mines. The wildest stories are afloat. If the mines turn out \$10 a day to the man everybody ought to be satisfied. The opening of these mines has been a Godsend to all of us, as the business of the entire country was on the point of taking to a

tree. The great scarcity of money is seen in the present exorbitant rates of interest which it commands; 8, 10 and even 15 per cent a month is freely paid and the supply even at these rates is too meager to meet the demands." As the rush increased our editor grows more jubilant. In his issue of March 7, he throws out these headlines: "Stop the Press! Glorious News from Kern River! Bring Out the Big Gun! There are a thousand gulches rich with gold and room for ten thousand miners. Miners averaged \$50 a day. One man with his own hands took out \$160 in a day. Five men in ten days took out \$4,500."

Another stream of miners and adventurers was pouring into the mines by way of the San Joaquin valley. From Stockton to the Kern river, a distance of three hundred miles, the road was crowded with men on foot, on stages, on horseback and on every form of conveyance that would take them to the new El Dorado. In four months five or six thousand men had found their way into the Kern river basin. There was gold there, but not enough to go around. A few struck it rich, the many struck nothing but "hard luck" and the rush out began. Those who had ridden into the valley footed it out, and those who had footed it in on sole leather footed it out on their natural soles.

After the wild frenzy of Kern river, the press of the state congratulated the public with the assurance that the era of wild rushes was past—"what had been lost in money had been gained in experience." As if prospectors ever profited by experience! Scarcely had the victims of Kern river resumed work in the old creeks and cañons they had deserted to join in the rush when a rumor came, faint at first, but gathering strength at each repetition, that rich diggings had been struck in the far north. This time it is Frazer river. True, Frazer river is in the British possessions, but what of that? There are enough miners in California to seize the country and hold it until the cream of the mines has been skimmed. Rumors of the richness of mines increased with every arrival of a steamer from the north. Captains, pursers, mates, cooks and waiters all confirmed the stories of rich strikes. Doubters asserted that the

dust and nuggets exhibited had made the trip from San Francisco to Victoria and back. But they were silenced by the assurance that the transportation company was preparing to double the number of its vessels on that route. Commodore Wright was too smart to run his steamers on fake reports, and thus the very thing that should have caused suspicion was used to confirm the truth of the rumors. The doubters doubted no more, but packed their outfits for Frazer river. California was played out. Where could an honest miner pan out \$100 a day in California now? He could do it every day in Frazer; the papers said so. The first notice of the mines was published in March, 1858. The rush began the latter part of April and in four months thirty thousand men, one-sixth of the voting population of the state, had rushed to the mines.

The effect of the craze was disastrous to business in California. Farms were abandoned and crops lost for want of hands to harvest them. Rich claims in old diggings were sold for a trifle of their value. Lots on Montgomery street that a few years later were worth \$1,500 a front foot were sold for \$100. Real estate in the interior towns was sacrificed at 50 to 75 per cent less than it was worth before the rush began. But a halt was called in the mad rush. The returns were not coming in satisfactorily. By the middle of July less than \$100,000 in dust had reached San Francisco, only about \$3 for each man who had gone to the diggings. There was gold there and plenty of it, so those interested in keeping up the excitement said: "The Frazer river is high; wait till it subsides." But it did not subside, and it has not subsided since. If the Frazer did not subside the excitement did, and that suddenly. Those who had money enough or could borrow from their friends got away at once. Those who had none hung around Victoria and New Westminster until they were shipped back at the government's expense. The Frazer river craze was the last of the mad, unreasoning "gold rushes." The Washoe excitement of '59 and the "Ho! for Idaho of 1863-64" had some of the characteristics of the early gold rushes, but they soon settled down to steady business and the yield from these fairly

recompensé those who were frugal and industrious.

Never before perhaps among civilized people was there witnessed such a universal leveling as occurred in the first years of the mining excitement in California. "As the labor required was physical instead of mental, the usual superiority of head workers over hand workers disappeared entirely. Men who had been governors and legislators and judges in the old states worked by the side of outlaws and convicts; scholars and students by the side of men who could not read or write; those who had been masters by the side of those who had been slaves; old social distinctions were obliterated; everybody did business on his own account, and not one man in ten was the employe and much less the servant of another. Social distinctions appeared to be entirely obliterated and no man was considered inferior to another. The hard-fisted, unshaven and patch-covered miner was on terms of perfect equality with the well-dressed lawyer, surgeon or merchant; and in general conferences, discussions and even con-

versations the most weather-beaten and strongly marked face, or, in other words, the man who had seen and experienced the most, notwithstanding his wild and tattered attire, was listened to with more attention and respectful consideration than the man of polished speech and striking antithesis. One reason of this was that in those days the roughest-looking man not infrequently knew more than anybody else of what was wanted to be known, and the raggedest man not infrequently was the most influential and sometimes the richest man in the locality."*

This independent spirit was characteristic of the men of '48 and '49. Then nearly everybody was honest and theft was almost unknown. With the advent of the criminal element in 1850 and later there came a change. Before that a pan of gold dust could be left in an open tent unguarded, but with the coming of the Sydney ducks from Australia and men of their class it became necessary to guard property with sedulous care.

* Hittell's History of California, Vol. III.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SAN FRANCISCO.

IN 1835 Capt. William A. Richardson built the first house on the Yerba Buena cove. It was a shanty of rough board, which he replaced a year later with an adobe building. He was granted a lot in 1836 and his building stood near what is now the corner of Dupont and Clay streets. Richardson had settled at Sausalito in 1822. He was an Englishman by birth and was one of the first foreigners to settle in California.

Jacob P. Leese, an American, in partnership with Spear & Hinckley, obtained a lot in 1836 and built a house and store near that of Captain Richardson. There is a tradition that Mr. Leese began his store building on the first of July and finished it at ten o'clock on the morning of July 4, and for a house warming celebrated the glorious Fourth in a style that astonished the natives up and down the coast. The house was sixty feet long and twenty-five broad, and, if

completed in three days, Mr. Leese certainly deserves the credit of having eclipsed some of the remarkable feats in house building that were performed after the great fires of San Francisco in the early '50s. Mr. Leese and his neighbor, Captain Richardson, invited all the high-toned Spanish families for a hundred miles around to the celebration. The Mexican and American flags floated over the building and two six-pounders fired salutes. At five o'clock the guests sat down to a sumptuous dinner which lasted, toasts and all, till 10 o'clock, and then came dancing; and, as Mr. Leese remarks in his diary: "Our Fourth ended on the evening of the fifth." Mr. Leese was an energetic person. He built a house in three days, gave a Fourth of July celebration that lasted two days, and inside of a week had a store opened and was doing a thriving business with his late guests. He fell in love with the same energy that he did busi-

ness. Among the guests at his 4th of July celebration were the Vallejos, the nabobs of Sonoma. Leese courted one of the girls and in a few months after the celebration married her. Their daughter, Rosalie Leese, was the first child born in Yerba Buena. Such was the beginning of San Francisco.

This settlement was on a crescent-shaped cove that lay between Clark's Point and the Rincon. The locality was known as Yerba Buena (good herb), a species of mint to which the native Californians attributed many medicinal virtues. The peninsula still bore the name that had been applied to it when the mission and presidio were founded, San Francisco. Yerba Buena was a local appellation and applied only to the little hamlet that had grown up on the cove. This settlement, although under the Mexican government, was not a Mexican town. The foreign element, the American predominating, had always been in the ascendency. At the time of the conquest, among its two hundred inhabitants, were representatives of almost every civilized nation on the globe. It was a cosmopolitan town. In a very short time after the conquest it began to take on a new growth and was recognized as the coming metropolis of California. The curving beach of the cove at one point (Jackson street) crossed the present line of Montgomery street.

Richardson and Leese had built their stores and warehouses back from the beach because of a Mexican law that prohibited the building of a house on the beach where no custom house existed. All houses had to be built back a certain number of varas from high-water mark. This regulation was made to prevent smuggling. Between the shore line of the cove and anchorage there was a long stretch of shallow water. This made transportation of goods from ship to shore very inconvenient and expensive. With the advent of the Americans and the inauguration of a more progressive era it became necessary for the convenient landing of ships and for the discharging and receiving of their cargoes that the beach front of the town should be improved by building wharves and docks. The difficulty was to find the means to do this. The general government of the United States could

not undertake it. The war with Mexico was still in progress. The only available way was to sell off beach lots to private parties, but who was to give title was the question. Edwin Bryant, February 22, 1847, had succeeded Washington Bartlett as alcalde. Bryant was a progressive man, and, recognizing the necessity of improvement in the shipping facilities of the town, he urged General Kearny, the acting governor, to relinquish, on the part of the general government, its claim to the beach lands in front of the town in favor of the municipality under certain conditions. General Kearny really had no authority to relinquish the claim of the general government to the land, for the simple reason that the general government had not perfected a claim. The country was held as conquered territory. Mexico had made no concession of the land by treaty. It was not certain that California would be ceded to the United States. Under Mexican law the governor of the territory, under certain conditions, had the right to make grants, and General Kearny, assuming the power given a Mexican governor, issued the following decree: "I, Brig.-Gen. S. W. Kearny, Governor of California, by virtue of authority in me vested by the President of the United States of America, do hereby grant, convey, and release unto the Town of San Francisco, the people or corporate authorities thereof, all the right, title and interest of the Government of the United States and of the Territory of California in and to the Beach and Water Lots on the East front of said Town of San Francisco included between the points known as the Rincon and Fort Montgomery, excepting such lots as may be selected for the use of the United States Government by the senior officers of the army and navy now there; provided, the said ground hereby ceded shall be divided into lots and sold by public auction to the highest bidder, after three months' notice previously given; the proceeds of said sale to be for the benefit of the town of San Francisco. Given at Monterey, capital of California, this 10th day of March, 1847, and the seventy-first year of the independence of the United States."

S. W. KEARNY,
Brig.-Gen'l & Gov. of California.

In pursuance of this decree, Alcalde Bryant advertised in the *Californian* that the ground described in the decree, known as Water Lots, would be surveyed and divided into convenient building lots and sold to the highest bidder on the 29th of June (1847). He then proceeds in the advertisement to boom the town. "The site of the town of San Francisco is known by all navigators and mercantile men acquainted with the subject to be the most commanding commercial position on the entire western coast of the Pacific ocean, and the Town itself is no doubt destined to become the commercial emporium of the western side of the North American continent." The alcaldes' assertions must have seemed rather extravagant to the dwellers in the little burgh on the cove of Yerba Buena. But Bryant was a far-seeing man and proved himself in this instance to be a prophet.

It will be noticed that both General Kearny and Alcalde Bryant call the town San Francisco. Alcalde Bartlett, the predecessor in office of Alcalde Bryant, had changed its name just before he was recalled to his ship. He did not like the name Yerba Buena, so he summarily changed it. He issued a proclamation setting forth that hereafter the town should be known as San Francisco. Having proclaimed a change of name, he proceeded to give his reasons: Yerba Buena was a paltry cognomen for a certain kind of mint found on an island in the bay; it was a merely local name, unknown beyond the district, while San Francisco had long been familiar on the maps. "Therefore it is hereby ordained, etc." Bartlett builded better than he knew. It would have been a sad mistake for the city to have carried the "outlandish name which Americans would mangle in pronouncing," as the alcalde said.

The change was made in the latter part of January, 1847, but it was some time before the new name was generally adopted.

The *California Star*, Sam Brannan's paper, which had begun to shine January 9, 1847, in its issue of March 20, alluding to the change, says: "We acquiesce in it, though we prefer the old name. When the change was first attempted we viewed it as a mere assumption of authority, without law of precedent, and there-

fore we adhered to the old name—Yerba Buena."

"It was asserted by the late alcalde, Washington Bartlett, that the place was called San Francisco in some old Spanish paper which he professed to have in his possession; but how could we believe a man even about that which it is said 'there is nothing in it,' who had so often evinced a total disregard for his own honor and character and the honor of the country which gave him birth and the rights of his fellow citizens in the district?" Evidently the editor had a grievance and was anxious to get even with the alcalde. Bartlett demanded an investigation of some charges made against his administration. He was cleared of all blame. He deserves the thanks of all Californians in summarily suppressing Yerba Buena and preventing it from being fastened on the chief city of the state.

There was at that time (on paper) a city of Francisca. The city fathers of this budding metropolis were T. O. Larkin and Robert Semple. In a half-column advertisement in the *Californian* of April 20, 1847, and several subsequent issues, headed "Great Sale of City Lots," they set forth the many advantages and merits of Francisca. The streets are eighty feet wide, the alleys twenty feet wide, and the lots fifty yards front and forty yards back. The whole city comprises five square miles."

"Francisca is situated on the Straits of Carquinez, on the north side of the Bay of San Francisco, about thirty miles from the mouth of the bay and at the head of ship navigation. In front of the city is a commodious bay, large enough for two hundred ships to ride at anchor, safe from any wind." * * * "The entire trade of the great Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, a fertile country of great width and near seven hundred miles long from north to south, must of necessity pass through the narrow channel of Carquinez and the bay and country is so situated that every person who passes from one side of the bay to the other will find the nearest and best way by Francisca." Francisca, with its manifold natural advantages, ought to have been a great city, the metropolis of California, but the Fates were against it. Alcalde

Bartlett, probably without any design of doing so, dealt it a fearful blow when he dubbed the town of the good herb, San Francisco. Two cities with names so nearly alike could not live and thrive in the same state. Francisca became Benicia. The population of San Francisco (or Yerba Buena, as it was then called) at the time that Captain Montgomery raised the stars and stripes and took possession of it probably did not exceed two hundred. Its change of masters accelerated its growth. The *Californian* of September 4, 1847 (fourteen months after it came under the flag of the United States), gives the following statistics of its population and progress: Total white male population, 247; female, 123; Indians, male, 26; female, 8; South Sea Islanders, male, 39; female 1; negroes, male, 9; female 1; total population, 454.

Nearly every country on the globe had representatives in its population, and the various vocations by which men earn a living were well represented. Minister, one; doctors, three; lawyers, three; surveyors, two; agriculturists, eleven; bakers, seven; blacksmiths, six; brewer, one; butchers, seven; cabinetmakers, two; carpenters, twenty-six; cigarmaker, one; coopers, three; clerks, thirteen; gardener, one; grocers, five; gunsmiths, two; hotel-keepers, three; laborers, twenty; masons, four; merchants, eleven; miner, one; morocco case maker, one; navigators (inland), six; navigator (ocean), one; painter, one; printer, one; soldier, one; shoemakers, four; silversmith, one; tailors, four; tanners, two; watchmaker, one; weaver, one. Previous to April 1, 1847, according to the *Californian*, there had been erected in the town seventy-nine buildings, classified as follows: Shanties, twenty-two; frame buildings, thirty-one; adobe buildings, twenty-six. Since April 1, seventy-eight buildings have been erected, viz.: Shanties, twenty; frame buildings, forty-seven; adobe buildings, eleven. "Within five months last past," triumphantly adds the editor of the *Californian*, "as many buildings have been built as were erected in all the previous years of the town's existence."

The town continued to grow with wonderful rapidity throughout the year 1847, considering that peace had not yet been declared and the

destiny of California was uncertain. According to a school census taken in March, 1848, by the Board of Trustees, the population was: Males, five hundred and seventy-five; females, one hundred and seventy-seven; and "children of age to attend school," sixty, a total of eight hundred and twelve. Building kept pace with the increase of population until the "gold fever" became epidemic. Dr. Brooks, writing in his diary May 17, says: "Walking through the town to-day, I observed that laborers were employed only upon about half a dozen of the fifty new buildings which were in the course of being run up."

The first survey of lots in the town had been made by a Frenchman named Vioget. No names had been given to the streets. This survey was made before the conquest. In 1847, Jasper O'Farrell surveyed and platted the district extending about half a mile in the different directions from the plaza. The streets were named, and, with a very few changes, still retain the names then given. In September the council appointed a committee to report upon the building of a wharf. It was decided to construct two wharves, one from the foot of Clay street and the other from the foot of Broadway. Money was appropriated to build them and they had been extended some distance seaward when the rush to the mines suspended operations. After considerable agitation by the two newspapers and canvassing for funds, the first school-house was built. It was completed December 4, 1847, but, for lack of funds, or, as the *Star* says, for lack of energy in the council, school was not opened on the completion of the house. In March the council appropriated \$400 and April 1, 1848, Thomas Douglas, a graduate of Yale College, took charge of the school. San Francisco was rapidly developing into a progressive American city. Unlike the older towns of California, it had but a small Mexican population. Even had not gold been discovered, it would have grown into a commercial city of considerable size.

The first effect of the gold discovery and the consequent rush to the mines was to bring everything to a standstill. As Kemble, of the *Star*, puts it, it was "as if a curse had arrested

our onward course of enterprise; everything wears a desolate and sombre look; everywhere all is dull, monotonous, dead." The return of the inhabitants in a few months and the influx of new arrivals gave the town a boom in the fall of 1848. Building was only limited by the lack of material, and every kind of a makeshift was resorted to to provide shelter against winter rains. From the many attempts at describing the town at this stage of its development, I select this from "Sights in the Gold Regions," a book long since out of print. Its author, T. T. Johnson, arrived at San Francisco April 1, 1849. "Proceeding on our survey, we found the streets, or, properly, the roads, laid out regularly, those parallel with the water being a succession of terraces, and these ascending the hills or along their sides being in some instances cut down ten or twelve feet below the surface. Except a portion of the streets fronting upon the cove, they are all of hard-beaten, sandy clay, as solid as if macadamized. About three hundred houses, stores, shanties and sheds, with a great many tents, composed the town at that period. The houses were mostly built of rough boards and unpainted; brown cottons or calico nailed against the beams and joists answered for wall and ceiling of the better class of tenements. With the exception of the brick warehouse of Howard and Mellus, the establishments of the commercial houses of which we had heard so much were inferior to the outhouses of the country seats on the Hudson; and yet it would puzzle the New York Exchange to produce merchant princes of equal importance." * * * "We strolled among the tents in the outskirts of the town. Here was 'confusion worse confounded,' chiefly among Mexicans, Peruvians and Chilians. Every kind, size, color and shape of tent pitched helter-skelter and in the most awkward manner were stowed full of everything under the sun."

In the first six months of 1849 fifteen thousand souls were added to the population of San Francisco; in the latter half of that year about four thousand arrived every month by sea alone. At first the immigrants were from Mexico, Chile, Peru and the South American ports generally; but early in the spring the Americans

began to arrive, coming by way of Panama and Cape Horn, and later across the plains. Europe sent its contingent by sea via Cape Horn; and China, Australia and the Hawaiian Islands added to the city's population an undesirable element. A large majority of those who came by sea made their way to the mines, but many soon returned to San Francisco, some to take their departure for home, others to become residents. At the end of the year San Francisco had a population of twenty-five thousand. The following graphic description of life in San Francisco in the fall of '49 and spring of '50 I take from a paper, "Pioneer Days in San Francisco," written by John Williamson Palmer, and published in the Century Magazine (1890): "And how did they all live? In frame houses of one story, more commonly in board shanties and canvas tents, pitched in the midst of sand or mud and various rubbish and strange filth and fleas; and they slept on rude cots or on soft planks, under horse blankets, on tables, counters, floors, on trucks in the open air, in bunks braced against the weather-boarding, forty of them in one loft; and so they tossed and scratched and swore and laughed and sang and skylarked, those who were not tired or drunk enough to sleep. And in the working hours they hustled, and jostled, and tugged, and sweated, and made money, always made money. They labored and they lugged; they worked on lighters, drove trucks, packed mules, rang bells, carried messages, 'waited' in restaurants, 'marked' for billiard tables, served drinks in bar rooms, 'faked' on the plaza, 'cried' at auctions, toted lumber for houses, ran a game of faro or roulette in the El Dorado or the Bella Union, or manipulated three-card monte on the head of a barrel in front of the Parker House; they speculated, and, as a rule, gambled.

"Clerks in stores and offices had munificent salaries. Five dollars a day was about the smallest stipend even in the custom house, and one Baptist preacher was paid \$10,000 a year. Laborers received \$1 an hour; a pick or a shovel was worth \$10; a tin pan or a wooden bowl \$5, and a butcher knife \$30. At one time carpenters who were getting \$12 a day struck

for \$16. Lumber rose to \$500 per thousand feet, and every brick in a house cost a dollar one way or another. Wheat, flour and salt pork sold at \$40 a barrel; a small loaf of bread was fifty cents and a hard-boiled egg a dollar. You paid \$3 to get into the circus and \$55 for a private box at the theater. Forty dollars was the price for ordinary coarse boots, and a pair that came above the knees and would carry you gallantly through the quagmires brought a round hundred. When a shirt became very dirty the wearer threw it away and bought a new one. Washing cost \$15 a dozen in 1849.

"Rents were simply monstrous; \$3,000 a month in advance for a 'store' hurriedly built of rough boards. Wright & Co. paid \$75,000 for the wretched little place on the corner of the plaza that they called the Miners' Bank, and \$36,000 was asked for the use of the Old Adobe as a custom-house. The Parker House paid \$120,000 a year in rents, nearly one-half of that amount being collected from gamblers who held the second floor; and the canvas tent next door used as a gambling saloon, and called the El Dorado, was good for \$40,000 a year. From 10 to 15 per cent a month was paid in advance for the use of money borrowed on substantial security. The prices of real estate went up among the stars; \$8,000 for a fifty-vara lot that had been bought in 1849 for \$20. A lot purchased two years before for a barrel of aguar-diente sold for \$18,000. Yet, for all that, everybody made money.

"The aspect of the streets of San Francisco at this time was such as one may imagine of an unsightly waste of sand and mud churned by the continual grinding of heavy wagons and trucks and the tugging and floundering of horses, mules and oxen; thoroughfares irregular and uneven, ungraded, unpaved, unplanked, obstructed by lumber and goods, alternate humps and holes, the actual dumping-places of the town, handy receptacles for the general sweepings and rubbish and indescribable offal and filth, the refuse of an indiscriminate population 'pigging' together in shanties and tents. And these conditions extended beyond the actual settlement into the chaparral and under-

brush that covered the sand hills on the north and west.

"The flooding rains of winter transformed what should have been thoroughfares into treacherous quagmires set with holes and traps fit to smother horse and man. Loads of brush-wood and branches of trees cut from the hills were thrown into these swamps; but they served no more than a temporary purpose and the inmates of tents and houses made such bridges and crossings as they could with boards, boxes and barrels. Men waded through the slough and thought themselves lucky when they sank no deeper than their waists."

It is said that two horses mired down in the mud of Montgomery street were left to die of starvation, and that three drunken men were suffocated between Washington and Jackson streets. It was during the winter of '49 that the famous sidewalk of flour sacks, cooking stoves and tobacco boxes was built. It extended from Simmons, Hutchinson & Co.'s store to Adams Express office, a distance of about seventy-five yards. The first portion was built of Chilean flour in one hundred pound sacks, next came the cooking stoves in a long row, and then followed a double row of tobacco boxes of large size, and a yawning gap of the walk was bridged by a piano. Chile flour, cooking stoves, tobacco and pianos were cheaper material for building walks, owing to the excessive supply of these, than lumber at \$600 a thousand.

In the summer of '49 there were more than three hundred sailing vessels lying in the harbor of San Francisco, from which the sailors had deserted to go to the mines. Some of these vessels rotted where they were moored. Some were hauled up in the sand or mud flats and used for store houses, lodging houses and saloons. As the water lots were filled in and built upon, these ships sometimes formed part of the line of buildings on the street. The brig Euphemia was the first jail owned by the city; the store ship Apollo was converted into a lodging house and saloon, and the Niantic Hotel at the corner of Sansome and Clay streets was built on the hull of the ship Niantic. As the wharves were extended out into the bay the space between was filled in from the sand hills

and houses built along the wharves. In this way the cove was gradually filled in. The high price of lumber and the great scarcity of houses brought about the importation from New York, Boston, Philadelphia and London of houses ready framed to set up. For a time immense profits were made in this, but an excessive shipment like that of the articles of which the famous sidewalk was made brought down the price below cost, and the business ceased.

The first of the great fires that devastated San Francisco occurred on Christmas eve, 1849. It started in Denison's Exchange, a gambling house on the east side of the plaza. It burned the greater part of the block between Washington and Clay streets and Kearny and Montgomery streets. The loss was estimated at a million and a quarter dollars. The second great fire occurred on May 4, 1850. It burned over the three blocks between Montgomery and Dupont streets, bounded by Jackson and Clay streets, and the north and east sides of Portsmouth square. The loss was estimated at \$4,000,000. It started in the United States Exchange, a gambling den, at four o'clock in the morning, and burned for seven hours. The fire was believed to be of incendiary origin and several suspicious characters were arrested, but nothing could be proved against them. A number of the lookers-on refused to assist in arresting the progress of the flames unless paid for their labor; and \$3 an hour was demanded and paid to some who did.

On the 14th of June, 1850, a fire broke out in the Sacramento House, on the east side of Kearny street, between Clay and Sacramento. The entire district from Kearny street between Clay and California to the water front was burned over, causing a loss of \$3,000,000. Over three hundred houses were destroyed. The fourth great fire of the fateful year of 1850 occurred September 17. It started on Jackson street and destroyed the greater part of the blocks between Dupont and Montgomery streets from Washington to Pacific streets. The loss in this was not so great from the fact that the district contained mostly one-story houses. It was estimated at half a million dollars. December 14

of the same year a fire occurred on Sacramento street below Montgomery. Although the district burned over was not extensive, the loss was heavy. The buildings were of corrugated iron, supposed to be fireproof, and were filled with valuable merchandise. The loss amounted to \$1,000,000. After each fire, building was resumed almost before the embers of the fire that consumed the former buildings were extinguished. After each fire better buildings were constructed. A period of six months' exemption had encouraged the inhabitants of the fire-afflicted city to believe that on account of the better class of buildings constructed the danger of great conflagrations was past, but the worst was yet to come. At 11 p. m. May 3, 1851, a fire, started by incendiaries, broke out on the south side of the plaza. A strong northwest wind swept across Kearny street in broad sheets of flame, first southeastward, then, the wind changing, the flames veered to the north and east. All efforts to arrest them were useless; houses were blown up and torn down in attempts to cut off communication, but the engines were driven back step by step, while some of the brave firemen fell victims to the fire fiend. The flames, rising aloft in whirling volumes, swept away the frame houses and crumbled up with intense heat the supposed fireproof structures. After ten hours, when the fire abated for want of material to burn, all that remained of the city were the sparsely settled outskirts. All of the business district between Pine and Pacific streets, from Kearny to the Battery on the water front, was in ruins. Over one thousand houses had been burned. The loss of property was estimated at \$10,000,000, an amount greater than the aggregate of all the preceding fires. A number of lives were lost. During the progress of the fire large quantities of goods were stolen by bands of thieves. The sixth and last of the great conflagrations that devastated the city occurred on the 22d of June, 1851. The fire started in a building on Powell street and ravaged the district between Clay and Broadway, from Powell to Sansome. Four hundred and fifty houses were burned, involving a loss of \$2,500,000. An improved fire department, more stringent building regulations and a bet-

ter water supply combined to put an end to the era of great fires.

After the great fires of 1851 had swept over the city there was practically nothing left of the old metropolis of the early gold rush. The hastily constructed wooden shanties were gone; the corrugated iron building imported from New York and London, and warranted to be fireproof, had proved to be worthless to withstand great heat; the historic buildings had disappeared; the new city that, Phoenix-like, arose from the ashes of the old was a very different city from its predecessor that had been wiped from the earth by successive conflagrations. Stone and brick buildings covered the former site of wooden structures. The unsightly mud flats between the wharves were filled in from the sand hills and some of the streets paved. The year 1853 was memorable for the rapid progress of the city. Assessed property values increased from \$18,000,000 to \$28,000,000. Real estate values went soaring upward and the city was on the high tide of prosperity; but a reaction came in 1855. The rush to the mines had ceased, immigration had fallen off, and men had begun to retrench and settle down to steady business habits. Home productions had replaced imports, and the people were abandoning mining for farms. The transition from gold mining to grain growing had begun. All these affected the city and real estate declined. Lots that sold for \$8,000 to \$10,000 in 1853 could be bought for half that amount in 1855. Out of one thousand business houses, three hundred were vacant. Another influence that helped to bring about a depression was the growing political

corruption and the increased taxation from speculations of dishonest officials.

The defalcations and forgeries of Harry Meigs, which occurred in 1854, were a terrible blow to the city. Meigs was one of its most trusted citizens. He was regarded as the embodiment of integrity, the stern, incorruptible man, the watch-dog of the treasury. By his upright conduct he had earned the sobriquet of Honest Harry Meigs. Over-speculation and reaction from the boom of 1853 embarrassed him. He forged a large amount of city scrip and hypothecated it to raise money. His forgeries were suspected, but before the truth was known he made his escape on the barque America to Costa Rica and from there he made his way to Peru. His forgeries amounted to \$1,500,000, of which \$1,000,000 was in comptroller's warrants, to which he forged the names of Mayor Garrison and Controller Harris. The vigilance committee of 1856 cleared the political atmosphere by clearing the city, by means of hemp and deportation, of a number of bad characters. The city was just beginning to regain its former prosperity when the Frazer river excitement brought about a temporary depression. The wild rush carried away about one-sixth of its population. These all came back again, poorer and perhaps wiser; at least, their necessities compelled them to go to work and weaned them somewhat of their extravagant habits and their disinclination to work except for the large returns of earlier days. Since 1857 the growth of the city has been steady, unmarked by real estate booms; nor has it been retarded by long periods of financial depression.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CRIME, CRIMINALS AND VIGILANCE COMMITTEES.

THERE was but little crime in California among its white inhabitants during the Spanish and Mexican eras of its history. The conditions were not conducive to the development of a criminal element. The inhabitants were a pastoral people, pursuing an outdoor vocation, and there were no large towns or cities where the viciously inclined could con-

gregate and find a place of refuge from justice. "From 1819 to 1846, that is, during the entire period of Mexican domination under the Republic," says Bancroft, "there were but six murders among the whites in all California." There were no lynchings, no mobs, unless some of the revolutionary uprisings might be called such, and but one vigilance committee.

San Francisco is credited with the origin of that form of popular tribunal known as the vigilance committee. The name "vigilance committee" originated with the uprising, in 1851, of the people of that city against the criminal element; but, years before there was a city of San Francisco, Los Angeles had originated a tribunal of the people, had taken criminals from the lawfully constituted authorities and had tried and executed them. The causes which called into existence the first vigilance committee in California were similar to those that created the later ones, namely, laxity in the administration of the laws and distrust in the integrity of those chosen to administer them. During the "decade of revolutions," that is, between 1830 and 1840, the frequent change of rulers and the struggles of the different factions for power engendered in the masses a disregard, not only for their rulers, but for law and order as well. Criminals escaped punishment through the law's delays. No court in California had power to pass sentence of death on a civilian until its findings had been approved by the superior tribunal of Mexico. In the slow and tedious processes of the different courts, a criminal stood a good show of dying of old age before his case reached final adjudication. The first committee of vigilance in California was organized at Los Angeles, in the house of Juan Temple, April 7, 1836. It was called "Junta Defensora de La Seguridad Publica," United Defenders of the Public Security (or safety). Its motto, which appears in the heading of its "acta," and is there credited as a quotation from Montesquieu's Exposition of the Laws, Book 26, Chapter 23, was, "Salus populi suprema lex est" (The safety of the people is the supreme law). There is a marked similarity between the proceedings of the Junta Defensora of 1836 and the San Francisco vigilance committee of 1856; it is not probable, however, that any of the actors in the latter committee participated in the former. Although there is quite a full account of the proceedings of the Junta Defensora in the Los Angeles city archives, no historian heretofore except Bancroft seems to have found it.

The circumstances which brought about the organization of the Junta Defensora are as fol-

lows: The wife of Domingo Feliz (part owner of the Los Feliz Rancho), who bore the poetical name of Maria del Rosario Villa, became infatuated with a handsome but disreputable Sonoran vaquero, Gervacio Alispaz by name. She abandoned her husband and lived with Alispaz as his mistress at San Gabriel. Feliz sought to reclaim his erring wife, but was met by insults and abuse from her paramour, whom he once wounded in a personal altercation. Feliz finally invoked the aid of the authorities. The woman was arrested and brought to town. A reconciliation was effected between the husband and wife. Two days later they left town for the rancho, both riding one horse. On the way they were met by Alispaz, and in a personal encounter Feliz was stabbed to death by the wife's paramour. The body was dragged into a ravine and covered with brush and leaves. Next day, March 29, the body was found and brought to the city. The murderer and the woman were arrested and imprisoned. The people were filled with horror and indignation, and there were threats of summary vengeance, but better counsel prevailed.

On the 30th the funeral of Feliz took place, and, like that of James King of William, twenty years later, was the occasion for the renewal of the outcry for vengeance. The attitude of the people became so threatening that on the 1st of April an extraordinary session of the ayuntamiento was held. A call was made upon the citizens to form an organization to preserve the peace. A considerable number responded and were formed into military patrols under the command of Don Juan B. Leandry. The illustrious ayuntamiento resolved "that whomsoever shall disturb the public tranquillity shall be punished according to law." The excitement apparently died out, but it was only the calm that precedes the storm. The beginning of the Easter ceremonies was at hand, and it was deemed a sacrilege to execute the assassins in holy week, so all further attempts at punishment were deferred until April 7, the Monday after Easter, when at dawn, by previous understanding, a number of the better class of citizens gathered at the house of Juan Temple, which stood on the site of the new postoffice. An or-

ganization was effected. Victor Prudon, a native of Breton, France, but a naturalized citizen of California, was elected president; Manuel Arzaga, a native of California, was elected secretary, and Francisco Araujo, a retired army officer, was placed in command of the armed force. Speeches were made by Prudon, and by the military commandant and others, setting forth the necessity of their organization and justifying their actions. It was unanimously decided that both the man and the woman should be shot; their guilt being evident, no trial was deemed necessary.

An address to the authorities and the people was formulated. A copy of this is preserved in the city archives. It abounds in metaphors. It is too long for insertion here. I make a few extracts: "* * * Believing that immorality has reached such an extreme that public security is menaced and will be lost if the dike of a solemn example is not opposed to the torrent of atrocious perfidy, we demand of you that you execute or deliver to us for immediate execution the assassin, Gervacio Alispaz, and the unfaithful Maria del Rosario Villa, his accomplice. * * * Nature trembles at the sight of these venomous reptiles and the soil turns barren in its refusal to support their detestable existence. Let the infernal pair perish! It is the will of the people. We will not lay down our arms until our petition is granted and the murderers are executed. The proof of their guilt is so clear that justice needs no investigation. Public vengeance demands an example and it must be given. The blood of the Alvarez, of the Patinos, of the Jenkins, is not yet cold—they, too, being the unfortunate victims of the brutal passions of their murderers. Their bloody ghosts shriek for vengeance. Their terrible voices re-echo from their graves. The afflicted widow, the forsaken orphan, the aged father, the brother in mourning, the inconsolable mother, the public—all demand speedy punishment of the guilty. We swear that outraged justice shall be avenged to-day or we shall die in the attempt. The blood of the murderers shall be shed to-day or ours will be to the last drop. It will be published throughout the world that judges in Los Angeles tolerate murderers, but that there are

virtuous citizens who sacrifice their lives in order to preserve those of their countrymen."

"A committee will deliver to the First Constitutional Alcalde a copy of these resolutions, that he may decide whatever he finds most convenient, and one hour's time will be given him in which to do so. If in that time no answer has been received, then the judge will be responsible before God and man for what will follow. Death to the murderers!

"God and liberty. Angeles, April 7, 1836."

Fifty-five signatures are attached to this document; fourteen of these are those of naturalized foreigners and the remainder those of native Californians. The junta was made up of the best citizens, native and foreign. An extraordinary session of the ayuntamiento was called. The members of the junta, fully armed, marched to the city hall to await the decision of the authorities. The petition was discussed in the council, and, in the language of the archives: "This Illustrious Body decided to call said Breton Prudon to appear before it and to compel him to retire with the armed citizens so that this Illustrious Body may deliberate at liberty."

"This was done, but he declined to appear before this body, as he and the armed citizens were determined to obtain Gervacio Alispaz and Maria del Rosario Villa. The ayuntamiento decided that as it had not sufficient force to compel the armed citizens to disband, they being in large numbers and composed of the best and most respectable men of the town, to send an answer saying that the judges could not accede to the demand of the armed citizens."

The members of the Junta Defensora then marched in a body to the jail and demanded the keys of the guard. These were refused. The keys were secured by force and Gervacio Alispaz taken out and shot. The following demand was then sent to the first alcalde, Manuel Requena:

"It is absolutely necessary that you deliver to this junta the key of the apartment where Maria del Rosario Villa is kept.

"God and liberty.

"VICTOR PRUDON, President.

"MANUEL ARZAGA, Secretary."

To this the alcalde replied: "Maria del Rosario Villa is incarcerated at a private dwelling, whose owner has the key, with instructions not to deliver the same to any one. The prisoner is left there at the disposition of the law only.

"God and liberty.

"MANUEL REQUENA, Alcalde."

The key was obtained. The wretched Maria was taken to the place of execution on a carreta and shot. The bodies of the guilty pair were brought back to the jail and the following communication sent to the alcalde:

"Junta of the Defenders of Public Safety.

"To the 1st Constitutional Alcalde:

"The dead bodies of Gervacio Alispaz and Maria del Rosario Villa are at your disposal. We also forward you the jail keys that you may deliver them to whomsoever is on guard. In case you are in need of men to serve as guards, we are all at your disposal.

"God and liberty. Angeles, April 7, 1836.

"VICTOR PRUDON, Pres.

"MANUEL ARZAGA, Sec."

A few days later the Junta Defensora de La Seguridad Publica disbanded; and so ended the only instance in the seventy-five years of Spanish and Mexican rule in California, of the people, by popular tribunal, taking the administration of justice out of the hands of the legally constituted authorities.

The tales of the fabulous richness of the gold fields of California were quickly spread throughout the world and drew to the territory all classes and conditions of men, the bad as well as the good, the vicious as well as the virtuous; the indolent, the profligate and the criminal came to prey upon the industrious. These conglomerate elements of society found the Land of Gold practically without law, and the vicious among them were not long in making it a land without order. With that inherent trait, which makes the Anglo-Saxon wherever he may be an organizer, the American element of the gold seekers soon adjusted a form of government to suit the exigencies of the land and the people. There may have been too much lynching, too much vigilance committee in it and too little

respect for lawfully constituted authorities, but it was effective and was suited to the social conditions existing.

In 1851 the criminal element became so dominant as to seriously threaten the existence of the chief city, San Francisco. Terrible conflagrations had swept over the city in May and June of that year and destroyed the greater part of the business portion. The fires were known to be of incendiary origin. The bold and defiant attitude of the vicious classes led to the organization by the better element, of that form of popular tribunal called a committee of vigilance. The law abiding element among the citizens disregarding the legally constituted authorities, who were either too weak or too corrupt to control the law-defying, took the power in their own hands, organized a vigilance committee and tried and executed by hanging four notorious criminals, namely: Jenkins, Stuart, Whitaker and McKenzie.

During the proceedings of the vigilance committee a case of mistaken identity came near costing an innocent man his life. About 8 o'clock in the evening of February 18, two men entered the store of a Mr. Jansen on Montgomery street and asked to see some blankets. As the merchant stooped to get the blankets, one of the men struck him with a sling shot and both of them beat him into insensibility. They then opened his desk and carried away all the gold they could find, about \$2,000. The police arrested two men on suspicion of being the robbers. One of the men was identified as James Stuart, a noted criminal, who had murdered Sheriff Moore at Auburn. He gave the name of Thomas Burdue, but this was believed to be one of Stuart's numerous aliases. The men were identified by Mr. Jansen as his assailants. They were put on trial. When the court adjourned over to the next day a determined effort was made by the crowd to seize the men and hang them. They were finally taken out of the hands of the officers and given a trial by a jury selected by a committee of citizens. The jury failed to agree, three of the jury being convinced that the men were not Jansen's assailants. Then the mob made a rush to hang the jury, but were kept back by a show of revolvers. The prison-

ers were turned over to the court. One of them, Wildred, broke jail and escaped. Burdue was tried, convicted and sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment. Before the sentence of the court was executed he was taken to Marysville and arraigned for the murder of Sheriff Moore. A number of witnesses swore positively that the man was Stuart; others swore even more positively that he was not. A close examination revealed that the prisoner bore every distinguishing mark on his person by which Stuart could be identified. He was convicted and sentenced to be hanged in thirty days. In the meantime the vigilance committee of 1856 was organized and the real Stuart accidentally fell into the hands of the vigilantes at San Francisco. He was arrested for a theft he had not committed and recognized by one of the committee's guards that he had formerly employed in the mines. By adroit questioning he was forced to confess that he was the real Stuart, the murderer of Sheriff Moore and the assailant of Jansen. His confederate in the robbery was Whitaker, one of the four hanged by the committee. Burdue was finally released, after having twice stood under the shadow of the gallows for the crimes of his double. The confessions of Stuart and Whitaker implicated a number of their pals. Some of these were convicted and sent to prison and others fled the country; about thirty were banished. Nearly all of the criminals were ex-convicts from Australia and Tasmania.

The vigorous measures adopted by the committee purified the city of the vicious class that had preyed upon it. Several of the smaller towns and some of the mining camps organized vigilance committees and a number of the knaves who had fled from San Francisco met a deserved fate in other places.

In the early '50s the better elements of San Francisco's population were so engrossed in business that they had no time to spare to look after its political affairs; and its government gradually drifted into the hands of vicious and corrupt men. Many of the city authorities had obtained their offices by fraud and ballot stuffing and "instead of protecting the community against scoundrels they protected the scoundrels against the community." James King of Will-

iam, an ex-banker and a man of great courage and persistence, started a small paper called the *Daily Evening Bulletin*. He vigorously assailed the criminal elements and the city and county officials. His denunciations aroused public sentiment. The murder of United States Marshal Richardson by a gambler named Cora still further inflamed the public mind. It was feared that by the connivance of some of the corrupt county officials Cora would escape punishment. His trial resulted in a hung jury. There was a suspicion that some of the jurymen were bribed. King continued through the *Bulletin* to hurl his most bitter invectives against the corrupt officials. They determined to silence him. He published the fact that James Casey, a supervisor from the twelfth ward, was an ex-convict of Sing Sing prison. Casey waylaid King at the corner of Montgomery and Washington streets and in a cowardly manner shot him down. The shooting occurred on the 14th of May, 1856. Casey immediately surrendered himself to a deputy sheriff, Lafayette M. Byrne, who was near. King was not killed, but an examination of the wound by the physicians decided that there was no hopes of his recovery. Casey was conducted to the city prison and as a mob began to gather, for greater safety he was taken to the county jail. A crowd pursued him crying, "Hang him," "kill him." At the jail the mob was stopped by an array of deputy sheriffs, police officers and a number of Casey's friends, all armed. The excitement spread throughout the city. The old vigilance committee of 1851, or rather a new organization out of the remnant of the old, was formed. Five thousand men were enrolled in a few days. Arms were procured and headquarters established on Sacramento street between Davis and Front. The men were divided into companies. William T. Coleman, chairman of the vigilance committee of 1851, was made president or No. 1, and Isaac Bluxome, Jr., the secretary, was No. 33. Each man was known by number. Charles Doane was elected chief marshal of the military division.

The *San Francisco Herald* (edited by John Nugent), then the leading paper of the city, came out with a scathing editorial denouncing the

vigilance committee. The merchants at once withdrew their advertising patronage. Next morning the paper appeared reduced from forty columns to a single page, but still hostile to the committee. It finally died for want of patronage.

On Sunday, May 18, 1856, the military division was ready to storm the jail if necessary to obtain possession of the prisoners, Casey and Cora. The different companies, marching from their headquarters by certain prescribed routes, all reached the jail at the same time and completely invested it. They had with them two pieces of artillery. One of these guns was planted so as to command the door of the jail. There were fifteen hundred vigilantes under arms. A demand was made on Sheriff Scannell for the prisoners, Cora and Casey. The prison guard made no resistance, the prisoners were surrendered and taken at once to the vigilantes' headquarters.

On the 20th of May the murderers were put on trial; while the trial was in progress the death of King was announced. Both men were convicted and sentenced to be hanged. King's funeral, the largest and most imposing ever seen in San Francisco, took place on the 23d. While the funeral cortege was passing through the streets Casey and Cora were hanged in front of the windows of the vigilance headquarters. About an hour before his execution Cora was married to a notorious courtesan, Arabella Ryan, but commonly called Belle Cora. A Catholic priest, Father Accolti, performed the ceremony.

Governor J. Neely Johnson, who at first seemed inclined not to interfere with the vigilantes, afterwards acting under the advice of David S. Terry, Volney E. Howard and others of "the law and order faction," issued a proclamation commanding the committee to disband, to which no attention was paid. The governor then appointed William T. Sherman major-general. Sherman called for recruits to suppress the uprising. Seventy-five or a hundred, mostly gamblers, responded to his call. General Wool, in command of the troops in the department of the Pacific, refused to loan Governor Johnson arms to equip his "law and order" recruits and

General Sherman resigned. Volney E. Howard was then appointed major-general. His principal military service consisted in proclaiming what he would do to the "pork merchants" who constituted the committee. He did nothing except to bluster. A squad of the vigilance police attempted to arrest a man named Maloney. Maloney was at the time in the company of David S. Terry (then chief justice of the state) and several other members of the "law and order" party. They resisted the police and in the melee Terry stabbed the sergeant of the squad, Sterling A. Hopkins, and then he and his associates made their escape to the armory of the San Francisco Blues, one of their strongholds.

When the report of the stabbing reached headquarters the great bell sounded the alarm and the vigilantes in a very brief space of time surrounded the armory building and had their cannon planted to batter it down. Terry, Maloney, and the others of their party in the building, considering discretion the better part of valor, surrendered and were at once taken to Fort Gunnybags,* the vigilantes' headquarters. The arms of the "law and order" party at their various rendezvous were surrendered to the vigilantes and the companies disbanded.

Terry was closely confined in a cell at the headquarters of the committee; Hopkins, after lingering some time between life and death, finally recovered. Terry was tried for assault on Hopkins and upon several other persons, was found guilty, but, after being held as a prisoner for some time, was finally released. He at once joined Johnson and Howard at Sacramento, where he felt much safer than in San Francisco. He gave the vigilantes no more trouble.

On the 29th of July, Hethrington and Brace were hanged from a gallows erected on Davis street, between Sacramento and Commercial. Both of these men had committed murder. These were the last executions by the committee. The committee transported from the state thirty disreputable characters and a number deported themselves. A few, and among them the

*The vigilantes built around the building which they used for headquarters a breastwork made of gunny-sacks filled with sand. Cannon were planted at the corners of the redout.

notorious Ned McGowan, managed to keep concealed until the storm was over. A few of the expatriated returned after the committee dissolved and brought suit for damages, but failed to recover anything. The committee had paid the fare of the exiles. It was only the high toned rascals who were given a cabin passage that brought the suits. The committee finished its labors and dissolved with a grand parade on the 18th of August (1856). It did a good work. For several years after, San Francisco from being one of the worst, became one of the best governed cities in the United States. The committee was made up of men from the northern and western states. The so-called "law and order" party was mostly composed of the pro-slavery office-holding faction that ruled the state at that time.

When the vigilance committees between 1851 and 1856 drove disreputable characters from San Francisco and the northern mines, many of them drifted southward and found a lodgment for a time in the southern cities and towns. Los Angeles was not far from the Mexican line, and any one who desired to escape from justice, fleet mounted, could speedily put himself beyond the reach of his pursuers. All these causes and influences combined to produce a saturnalia of crime that disgraced that city in the early '50s.

Gen. J. H. Bean, a prominent citizen of Southern California, while returning to Los Angeles from his place of business at San Gabriel late one evening in November, 1852, was attacked by two men, who had been lying in wait for him. One seized the bridle of his horse and jerked the animal back on his haunches; the other seized the general and pulled him from the saddle. Bean made a desperate resistance, but was overpowered and stabbed to death. The assassination of General Bean resulted in the organization of a vigilance committee and an effort was made to rid the country of desperadoes. A number of arrests were made. Three suspects were tried by the committee for various crimes. One, Cipiano Sandoval, a poor cobbler of San Gabriel, was charged with complicity in the murder of General Bean. He strenuously maintained that he was innocent. He, with the

other two, were sentenced to be hanged. On the following Sunday morning the doomed men were conducted to the top of Fort Hill, where the gallows stood. Sandoval made a brief speech, again declaring his innocence. The others awaited their doom in silence. The trap fell and all were launched into eternity. Years afterward one of the real murderers on his deathbed revealed the truth and confessed his part in the crime. The poor cobbler was innocent.

In 1854 drunkenness, gambling, murder and all forms of immorality and crime were rampant in Los Angeles. The violent deaths, it is said, averaged one for every day in the year. It was a common question at the breakfast table, "Well, how many were killed last night?" Little or no attention was paid to the killing of an Indian or a half breed; it was only when a gente de razon was the victim that the community was aroused to action.

The Kern river gold rush, in the winter of 1854-55, brought from the northern mines fresh relays of gamblers and desperadoes and crime increased. The *Southern Californian* of March 7, 1855, commenting on the general lawlessness prevailing, says: "Last Sunday night was a brisk night for killing. Four men were shot and killed and several wounded in shooting affrays."

A worthless fellow by the name of David Brown, who had, without provocation, killed a companion named Clifford, was tried and sentenced to be hanged with one Felipe Alvitre, a Mexican, who had murdered an American named Ellington, at El Monte. There was a feeling among the people that Brown, through quibbles of law, would escape the death penalty, and there was talk of lynching. Stephen C. Foster, the mayor, promised that if justice was not legally meted out to Brown by the law, then he would resign his office and head the lynching party. January 10, 1855, an order was received from Judge Murray, of the supreme court, staying the execution of Brown, but leaving Alvitre to his fate. January 12 Alvitre was hanged by the sheriff in the jail yard in the presence of an immense crowd. The gallows were taken down and the guards dismissed. The crowd gathered

outside the jail yard. Speeches were made. The mayor resigned his office and headed the mob. The doors of the jail were broken down; Brown was taken across Spring street to a large gateway opening into a corral and hanged from the crossbeam. Foster was re-elected by an almost unanimous vote at a special election. The city marshal, who had opposed the action of the vigilantes, was compelled to resign.

During 1855 and 1856 lawlessness increased. There was an organized band of about one hundred Mexicans, who patrolled the highways, robbing and murdering. They threatened the extermination of the Americans and there were fears of a race war, for many who were not members of the gang sympathized with them. In 1856 a vigilance committee was organized with Myron Norton as president and H. N. Alexander as secretary. A number of disreputable characters were forced to leave town. The banditti, under their leaders, Pancho Daniel and Juan Flores, were plundering and committing outrages in the neighborhood of San Juan Capistrano.

On the night of January 22, 1857, Sheriff James R. Barton left Los Angeles with a posse, consisting of William H. Little, Charles K. Baker, Charles F. Daley, Alfred Hardy and Frank Alexander with the intention of capturing some of the robbers. At Sepulveda's ranch next morning the sheriff's party was warned that the robbers were some fifty strong, well armed and mounted, and would probably attack them. Twelve miles further the sheriff and his men encountered a detachment of the banditti. A short, sharp engagement took place. Barton, Baker, Little and Daley were killed. Hardy and Alexander made their escape by the fleetness of their horses. When the news reached Los Angeles the excitement became intense. A public meeting was held to devise plans to rid the community not only of the roving gang of murderers, but also of the criminal classes in the city, who were known to be in sympathy with the banditti. All suspicious houses were searched and some fifty persons arrested. Several companies were organized; the infantry to guard the city and the mounted men to scour the country. Companies were also formed at

San Bernardino and El Monte, while the military authorities at Fort Tejon and San Diego despatched soldiers to aid in the good work of exterminating crime and criminals.

The robbers were pursued into the mountains and nearly all captured. Gen. Andres Pico, with a company of native Californians, was most efficient in the pursuit. He captured Silvas and Ardillero, two of the most noted of the gang, and hanged them where they were captured. Fifty-two were lodged in the city jail. Of these, eleven were hanged for various crimes and the remainder set free. Juan Flores, one of the leaders, was condemned by popular vote and on February 14, 1857, was hanged near the top of Fort Hill in the presence of nearly the entire population of the town. He was only twenty-one years of age. Pancho Daniel, another of the leaders, was captured on the 19th of January, 1858, near San José. He was found by the sheriff, concealed in a haystack. After his arrest he was part of the time in jail and part of the time out on bail. He had been tried three times, but through law quibbles had escaped conviction. A change of venue to Santa Barbara had been granted. The people determined to take the law in their own hands. On the morning of November 30, 1858, the body of Pancho was hanging from a beam across the gateway of the jail yard. Four of the banditti were executed by the people of San Gabriel, and Leonardo Lopez, under sentence of the court, was hanged by the sheriff. The gang was broken up and the moral atmosphere of Los Angeles somewhat purified.

November 17, 1862, John Rains of Cucamonga ranch was murdered near Azusa. December 9, 1863, the sheriff was taking Manuel Cerradel to San Quentin to serve a ten years' sentence. When the sheriff went aboard the tug boat Cricket at Wilmington, to proceed to the Senator, quite a number of other persons took passage. On the way down the harbor, the prisoner was seized by the passengers, who were vigilantes, and hanged to the rigging; after hanging twenty minutes the body was taken down, stones tied to the feet and it was thrown overboard. Cerradel was implicated in the murder of Rains.

In the fall of 1863 lawlessness had again become rampant in Los Angeles; one of the chiefs of the criminal class was a desperado by the name of Boston Dainwood. He was suspected of the murder of a miner on the desert and was loud in his threats against the lives of various citizens. He and four other well-known criminals, Wood, Chase, Ybarra and Olivas, all of whom were either murderers or horse thieves, were lodged in jail. On the 21st of November two hundred armed citizens battered down the doors of the jail, took the five wretches out and hanged them to the portico of the old court house on Spring street, which stood on the present site of the Phillips block.

On the 24th of October, 1871, occurred in Los Angeles a most disgraceful affair, known as the Chinese massacre. It grew out of one of those interminable feuds between rival tongs of highbinders, over a woman. Desultory firing had been kept up between the rival factions throughout the day. About 5:30 p. m. Policeman Bilderrain visited the seat of war, an old adobe house on the corner of Arcadia street and "Nigger alley," known as the Coronel building. Finding himself unable to quell the disturbance he called for help. Robert Thompson, an old resident of the city, was among the first to reach the porch of the house in answer to the police call for help. He received a mortal wound from a bullet fired through the door of a Chinese store. He died an hour later in Wollweber's drug store. The Chinese in the meantime barricaded the doors and windows of the old adobe and prepared for battle. The news of the fight and of the killing of Thompson spread throughout the city and an immense crowd gathered in the streets around the building with the intention of wreaking vengeance on the Chinese.

The first attempt by the mob to dislodge the Chinamen was by cutting holes through the flat brea covered roof and firing pistol shots into the interior of the building. One of the besieged crawled out of the building and attempted to escape, but was shot down before half way across Negro alley. Another attempted to escape into Los Angeles street; he was seized,

dragged to the gate of Tomlinson's corral on New High street, and hanged.

About 9 o'clock a part of the mob had succeeded in battering a hole in the eastern end of the building; through this the rioters, with demoniac howlings, rushed in, firing pistols to the right and left. Huddled in corners and hidden behind boxes they found eight terror-stricken Chinamen, who begged piteously for their lives. These were brutally dragged out and turned over to the fiendish mob. One was dragged to death by a rope around his neck; three, more dead than alive from kicking and beating, were hanged to a wagon on Los Angeles street; and four were hanged to the gateway of Tomlinson's corral. Two of the victims were mere boys. While the shootings and hangings were going on thieves were looting the other houses in the Chinese quarters. The houses were broken into, trunks, boxes and other receptacles rifled of their contents, and any Chinamen found in the buildings were dragged forth to slaughter. Among the victims was a doctor, Gene Tung, a quiet, inoffensive old man. He pleaded for his life in good English, offering his captors all his money, some \$2,000 to \$3,000. He was hanged, his money stolen and one of his fingers cut off to obtain a ring he wore. The amount of money stolen by the mob from the Chinese quarters was variously estimated at from \$40,000 to \$50,000.

About 9:30 p. m. the law abiding citizens, under the leadership of Henry Hazard, R. M. Widney, H. C. Austin, Sheriff Burns and others, had rallied in sufficient force to make an attempt to quell the mob. Proceeding to Chinatown they rescued several Chinamen from the rioters. The mob finding armed opposition quickly dispersed.

The results of the mob's murderous work were ten men hanged on Los Angeles street, some to wagons and some to awnings; five hanged at Tomlinson's corral and four shot to death in Negro alley, nineteen in all. Of all the Chinamen murdered, the only one known to be implicated in the highbinder war was Ah Choy. All the other leaders escaped to the country before the attack was made by the mob. The

grand jury, after weeks of investigation, found indictments against one hundred and fifty persons alleged to have been actively engaged in the massacre. The jury's report severely censured "the officers of this county, as well as of this city, whose duty it is to preserve peace," and declared that they "were deplorably inefficient in the performance of their duty during the scenes of confusion and bloodshed which disgraced our city, and has cast a reproach upon the people of Los Angeles county." Of all those indicted but six were convicted. These were sentenced to from four to six years in the state's prison, but through some legal technicality they were all released after serving a part of their sentence.

The last execution in Los Angeles by a vigilance committee was that of Michael Lachenias, a French desperado, who had killed five or six men. The offense for which he was hanged was the murder of Jacob Bell, a little inoffensive man, who owned a small farm near that of Lachenias, south of the city. There had been a slight difference between them in regard to the use of water from a zanja. Lachenias, without a word of warning, rode up to Bell, where he was at work in his field, drew a revolver and shot him dead. The murderer then rode into town and boastfully informed the people of what he had done and told them where they would find Bell's body. He then surrendered himself to the officers and was locked up in jail.

Public indignation was aroused. A meeting was held in Stearns' hall on Los Angeles street. A vigilance committee was formed and the details of the execution planned. On the morning of the 17th of December, 1870, a body of three hundred armed men marched to the jail, took Lachenias out and proceeded with him to Tomlinson's corral on Temple and New High streets, and hanged him. The crowd then quietly dispersed.

A strange metamorphosis took place in the character of the lower classes of the native Californians after the conquest. (The better classes were not changed in character by the changed conditions of the country, but throughout were true gentlemen and most worthy and honorable

citizens.) Before the conquest by the Americans they were a peaceful and contented people. There were no organized bands of outlaws among them. After the discovery of gold the evolution of a banditti began and they produced some of the boldest robbers and most daring highwaymen the world has seen.

The injustice of their conquerors had much to do with producing this change. The Americans not only took possession of their country and its government, but in many cases they despoiled them of their ancestral acres and their personal property. Injustice rankles; and it is not strange that the more lawless among the native population sought revenge and retaliation. They were often treated by the rougher American element as aliens and intruders, who had no right in the land of their birth. Such treatment embittered them more than loss of property. There were those, however, among the natives, who, once entered upon a career of crime, found robbery and murder congenial occupations. The plea of injustice was no extenuation for their crimes.

Joaquin Murieta was the most noted of the Mexican and Californian desperadoes of the early '50s. He was born in Sonora of good family and received some education. He came to California with the Sonoran migration of 1849, and secured a rich claim on the Stanislaus. He was dispossessed of this by half a dozen American desperadoes, his wife abused and both driven from the diggings. He next took up a ranch on the Calaveras, but from this he was driven by two Americans. He next tried mining in the Murphy diggings, but was unsuccessful. His next occupation was that of a monte player. While riding into town on a horse borrowed from his half-brother he was stopped by an American, who claimed that the horse was stolen from him. Joaquin protested that the horse was a borrowed one from his half-brother and offered to procure witnesses to prove it. He was dragged from the saddle amid cries of "hang the greaser." He was taken to the ranch of his brother. The brother was hanged to the limb of a tree, no other proof of his crime being needed than the assertion of the American that the horse was his. Joaquin was stripped, bound

to the same tree and flogged. The demon was aroused within him, and no wonder, he vowed revenge on the men who had murdered his brother and beaten him. Faithfully he carried out his vow of vengeance. Had he doomed only these to slaughter it would have been but little loss, but the implacable foe of every American, he made the innocent suffer with the guilty. He was soon at the head of a band of desperadoes, varying in numbers from twenty to forty. For three years he and his band were the terror of the state. From the northern mines to the Mexican border they committed robberies and murders. Claudio and some of his subordinates were killed, but the robber chief seemed to bear a charmed life. Large rewards were offered for him dead or alive and numerous attempts were made to take him. Capt. Harry Love at the head of a band of rangers August, 1853, came upon Joaquin and six of his gang in a camp near the Tejon Pass. In the fight that ensued Joaquin and Three Fingered Jack were killed. With the loss of their leaders the organization was broken up.

The last organized band of robbers which terrorized the southern part of the state was that of Vasquez. Tiburcio Vasquez was born in Monterey county, of Mexican parents, in 1837. Early in life he began a career of crime. After committing a number of robberies and thefts he was captured and sent to San Quentin for horse stealing. He was discharged in 1863, but continued his disreputable career. He united with Procopio and Soto, two noted bandits. Soto was killed by Sheriff Morse of Alameda county in a desperate encounter. Vasquez and his gang of outlaws committed robberies throughout the southern part of the state, ranging from Santa Clara and Alameda counties to the Mexican line. Early in May, 1874, Sheriff William Rowland of Los Angeles county, who had repeatedly tried to capture Vasquez, but whose plans had been foiled by the bandit's

spies, learned that the robber chief was making his headquarters at the house of Greek George, about ten miles due west of Los Angeles, toward Santa Monica, in a cañon of the Calhenga mountains. The morning of May 15 was set for the attack. To avert suspicion Sheriff Rowland remained in the city. The attacking force, eight in number, were under command of Under-Sheriff Albert Johnson, the other members of the force were Major H. M. Mitchell, attorney-at-law; J. S. Bryant, city constable; E. Harris, policeman; W. E. Rogers, citizen; B. F. Hartley, chief of police; and D. K. Smith, citizen, all of Los Angeles, and a Mr. Beers, of San Francisco, special correspondent of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

At 4 a. m. on the morning of the 15th of May the posse reached Major Mitchell's bee ranch in a small cañon not far from Greek George's. From this point the party reconnoitered the bandit's hiding place and planned an attack. As the deputy sheriff and his men were about to move against the house a high box wagon drove up the cañon from the direction of Greek George's place. In this were two natives; the sheriff's party climbed into the high wagon box and, lying down, compelled the driver to drive up to the back of Greek George's house, threatening him and his companion with death on the least sign of treachery. Reaching the house they surrounded it and burst in the door. Vasquez, who had been eating his breakfast, attempted to escape through a small window. The party opened fire on him. Being wounded and finding himself surrounded on all sides, he surrendered. He was taken to the Los Angeles jail. His injuries proved to be mere flesh wounds. He received a great deal of maudlin sympathy from silly women, who magnified him into a hero. He was taken to San José, tried for murder, found guilty and hanged, March 19, 1875. His band was thereupon broken up and dispersed.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FILIBUSTERS AND FILIBUSTERING.

THE rush of immigration to California in the early '50s had brought to the state a class of adventurers who were too lazy or too proud to work. They were ready to engage in almost any lawless undertaking that promised plunder and adventure. The defeat of the pro-slavery politicians in their attempts to fasten their "peculiar institution" upon any part of the territory acquired from Mexico had embittered them. The more unscrupulous among them began to look around for new fields, over which slavery might be extended. As it could be made profitable only in southern lands, Cuba, Mexico and Central America became the arenas for enacting that form of piracy called "filibustering." The object of these forays, when organized by Americans, was to seize upon territory as had been done in Texas and erect it into an independent government that ultimately would be annexed to the United States and become slave territory. Although the armed invasion of countries with which the United States was at peace was a direct violation of its neutrality laws, yet the federal office-holders in the southern states and in California, all of whom belonged to the pro-slavery faction, not only made no attempt to prevent these invasions, but secretly aided them or at least sympathized with them to the extent of allowing them to recruit men and depart without molestation. There was a glamour of romance about these expeditions that influenced unthinking young men of no fixed principles to join them; these were to be pitied. But the leaders of them and their abettors were cold, selfish, scheming politicians, willing, if need be, to overthrow the government of the nation and build on its ruins an oligarchy of slave holders.

The first to organize a filibuster expedition in California was a Frenchman. Race prejudices were strong in early mining days. The United

States had recently been at war with Mexico. The easy conquest of that country had bred a contempt for its peoples. The Sonoran migration, that begun soon after the discovery of gold in California, brought a very undesirable class of immigrants to the state. Sailing vessels had brought from the west coast of South America another despised class of mongrel Spanish. It exasperated the Americans to see these people digging gold and carrying it out of the country. This antagonism extended, more or less, to all foreigners, but was strongest against men of the Latin races. Many Frenchmen, through emigration schemes gotten up in Paris, had been induced to come to California. Some of these were men of education and good standing, but they fell under the ban of prejudices and by petty persecutions were driven out of the mines and forced to earn a precarious living in the cities. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Frenchmen with existing conditions in California, and they were ready to embark in any scheme that promised greater rewards. Among the French population of San Francisco was a man of noble family, Count Gaston Roaul de Raousset-Boulbon. He had lost his ancestral lands and was in reduced circumstances. He was a man of education and ability, but visionary. He conceived the idea of establishing a French colony on the Sonora border and opening the mines that had been abandoned on account of Apache depredations. By colonizing the border he hoped to put a stop to American encroachments. He divulged his scheme to the French consul, Dillon, at San Francisco, who entered heartily into it. Raousset was sent to the City of Mexico, where he obtained from President Arista the desired concession of land and the promise of financial assistance from a leading banking house there on condition that he proceed at

once to Sonora with an armed company of Frenchmen. Returning to San Francisco he quickly recruited from among the French residents two hundred and fifty men and with these he sailed for Guaymas, where he arrived early in June, 1852. He was well received at first, but soon found himself regarded with suspicion. He was required by the authorities to remain at Guaymas. After a month's detention he was allowed to proceed through Hermosilla to the Arizona border.

When about one hundred miles from Arispe he received an order from General Blanco, then at Hermosilla, to report to him. While halting at El Caric to consider his next move he received a reinforcement of about eighty French colonists, who had come to the country the year before under command of Pindray. Pindray had met his death in a mysterious manner. It was supposed that he was poisoned. The colonist had remained in the country. Raousset sent one of his men, Garnier, to interview Blanco. General Blanco gave his ultimatum—First, that the Frenchmen should become naturalized citizens of Mexico; or, secondly, they should wait until letters of security could be procured from the capital, when they might proceed to Arizona and take possession of any mines they found; or, lastly, they might put themselves under the leadership of a Mexican officer and then proceed. Raousset and his followers refused to accede to any of these propositions. Blanco began collecting men and munitions of war to oppose the French. Raousset raised the flag of revolt and invited the inhabitants to join him in gaining the independence of Sonora. After drilling his men a few weeks and preparing for hostilities he began his march against Hermosilla, distant one hundred and fifty miles. He met with no opposition, the people along his route welcoming the French. General Blanco had twelve hundred men to defend the city. But instead of preparing to resist the advancing army he sent delegates to Raousset to offer him money to let the city alone. Raousset sent back word that at 8 o'clock he would begin the attack; and at 11 would be master of the city. He was as good as his word. The Frenchmen charged the Mexicans and although the opposing force num-

bered four to one of the assailants, Raousset's men captured the town and drove Blanco's troops out of it. The Mexican loss was two hundred killed and wounded. The French loss seventeen killed and twenty-three wounded. Raousset's men were mere adventurers and were in the country without any definite purpose. Could he have relied on them, he might have captured all of Sonora.

He abandoned Hermosilla. Blanco, glad to get rid of the filibusters on any terms, raised \$11,000 and chartered a vessel to carry them back to San Francisco. A few elected to remain. Raousset went to Mazatlan and a few months later he reached San Francisco, where he was lionized as a hero. Upon an invitation from Santa Ana, who had succeeded Arista as president, he again visited the Mexican capital in June, 1853. Santa Ana was profuse in promises. He wanted Raousset to recruit five hundred Frenchmen to protect the Sonora frontier against the Indians, promising ample remuneration and good pay for their services. Raousset, finding that Santa Ana's promises could not be relied upon, and that the wiley schemer was about to have him arrested, made his escape to Acapulco, riding several horses to death to reach there ahead of his pursuers. He embarked immediately for San Francisco.

In the meantime another filibuster, William Walker, with forty-one followers had landed at La Paz November 3, 1853, and proclaimed a new nation, the Republic of Lower California. Santa Ana, frightened by this new invasion, began making overtures through the Mexican consul, Luis del Valle, at San Francisco to secure French recruits for military service on the Mexican frontier. Del Valle applied to the French consul, Dillon, and Dillon applied to Raousset. Raousset soon secured eight hundred recruits and chartered the British ship *Challenge* to take them to Guaymas. Then the pro-slavery federal officials at San Francisco were aroused to action. The neutrality laws were being violated. It was not that they cared for the laws, but they feared that this new filibustering scheme might interfere with their pet, Walker, who had, in addition to the Republic of Lower California, founded another nation, the Republic of Sonora,

in both of which he had decreed slavery. The ship was seized, but after a short detention was allowed to sail with three hundred Frenchmen.

Del Valle was vigorously prosecuted by the federal authorities for violation of a section of the neutrality laws, which forbade the enlistment within the United States of soldiers to serve under a foreign power. Dillon, the French consul, was implicated and on his refusal to testify in court he was arrested. He fell back on his dignity and asserted that his nation had been insulted through him and closed his consulate. For a time there were fears of international trouble.

Del Valle was found guilty of violating the neutrality laws, but was never punished. The pro-slavery pet, Walker, and his gang were driven out of Mexico and the federal officials had no more interest in enforcing neutrality laws. Meanwhile Raousset, after great difficulties, had joined the three hundred Frenchmen at Guaymas. A strip of northern Sonora had been sold under what is known as the Gadsden purchase to the United States. There was no longer any opportunity to secure mines there from Mexico, but Raousset thought he could erect a barrier to any further encroachments of the United States and eventually secure Mexico for France. His first orders on reaching Guaymas to the commander of the French, Desmaris, was to attack the Mexican troops and capture the city. His order did not reach Desmaris. His messenger was arrested and the Mexican authorities begun collecting forces to oppose Raousset. Having failed to receive reinforcements, and his condition becoming unendurable, he made an attack on the Mexican forces, twelve hundred strong. After a brave assault he was defeated. He surrendered to the French consul on the assurance that his life and that of his men would be spared. He was treacherously surrendered by the French consul to the Mexican general. He was tried by a court-martial, found guilty and sentenced to be shot. On the morning of August 12, 1854, he was executed. His misguided followers were shipped back to San Francisco. So ended the first California filibuster.

The first American born filibuster who organized one of these piratical expeditions was William Walker, a native of Tennessee. He came to California with the rush of 1850. He had started out in life to be a doctor, had studied law and finally drifted into journalism. He belonged to the extreme pro-slavery faction. He located in San Francisco and found employment on the *Herald*. His bitter invective against the courts for their laxity in punishing crime raised the ire of Judge Levi Parsons, who fined Walker \$500 for contempt of court and ordered him imprisoned until the fine was paid. Walker refused to pay the fine and went to jail. He at once bounded into notoriety. He was a martyr to the freedom of the press. A public indignation meeting was called. An immense crowd of sympathizers called on Walker in jail. A writ of habeas corpus was sued out and he was released from jail and discharged. In the legislature of 1852 he tried to have Parson impeached, but failed. He next opened a law office in Marysville.

The success of Raousset-Boulbon in his first expedition to Sonora had aroused the ambition of Walker to become the founder of a new government. His first efforts were directed towards procuring from Mexico a grant on the Sonora border; this was to be colonized with Americans, who would protect the Mexican frontier from Apache incursion. This was a mere subterfuge and the Mexican authorities were not deceived by it—he got no grant. To forestall Raousset-Boulbon, who was again in the field with his revolutionary scheme, Walker opened a recruiting office. Each man was to receive a square league of land and plunder galore. The bait took, meetings were held, scrip sold and recruits flocked to Walker. The brig *Arrow* was chartered to carry the liberators to their destination. The pro-slavery officials, who held all the offices, winked at this violation of the neutrality laws. There was but one man, General Hitchcock, who dared to do his duty. He seized the vessel; it was released, and Hitchcock removed from command. Jefferson Davis was secretary of war and Hitchcock was made to feel his wrath for interfering with one of Davis' pet projects, the extension of slavery. Walker

sailed in another vessel, the *Caroline*, taking with him forty-one of his followers, well armed with rifles and revolvers to develop the resources of the country.

The vessel with Walker and his gang sneaked into La Paz under cover of a Mexican flag. He seized the unsuspecting governor and other officials and then proclaimed the Republic of Lower California. He appointed from his following a number of officials with high sounding titles. He adopted the code of Louisiana as the law of the land. This, as far as he was able, introduced into the country human slavery, which indeed was about the sole purpose of his filibustering schemes. Fearing that the Mexican government might send an expedition across the gulf to stop his marauding, he slipped out of the harbor and sailed up to Todas Santos, so as to be near the United States in case the Mexican government should make it uncomfortable for him. With this as headquarters he began preparations for an invasion of Sonora. His delectable followers appropriated to their own use whatever they could find in the poverty-stricken country. The news of the great victory at La Paz reached San Francisco and created great enthusiasm among Walker's sympathizers. His vice-president, Watkins, enrolled three hundred recruits and sent them to him, "greatly to the relief of the criminal calendar."

Walker began to drill his recruits for the conquest of Sonora. These patriots, who had rallied to the support of the new republic, under the promise of rich churches to pillage and well-stocked ranches to plunder, did not take kindly to a diet of jerked beef and beans and hard drilling under a torrid sun. Some rebelled and it became necessary for Walker to use the lash and even to shoot two of them for the good of the cause. The natives rebelled when they found their cattle and frijoles disappearing and the so-called battle of La Gualla was fought between the natives and a detachment of Walker's foragers, several of whom were killed. The news of this battle reached San Francisco and was magnified into a great victory. The new republic had been baptized in the blood of its martyrs.

After three months spent in drilling, Walker began his march to Sonora with but one hun-

dred men, and a small herd of cattle for food. Most of the others had deserted. In his journey across the desert the Indians stole some of his cattle and more of his men deserted. On reaching the Colorado river about half of his force abandoned the expedition and marched to Fort Yuma, where Major Heintzelman relieved their necessities. Walker with thirty-five men had started back for Santa Tomas. They brought up at Tia Juana, where they crossed the American line, surrendered and gave their paroles to Major McKinstry of the United States army. When Walker and his Falstaffian army reached San Francisco they were lionized as heroes. All they had done was to kill a few inoffensive natives on the peninsula and steal their cattle. Their valiant leader had proclaimed two republics and decreed (on paper) that slavery should prevail in them. He had had several of his dupes whipped and two of them shot, which was probably the most commendable thing he had done. His proclamations were ridiculous and his officers with their high sounding titles had returned from their burlesque conquest with scarcely rags enough on them to cover their nakedness. Yet, despite all this, the attempt to enlarge the area of slave territory covered him with glory and his rooms were the resort of all the pro-slavery officials of California.

The federal officials made a show of prosecuting the filibusters. Watkins, the vice-president of the Republic of Lower California and Sonora, was put on trial in the United States district court. The evidence was so plain and the proof so convincing that the judge was compelled to convict against his will. This delightful specimen of a pro-slavery justice expressed from the bench his sympathy for "those spirited men who had gone forth to upbuild the broken altars and rekindle the extinguished fires of liberty in Mexico and Lower California." With such men to enforce the laws, it was not strange that vigilance committees were needed in California. Watkins and Emory, the so-called secretary of state, were fined each \$1,500. The fines were never paid and no effort was ever made to compel their payment. The secretary of war and the secretary of the navy were put

on trial and acquitted. This ended the shameful farce.

Walker's next expedition was to Nicaragua in 1855. A revolution was in progress there. He joined forces with the Democratic party or anti-legitimists. He took but fifty-six men with him. These were called the American phalanx. His first engagement was an attack upon the fortified town of Rivas. Although his men fought bravely, they were defeated and two of his best officers, Kewen and Crocker, killed. His next fight was the battle of Virgin Bay, in which, with fifty Americans and one hundred and twenty natives, he defeated six hundred legitimists. He received reinforcements from California and reorganized his force. He seized the Accessory Transit Company's lake steamer *La Virgin* against the protest of the company, embarked his troops on board of it and by an adroit movement captured the capital city, Granada. His exploits were heralded abroad and recruits flocked to his support. The legitimist had fired upon a steamer bringing passengers up the San Juan river and killed several. Walker in retaliation ordered Mateo Mazorga, the legitimist secretary of state, whom he had taken prisoner at Granada, shot. Peace was declared between the two parties and Patricio Rivas made president. Rivas was president only in name; Walker was the real head of the government and virtually dictator.

He was now at the zenith of his power. By a series of arbitrary acts he confiscated the Accessory Transit Company's vessels and charter. This company had become a power in California travel and had secured the exclusive transit of passengers by the Nicaragua route, then the most popular route to California.

By this action he incurred the enmity of Vanderbilt, who henceforth worked for his downfall. The confiscation of the transit company's right destroyed confidence in the route, and travel virtually ceased by it. This was a blow to the prosperity of the country. To add to Walker's misfortunes, the other Central American states combined to drive the hated foreigners out of the country. He had gotten rid of Rivas and had secured the presidency for himself. He had secured the repeal of the Nic-

aragua laws against slavery and thus paved the way for the introduction of his revered institution. His army now amounted to about twelve hundred men, mostly recruited from California and the slave states. The cholera broke out among his forces and in the armies of the allies and numbers died. His cause was rapidly waning. Many of his dupes deserted. A series of disasters arising from his blundering and incapacity, resulted in his overthrow. He and sixteen of his officers were taken out of the country on the United States sloop of war, *St. Mary's*. The governor of Panama refused to allow him to land in that city. He was sent across the isthmus under guard to Aspinwall and from there with his staff took passage to New Orleans. His misguided followers were transported to Panama and found their way back to the United States.

Upon arriving at New Orleans he began recruiting for a new expedition. One hundred and fifty of his "emigrants" sailed from Mobile; the pro-slavery federal officials allowing them to depart. They were wrecked on Glover's reef, about seventy miles from Balize. They were rescued by a British vessel and returned to Mobile. Walker, with one hundred and thirty-two armed emigrants, landed at Punta Arenas, November 25, 1857, and hoisted his Nicaraguan flag and called himself commander-in-chief of the army of Nicaragua. He and his men began a career of plunder; seized the fort or castillo on the San Juan river; captured steamers, killed several inhabitants and made prisoners of others. Commander Paulding, of the United States flagship *Wabash*, then on that coast, regarded these acts as rapine and murder, and Walker and his men as outlaws and pirates. He broke up their camp, disarmed Walker and his emigrants and sent them to the United States for trial. But instead of Walker and his followers being tried for piracy their pro-slavery abettors made heroes of them.

Walker's last effort to regain his lost prestige in Nicaragua was made in 1860. With two hundred men, recruited in New Orleans he landed near Truxillo, in Honduras. His intention was to make his way by land to Nicaragua. He very soon found armed opposition. His new recruits

were not inclined to sacrifice themselves to make him dictator of some country that they had no interest in. So they refused to stand up against the heavy odds they encountered in every fight. Finding his situation growing desperate, he was induced to surrender himself to the captain of the British man-of-war *Icarus*. The authorities of Honduras made a demand on the captain for Walker. That British officer promptly turned the filibuster over to them. He was tried by a court-martial, hastily convened, found guilty of the offenses charged, and condemned to die. September 25, 1860, he was marched out and, in accordance with his sentence, shot to death.

Walker's career is an anomaly in the history of mankind. Devoid of all the characteristics of a great leader, without a commanding presence, puny in size, homely to the point of ugliness, in disposition, cold, cruel, selfish, heartless, stolidly indifferent to the suffering of others, living only to gratify the cravings of his inordinate ambition—it is strange that such a man could attract thousands to offer their lives for his aggrandizement and sacrifice themselves for a cause of which he was the exponent, a cause the most ignoble, the extension of human slavery, that for such a man and for such a cause thousands did offer up their lives is a sad commentary on the political morality of that time. It is said that over ten thousand men joined Walker in his filibustering schemes and that fifty-seven hundred of these found graves in Nicaragua. Of the number of natives killed in battle or who died of disease, there is no record, but it greatly exceeded Walker's losses.

While Walker was attaining some success in Nicaragua, another California filibuster entered the arena. This was Henry A. Crabb, a Stockton lawyer. Like Walker, he was a native of Tennessee, and, like him, too, he was a rabid pro-slavery advocate. He had served in the assembly and one term in the state senate. It is said he was the author of a bill to allow slaveholders who brought their slaves into California before its admission to take their human chattels back into bondage. He was originally a Whig, but had joined the Know-Nothing party and was a candidate of that party for United States senator in 1856; but his extreme southern princi-

ples prevented his election. He had married a Spanish wife, who had numerous and influential relatives in Sonora. It was claimed that Crabb had received an invitation from some of these to bring down an armed force of Americans to overthrow the government and make himself master of the country. Whether he did or did not receive such an invitation, he did recruit a body of men for some kind of service in Sonora. With a force of one hundred men, well armed with rifles and revolvers, he sailed, in January, 1857, on the steamer *Sea Bird*, from San Francisco to San Pedro and from there marched overland. As usual, no attempt was made by the federal authorities to prevent him from invading a neighboring country with an armed force.

He entered Sonora at Sonita, a small town one hundred miles from Yuma. His men helped themselves to what they could find. When approaching the town of Cavorca they were fired upon by a force of men lying in ambush. The fire was kept up from all quarters. They made a rush and gained the shelter of the houses. In the charge two of their men had been killed and eighteen wounded. In the house they had taken possession of they were exposed to shots from a church. Crabb and fifteen of his men attempted to blow open the doors of the church with gunpowder, but in the attempt, which failed, five of the men were killed, and seven, including Crabb, wounded. After holding out for five days they surrendered to the Mexicans, Gabilondo, the Mexican commander, promising to spare their lives. Next morning they were marched out in squads of five to ten and shot. Crabb was tied to a post and a hundred balls fired into him; his head was cut off and placed in a jar of mescal. The only one spared was a boy of fifteen, Charles E. Evans. A party of sixteen men whom Crabb had left at Sonita was surprised and all massacred. The boy Evans was the only one left to tell the fate of the ill-starred expedition. This put an end to filibustering expeditions into Sonora.

These armed forays on the neighboring countries to the south of the United States ceased with the beginning of the war of secession. They had all been made for the purpose of acquiring slave territory. The leaders of them

were southern men and the rank and file were mostly recruited from natives of the slave states. Bancroft truthfully says of these filibustering expeditions: "They were foul robberies, covered by the flimsiest of political and social pretenses, gilded by false aphorisms and profane distortion of sacred formulæ. Liberty dragged in the mud for purposes of theft and human enslavement; the cause of humanity bandied in filthy mouths to promote atrocious butcheries; peaceful,

blooming valleys given over to devastation and ruin; happy families torn asunder, and widows and orphans cast adrift to nurse affliction; and finally, the peace of nations imperiled, and the morality of right insulted. The thought of such results should obliterate all romance, and turn pride to shame. They remain an ineffaceable stain upon the government of the most progressive of nations, and veil in dismal irony the dream of manifest destiny."

CHAPTER XXIX.

FROM GOLD TO GRAIN AND FRUITS.

UNDER the Spanish and Mexican jurisdictions there was but little cultivation of the soil in California. While the gardens of some of the missions, and particularly those of Santa Barbara and San Buenaventura, presented a most appetizing display of fruit and vegetables, at the ranchos there were but meager products. Gilroy says that when he came to the country, in 1814, potatoes were not cultivated and it was a rare thing outside of the mission gardens to find any onions or cabbages. A few acres of wheat and a small patch of maize or corn furnished bread, or, rather, tortillas for a family. At the missions a thick soup made of boiled wheat or maize and meat was the standard article of diet for the neophytes. This was portioned out to them in the quantity of about three pints to each person. Langsdorff, who witnessed the distribution of soup rations to the Indians at Santa Clara, says: "It appeared incomprehensible how any one could three times a day eat so large a portion of such nourishing food." The neophytes evidently had healthy appetites. Frijoles (beans) were the staple vegetable dish in Spanish families. These were served up at almost every meal. The bill of fare for a native Californian family was very simple.

A considerable amount of wheat was raised at the more favorably located missions. It was not raised for export, but to feed the neophytes.

The wheat fields had to be fenced in, or perhaps it would be more in accordance with the facts to say that the cattle had to be fenced out. As timber was scarce, adobe brick did duty for fencing as well as for house building. Sometimes the low adobe walls were made high and safe by placing on top of them a row of the skulls of Spanish cattle with the long, curving horns attached to them pointing outward. These were brought from the matanzas or slaughter corrals where there were thousands of them lying around. It was almost impossible for man or beast to scale such a fence.

The agricultural implements of the early Californians were few and simple. The Mexican plow was a forked stick with an iron point fastened to the fork or branch that penetrated the ground. It turned no furrow, but merely scratched the surface of the ground. After sowing it was a race between the weeds and the grain. It depended on the season which won. If the season was cold and backward, so that the seed did not sprout readily, the weeds got the start and won out easily. And yet with such primitive cultivation the yield was sometimes astonishing. At the Mission San Diego the crop of wheat one year produced one hundred and ninety-five fold. As the agriculturist had a large area from which to select his arable land, only the richest soils were chosen. Before the discovery of gold there was little or no market

for grain, and each rancho raised only enough for his own use. For a time there was some trade with the Russians in grain to supply their settlements in Alaska, but this did not continue long.

When some of the Americans who came in the gold rush began to turn their attention to agriculture they greatly underrated the productiveness of the country. To men raised where the summer rains were needed to raise a crop it seemed impossible to produce a crop in a country that was rainless for six or eight months of the year. All attempts at agriculture hitherto had been along the rivers, and it was generally believed that the plains back from the water courses could never be used for any other purpose than cattle raising.

The mining rush of '49 found California without vegetables and fresh fruit. The distance was too great for the slow transportation of that day to ship these into the country. Those who first turned their attention to market gardening made fortunes. The story is told of an old German named Schwartz who had a small ranch a few miles below Sacramento. In 1848, when everybody was rushing to the mines, he remained on his farm, unmoved by the stories of the wonderful finds of gold. Anticipating a greater rush in 1849, he planted several acres in watermelons. As they ripened he took them up to the city and disposed of them at prices ranging from \$1 to \$5, according to size. He realized that season from his melons alone \$30,000. The first field of cabbages was grown by George H. Peck and a partner in 1850. From defective seed or some other cause the cabbage failed to come to a head. Supposing that the defect was in the climate and not in the cabbage, the honest rancher marketed his crop in San Francisco, carrying a cabbage in each hand along the streets until he found a customer. To the query why there were no heads to them the reply was, "That's the way cabbages grow in California." He got rid of his crop at the rate of \$1 apiece for each headless cabbage. But all the vegetable growing experiments were not a financial success. The high price of potatoes in 1849 started a tuber-growing epidemic in 1850. Hundreds of acres were planted to

"spuds" in the counties contiguous to San Francisco, the agriculturists paying as high as fifteen cents per pound for seed. The yield was enormous and the market was soon overstocked. The growers who could not dispose of their potatoes stacked them up in huge piles in the fields; and there they rotted, filling the country around with their effluvia. The next year nobody planted potatoes, and prices went up to the figures of '49 and the spring of '50.

The size to which vegetables grew astonished the amateur agriculturists. Beets, when allowed to grow to maturity, resembled the trunks of trees; onions looked like squash, while a patch of pumpkins resembled a tented field; and corn grew so tall that the stalks had to be felled to get at the ears. Onions were a favorite vegetable in the mining camps on account of their anti-scorbutic properties as a preventive of scurvy. The honest miner was not fastidious about the aroma. They were a profitable crop, too. One rancho in the Napa valley was reported to have cleared \$8,000 off two acres of onions.

With the decline of gold mining, wheat became the staple product of central California. The nearness to shipping ports and the large yields made wheat growing very profitable. In the years immediately following the Civil war the price ranged high and a fortune was sometimes made from the products of a single field. It may be necessary to explain that the field might contain anywhere from five hundred to a thousand acres. The grain area was largely extended by the discovery that land in the upper mesas, which had been regarded as only fit for pasture land, was good for cereals. The land in the southern part of the state, which was held in large grants, continued to be devoted to cattle raising for at least two decades after the American conquest. After the discovery of gold, cattle raising became immensely profitable. Under the Mexican régime a steer was worth what his hide and tallow would bring or about \$2 or \$3. The rush of immigration in 1849 sent the price of cattle up until a fat bullock sold for from \$30 to \$35. The profit to a rancho who had a thousand or more marketable cattle was a fortune. A good, well-stocked

cattle ranch was more valuable than a gold mine.

The enormous profits in cattle raising dazed the Californians. Had they been thrifty and economical, they might have grown rich. But the sudden influx of wealth engendered extravagant habits and when the price of cattle fell, as it did in a few years, the spendthrift customs were continued. When the cattle market was dull it was easy to raise money by mortgaging the ranch. With interest at the rate of 5 per cent per month, compounded monthly, it did not take long for land and cattle both to change hands. It is related of the former owner of the Santa Gertrudes rancho that he borrowed \$500 from a money lender, at 5 per cent a month, to beat a poker game, but did not succeed. Then he borrowed more money to pay the interest on the first and kept on doing so until interest and principal amounted to \$100,000; then the mortgage was foreclosed and property to-day worth \$1,000,000 was lost for a paltry \$500 staked on a poker game.

Gold mining continued to be the prevailing industry of northern California. The gold production reached its acme in 1853, when the total yield was \$65,000,000. From that time there was a gradual decline in production and in the number of men employed. Many had given up the hopes of striking it rich and quit the business for something more certain and less illusive. The production of gold in 1852 was \$60,000,000, yet the average yield to each man of the one hundred thousand engaged in it was only about \$600, or a little over \$2 per day to the man, scarcely living wages as prices were then. It has been claimed that the cost of producing the gold, counting all expenditures, was three times the value of that produced. Even if it did, the development of the country and impulse given to trade throughout the world would more than counterbalance the loss.

At the time of the discovery of gold nearly all of the fruit raised in California was produced at Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. In Spanish and Mexican days, Los Angeles had been the principal wine-producing district of California. Although wine, as well as other spirituous liquors, were in demand, the vineyardists found it more

profitable to ship their grapes to San Francisco than to manufacture them into wine. Grapes retailed in the city of San Francisco at from twelve and one-half to twenty-five cents a pound. The vineyards were as profitable as the cattle ranches. The mission Indians did the labor in the vineyards and were paid in aguar-diente on Saturday night. By Sunday morning they were all drunk; then they were gathered up and put into a corral. On Monday morning they were sold to pay the cost of their dissipation. It did not take many years to kill off the Indians. The city has grown over the former sites of the vineyards.

The first orange trees were planted at the Mission San Gabriel about the year 1815 and a few at Los Angeles about the same time. But little attention was given to the industry by the Californians. The first extensive grove was planted by William Wolfskill in 1840. The impression then prevailed that oranges could be grown only on the low lands near the river. The idea of attempting to grow them on the mesa lands was scouted at by the Californians and the Americans. The success that attended the Riverside experiment demonstrated that they could be grown on the mesas, and that the fruit produced was superior to that grown on the river bottoms. This gave such an impetus to the industry in the south that it has distanced all others. The yearly shipment to the eastern markets is twenty thousand car loads. The citrus belt is extending every year.

The Californians paid but little attention to the quality of the fruit they raised. The seed fell in the ground and sprouted. If the twig survived and grew to be a tree, they ate the fruit, asking no question whether the quality might be improved. The pears grown at the missions and at some of the ranch houses were hard and tasteless. It was said they never ripened. A small black fig was cultivated in a few places, but the quantity of fruit grown outside of the mission gardens was very small.

The high price of all kinds of fruit in the early '50s induced the importation of apple, peach, pear, plum and prune trees. These thrived and soon supplied the demand. Before the advent of the railroads and the shipment east the quan-

tity of deciduous fruit produced had outgrown the demand, and there was no profit in its production. All this has been changed by eastern shipment.

Sheep were brought to the country with the first missionary expeditions. The Indian in his primitive condition did not use clothing. A coat of mud was his only garment and he was not at all particular about the fit of that. After his conversion the missionaries put clothing on him, or, rather, on part of him. He was given a shirt, which was a shirt of Nessus, being made of the coarse woolen cloth manufactured at the mission. It was irritating to the skin and compelled the poor wretches to keep up a continual scratching; at least, that is what Hugo Reid tells us. During the Civil war and for several years after, the sheep industry was very profitable. The subdivision of the great ranchos and the absorption of the land for grain growing and fruit culture have contracted the sheep ranges until there is but little left for pasture except the foothills that are too rough for cultivation.

Up to 1863 the great Spanish grants that covered the southern part of the state had, with a few exceptions, been held intact and cattle raising had continued to be the principal industry. For several seasons previous to the famine years of 1863 and 1864 there had been heavy rainfalls and consequently feed was abundant. With the price of cattle declining, the rancheros overstocked their ranges to make up by quantity for decrease in value. When the dry year of 1863 set in, the feed on ranches was soon exhausted and the cattle starving. The second famine year following, the cattle industry was virtually wiped out of existence and the cattle-owners ruined. In Santa Barbara, where the cattle barons held almost imperial sway, and, with their army of retainers, controlled the political affairs of the county, of the two hundred thousand cattle listed on the assessment roll of 1862, only five thousand were alive when grass grew in 1865. On the Stearns' ranchos in Los Angeles county, one hundred thousand head of cattle and horses perished, and the owner of a quarter million acres and a large amount of city property could not raise money enough to pay his taxes.

Many of the rancheros were in debt when the hard times came, and others mortgaged their land at usurious rates of interest to carry them through the famine years. Their cattle dead, they had no income to meet the interest on the cancerous mortgage that was eating up their patrimony. The result was that they were compelled either to sell their land or the mortgage was foreclosed and they lost it. This led to the subdivision of the large grants into small holdings, the new proprietors finding that there was more profit in selling them off in small tracts than in large ones. This brought in an intelligent and progressive population, and in a few years entirely revolutionized the agricultural conditions of the south. Grain growing and fruit raising became the prevailing industries. The adobe ranch house with its matanzas and its Golgotha of cattle skulls and bones gave place to the tasty farm house with its flower garden, lawn and orange grove.

The Californians paid but little attention to improving the breed of their cattle. When the only value in an animal was the hide and tallow, it did not pay to improve the breed. The hide of a long-horned, mouse-colored Spanish steer would sell for as much as that of a high-bred Durham or Holstein, and, besides, the first could exist where the latter would starve to death. After the conquest there was for some time but little improvement. Cattle were brought across the plains, but for the most part these were the mongrel breeds of the western states and were but little improvement on the Spanish stock. It was not until the famine years virtually exterminated the Spanish cattle that better breeds were introduced.

As with cattle, so also it was with horses. Little attention was given to improving the breed. While there were a few fine race horses and saddle horses in the country before its American occupation, the prevailing equine was the mustang. He was a vicious beast, nor was it strange that his temper was bad. He had to endure starvation and abuse that would have killed a more aristocratic animal. He took care of himself, subsisted on what he could pick up and to the best of his ability resented ill treatment. Horses during the Mexican régime were

used only for riding. Oxen were the draft animals. The mustang had one inherent trait that did not endear him to an American, and that was his propensity to "buck." With his nose between his knees, his back arched and his legs stiffened, by a series of short, quick jumps, he could dismount an inexperienced rider with neatness and dispatch. The Californian took delight in urging the bronco to "buck" so that he (the rider) might exhibit his skillful horsemanship. The mustang had some commendable traits as well. He was sure-footed as a goat and could climb the steep hillsides almost equal to that animal. He had an easy gait under the saddle and could measure off mile after mile without a halt. His power of endurance was wonderful. He could live off the country when apparently there was nothing to subsist on except the bare ground. He owed mankind a debt of ingratitude which he always stood ready to pay when an opportunity offered. The passing of the mustang began with the advent of the American farmer.

The founding of agricultural colonies began in the '50s. One of the first, if not the first, was the German colony of Anaheim, located thirty miles south of Los Angeles. A company of Germans organized in San Francisco in 1857 for the purpose of buying land for the cultivation of the wine grape and the manufacture of wine. The organization was a stock company. Eleven hundred acres were purchased in a Spanish grant. This was subdivided into twenty and forty acre tracts; an irrigating ditch brought in from the Santa Ana river. A portion of each subdivision was planted in vines and these were cultivated by the company until they came into bearing, when the tracts were divided among the stockholders by lot, a certain valuation being fixed on each tract. The man obtaining a choice lot paid into the fund a certain amount and the one receiving an inferior tract received a certain amount, so that each received the same value in the distribution. The colony proved quite a success, and for thirty years Anaheim was one of the largest wine-producing districts in the United States. In 1887 a mysterious disease destroyed all the vines and the vineyardists turned their attention

to the cultivation of oranges and English walnuts.

The Riverside colony, then in San Bernardino county, now in Riverside county, was founded in 1870. The projectors of the colony were eastern gentlemen. At the head of the organization was Judge J. W. North. They purchased four thousand acres of the Roubidoux or Jurupa rancho and fourteen hundred and sixty acres of government land from the California Silk Center Association. This association had been organized in 1869 for the purpose of founding a colony to cultivate mulberry trees and manufacture silk. It had met with reverses, first in the death of its president, Louis Prevost, a man skilled in the silk business, next in the revocation by the legislature of the bounty for mulberry plantations, and lastly in the subsidence of the sericulture craze. To encourage silk culture in California, the legislature, in 1866, passed an act authorizing the payment of a bounty of \$250 for every plantation of five thousand mulberry trees two years old. This greatly stimulated the planting of mulberry trees, if it did not greatly increase the production of silk. In 1869 it was estimated that in the central and southern portions of the state there were ten millions of mulberry trees in various stages of growth. Demands for the bounty poured in upon the commissioners in such numbers that the state treasury was threatened with bankruptcy. The revocation of the bounty killed the silk worms and the mulberry trees; and those who had been attacked with the sericulture craze quickly recovered. The Silk Center Association, having fallen into hard lines, offered its lands for sale at advantageous terms, and in September, 1870, they were purchased by the Southern California Colony Association. The land was bought at \$3.50 per acre. It was mesa or table land that had never been cultivated. It was considered by old-timers indifferent sheep pasture, and Roubidoux, it is said, had it struck from the tax roll because it was not worth taxing.

The company had the land subdivided and laid off a town which was first named Jurupa, but afterwards the name was changed to Riverside. The river, the Santa Ana, did not flow

past the town, but the colonists hoped to make a goodly portion of its waters do so. The lands were put on sale at reasonable prices, a ditch at a cost of \$50,000 was constructed. Experiments were made with oranges, raisin grapes and deciduous fruits, but the colony finally settled down to orange producing. In 1873 the introduction of the Bahia or navel orange gave an additional impetus to orange growing in the colony, the fruit of that species being greatly superior to any other. This fruit was propagated by budding from two trees received from Washington, D. C., by J. A. Tibbetts, of Riverside.

The Indiana colony, which later became Pasadena, was founded in 1873 by some gentlemen from Indiana. Its purpose was the growing of citrus fruits and raisin grapes, but it has grown into a city, and the orange groves, once the pride of the colony, have given place to business blocks and stately residences.

During the early '70s a number of agricultural colonies were founded in Fresno county. These were all fruit-growing and raisin-producing enterprises. They proved successful and Fresno has become the largest raisin-producing district in the state.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE CIVIL WAR—LOYALTY AND DISLOYALTY.

THE admission of California into the Union as a free state did not, in the opinion of the ultra pro-slavery faction, preclude the possibility of securing a part of its territory for the "peculiar institution" of the south. The question of state division which had come up in the constitutional convention was again agitated. The advocates of division hoped to cut off from the southern part, territory enough for a new state. The ostensible purpose of division was kept concealed. The plea of unjust taxation was made prominent. The native Californians who under Mexican rule paid no taxes on their land were given to understand that they were bearing an undue proportion of the cost of government, while the mining counties, paying less tax, had the greater representation. The native Californians were opposed to slavery, an open advocacy of the real purpose would defeat the division scheme.

The leading men in the southern part of the state were from the slave states. If the state were divided, the influence of these men would carry the new state into the Union with a constitution authorizing slave-holding and thus the south would gain two senators. The division question came up in some form in nearly every session of the legislature for a decade after California became a state.

In the legislature of 1854-55, Jefferson Hunt, of San Bernardino county, introduced a bill in the assembly to create and establish, "out of the territory embraced within the limits of the state of California, a new state, to be called the state of Columbia." The territory embraced within the counties of Santa Cruz, Santa Clara, San Joaquin, Calaveras, Amador, Tuolumne, Stanislaus, Mariposa, Tulare, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Luis Obispo, Los Angeles, San Bernardino and San Diego, with the islands on the coast, were to constitute the new state. "The people residing within the above mentioned territory shall be and they are hereby authorized, so soon as the consent of the congress of the United States shall be obtained thereto, to proceed to organize a state government under such rules as are prescribed by the constitution of the United States." The bill was referred to a select committee of thirteen members representing different sections of the state. This committee reported as a substitute, "An Act to create three states out of the territory of California," and also drafted an address to the people of California advocating the passage of the act. The eastern boundary line of California was to be moved over the mountains to the one hundred and nineteenth degree of longitude west of Greenwich, which would have taken about

half of the present state of Nevada. The northern state was to be called Shasta, the central California and the southern Colorado.

The southern boundary of the state of Shasta began at the mouth of Maron's river; thence easterly along the boundary line between Yerba and Butte counties and between Sierra and Plumas to the summit of the Sierra Nevadas and thence easterly to the newly established state line.

The northern boundary of the state of Colorado began at the mouth of the Pajara river, running up that river to the summit of the Coast Range; thence in a straight line to the mouth of the Merced river, thence up that river to the summits of the Sierra Nevadas and then due east to the newly established state line.

The territory not embraced in the states of Colorado and Shasta was to constitute the state of California.

The taxable property of Shasta for the year 1854 was \$7,000,000 and the revenue \$100,000; that of Colorado \$9,764,000 and the revenue \$186,000. These amounts the committee considered sufficient to support the state governments. The bill died on the files.

The legislature of 1859 was intensely pro-slavery. The divisionists saw in it an opportunity to carry out their long-deferred scheme. The so-called Pico law, an act granting the consent of the legislature to the formation of a different government for the southern counties of this state, was introduced early in the session, passed in both houses and approved by the governor April 18, 1859. The boundaries of the proposed state were as follows: "All of that part or portion of the present territory of this state lying all south of a line drawn eastward from the west boundary of the state along the sixth standard parallel south of the Mount Diablo meridian, east to the summit of the coast range; thence southerly following said summit to the seventh standard parallel; thence due east on said standard, parallel to its intersection with the northwest boundary of Los Angeles county; thence northeast along said boundary to the eastern boundary of the state, including the counties of San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino and a part of Buena Vista, shall be

segregated from the remaining portion of the state for the purpose of the formation by congress, with the concurrent action of said portion (the consent for the segregation of which is hereby granted), of a territorial or other government under the name of the "Territory of Colorado," or such other name as may be deemed meet and proper."

Section second provided for the submitting the question of "For a Territory" or "Against a Territory" to the people of the portion sought to be segregated at the next general election; "and in case two-thirds of the whole number of voters voting thereon shall vote for a change of government, the consent hereby given shall be deemed consummated." In case the vote was favorable the secretary of state was to send a certified copy of the result of the election and a copy of the act annexed to the president of the United States and to the senators and representatives of California in congress. At the general election in September, 1859, the question was submitted to a vote of the people of the southern counties, with the following result:

	For.	Against.
Los Angeles county.....	1,407	441
San Bernardino	441	29
San Diego	207	24
San Luis Obispo.....	10	283
Santa Barbara	395	51
Tulare	17	...
Total	2,477	828

The bill to create the county of Buena Vista from the southern portion of Tulare failed to pass the legislature, hence the name of that county does not appear in the returns. The result of the vote showed that considerably more than two-thirds were in favor of a new state.

The results of this movement for division and the act were sent to the president and to congress, but nothing came of it. The pro-slavery faction which with the assistance of its coadjutors of the north had so long dominated congress had lost its power. The southern senators and congressmen were preparing for secession and had weightier matters to think of than the division of the state of California. Of late years, a few feeble attempts have been made to stir up

the old question of state division and even to resurrect the old "Pico law."

For more than a decade after its admission into the Union, California was a Democratic state and controlled by the pro-slavery wing of that party. John C. Fremont and William H. Gwin, its first senators, were southern born, Fremont in South Carolina and Gwin in Tennessee. Politics had not entered into their election, but the lines were soon drawn. Fremont drew the short term and his services in the senate were very brief. He confidently expected a re-election, but in this he was doomed to disappointment. The legislature of 1851, after balloting one hundred and forty-two times, adjourned without electing, leaving California with but one senator in the session of 1850-51. In the legislature of 1852 John B. Willer was elected. He was a northern man with southern principles. His chief opponent for the place was David Colbert Broderick, a man destined to fill an important place in the political history of California. He was an Irishman by birth, but had come to America in his boyhood. He had learned the stone cutters' trade with his father. His early associations were with the rougher element of New York City. Aspiring to a higher position than that of a stone cutter he entered the political field and soon arose to prominence. At the age of 26 he was nominated for Congress, but was defeated by a small majority through a split in the party. In 1849 he came to California, where he arrived sick and penniless. With F. D. Kohler, an assayer, he engaged in coining gold. The profit from buying gold dust at \$14 an ounce and making it into \$5 and \$10 pieces put him in affluent circumstances.

His first entry into politics in California was his election to fill a vacancy in the senate of the first legislature. In 1851 he became president of the senate. He studied law, history and literature and was admitted to the bar. He was appointed clerk of the supreme court and had aspirations for still higher positions. Although Senator Gwin was a Democrat, he had managed to control all the federal appointments of Fillmore, the Whig president, and he had filled the offices with pro-slavery Democrats.

No other free state in the Union had such odious laws against negroes as had California. The legislature of 1852 enacted a law "respecting fugitives from labor and slaves brought to this state prior to her admission to the Union." "Under this law a colored man or woman could be brought before a magistrate, claimed as a slave, and the person so seized not being permitted to testify, the judge had no alternative but to issue a certificate to the claimant, which certificate was conclusive of the right of the person or persons in whose favor granted, and prevented all molestation of such person or persons, by any process issued by any court, judge, justice or magistrate or other person whomsoever."* Any one who rendered assistance to a fugitive was liable to a fine of \$500 or imprisonment for two months. Slaves who had been brought into California by their masters before it became a state, but who were freed by the adoption of a constitution prohibiting slavery, were held to be fugitives and were liable to arrest, although they had been free for several years and some of them had accumulated considerable property. By limitation the law should have become inoperative in 1853, but the legislature of that year re-enacted it, and the succeeding legislatures of 1854 and 1855 continued it in force. The intention of the legislators who enacted the law was to legalize the kidnapping of free negroes, as well as the arrest of fugitives. Broderick vigorously opposed the prosecution of the colored people and by so doing called down upon his head the wrath of the pro-slavery chivalry. From that time on he was an object of their hatred. While successive legislatures were passing laws to punish black men for daring to assert their freedom and their right to the products of their honest toil, white villains were rewarded with political preferment, provided always that they belonged to the dominant wing of the Democratic party. The Whig party was but little better than the other, for the same element ruled in both. The finances of the state were in a deplorable condition and continually growing worse. The people's money was recklessly squandered. Incompetency was

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VI.

the rule in office and honesty the exception. Ballot box stuffing had been reduced to a mechanical science, jury bribing was one of the fine arts and suborning perjury was a recognized profession. During one election in San Francisco it was estimated that \$1,500,000 was spent in one way or another to influence voters. Such was the state of affairs just preceding the uprising of the people that evolved in San Francisco the vigilance committee of 1856.

At the state election in the fall of 1855 the Know Nothings carried the state. The native American or Know Nothing party was a party of few principles. Opposition to Catholics and foreigners was about the only plank in its platform. There was a strong opposition to foreign miners in the mining districts and the pro-slavery faction saw in the increased foreign immigration danger to the extension of their beloved institution into new territory. The most potent cause of the success of the new party in California was the hope that it might bring reform to relieve the tax burdened people. But in this they were disappointed. It was made up from the same element that had so long misgoverned the state.

The leaders of the party were either pro-slavery men of the south or northern men with southern principles. Of the latter class was J. Neely Johnson, the governor-elect. In the legislature of 1855 the contest between Gwin and Broderick, which had been waged at the polls the previous year, culminated after thirty-eight ballots in no choice and Gwin's place in the senate became vacant at the expiration of his term. In the legislature of 1856 the Know Nothings had a majority in both houses. It was supposed that they would elect a senator to succeed Gwin. There were three aspirants: H. A. Crabb, formerly a Whig; E. C. Marshall and Henry S. Foote, formerly Democrats. All were southerners and were in the new party for office. The Gwin and Broderick influence was strong enough to prevent the Know Nothing legislature from electing a senator and California was left with but one representative in the upper house of Congress.

The Know Nothing party was short lived. At the general election in 1856 the Democrats

swept the state. Broderick, by his ability in organizing and his superior leadership, had secured a majority in the legislature and was in a position to dictate terms to his opponents. Weller's senatorial term would soon expire and Gwin's already two years vacant left two places to be filled. Broderick, who had heretofore been contending for Gwin's place, changed his tactics and aspired to fill the long term. According to established custom, the filing of the vacancy would come up first, but Broderick, by superior finesse, succeeded in having the caucus nominate the successor to Weller first. Ex-Congressman Latham's friends were induced to favor the arrangement on the expectation that their candidate would be given the short term. Broderick was elected to the long term on the first ballot, January 9, 1857, and his commission was immediately made out and signed by the governor. For years he had bent his energies to securing the senatorship and at last he had obtained the coveted honor. But he was not satisfied yet. He aspired to control the federal patronage of the state; in this way he could reward his friends. He could dictate the election of his colleague for the short term. Both Gwin and Latham were willing to concede to him that privilege for the sake of an election. Latham tried to make a few reservations for some of his friends to whom he had promised places. Gwin offered to surrender it all without reservation. He had had enough of it. Gwin was elected and next day published an address, announcing his obligation to Broderick and renouncing any claim to the distribution of the federal patronage.

Then a wail long and loud went up from the chivalry, who for years had monopolized all the offices. That they, southern gentlemen of aristocratic antecedents, should be compelled to ask favors of a mudsill of the north was too humiliating to be borne. Latham, too, was indignant and Broderick found that his triumph was but a hollow mockery. But the worst was to come. He who had done so much to unite the warring Democracy and give the party a glorious victory in California at the presidential election of 1856 fully expected the approbation of President Buchanan, but when he called on

that old gentleman he was received coldly and during Buchanan's administration he was ignored and Gwin's advice taken and followed in making federal appointments. He returned to California in April, 1857, to secure the nomination of his friends on the state ticket, but in this he was disappointed. The Gwin element was in the ascendancy and John B. Weller received the nomination for governor. He was regarded as a martyr, having been tricked out of a re-election to the senate by Broderick. There were other martyrs of the Democracy, who received balm for their wounds and sympathy for their sufferings at that convention. In discussing a resolution denouncing the vigilance committee, O'Meara in his "History of Early Politics in California," says: "Col. Joseph P. Hoge, the acknowledged leader of the convention, stated that the committee had hanged four men, banished twenty-eight and arrested two hundred and eighty; and that these were nearly all Democrats.

On Broderick's return to the senate in the session of 1857-58, he cast his lot with Senator Douglas and opposed the admission of Kansas under the infamous Lecompton constitution. This cut him loose from the administration wing of the party.

In the state campaign of 1859 Broderick rallied his followers under the Anti-Lecompton standard and Gwin his in support of the Buchanan administration. The party was hopelessly divided. Two Democratic tickets were placed in the field. The Broderick ticket, with John Currey as governor, and the Gwin, with Milton Latham, the campaign was bitter. Broderick took the stump and although not an orator his denunciations of Gwin were scathing and merciless and in his fearful earnestness he became almost eloquent. Gwin in turn loosed the vials of his wrath upon Broderick and criminations and recriminations flew thick and fast during the campaign. It was a campaign of vituperation, but the first aggressor was Gwin.

Judge Terry, in a speech before the Lecompton convention at Sacramento in June, 1859, after flinging out sneers at the Republican party, characterized Broderick's party as sailing "under

the flag of Douglas, but it is the banner of the black Douglass, whose name is Frederick, not Stephen." This taunt was intended to arouse the wrath of Broderick. He read Terry's speech while seated at breakfast in the International hotel at San Francisco. Broderick denounced Terry's utterance in forcible language and closed by saying: "I have hitherto spoken of him as an honest man, as the only honest man on the bench of a miserable, corrupt supreme court, but now I find I was mistaken. I take it all back." A lawyer by the name of Perley, a friend of Terry's, to whom the remark was directed, to obtain a little reputation, challenged Broderick. Broderick refused to consider Perley's challenge on the ground that he was not his (Broderick's) equal in standing and beside that he had declared himself a few days before a British subject. Perley did not stand very high in the community. Terry had acted as a second for him in a duel a few years before.

Broderick, in his reply to Perley, said: "I have determined to take no notice of attacks from any source during the canvass. If I were to accept your challenge, there are probably many other gentlemen who would seek similar opportunities for hostile meetings for the purpose of accomplishing a political object or to obtain public notoriety. I cannot afford at the present time to descend to a violation of the Constitution and state laws to subserve either their or your purposes."

Terry a few days after the close of the campaign sent a letter to Broderick demanding a retraction of the offensive remarks. Broderick, well knowing that he would have to fight some representative of the chivalry if not several of them in succession, did not retract his remarks. He had for several years, in expectation of such a result in a contest with them, practiced himself in the use of fire arms until he had become quite expert.

A challenge followed, a meeting was arranged to take place in San Mateo county, ten miles from San Francisco, on the 12th of September. Chief of Police Burke appeared on the scene and arrested the principals. They were released by the court, no crime having been committed. They met next morning at the same place; ex-

Congressman McKibben and David D. Colton were Broderick's seconds. Calhoun Benham and Thomas Hayes were Terry's. The pistols selected belonged to a friend of Terry's. Broderick was ill, weak and nervous, and it was said that his pistol was quicker on the trigger than Terry's. When the word was given it was discharged before it reached a level and the ball struck the earth, nine feet from where he stood. Terry fired, striking Broderick in the breast. He sank to the earth mortally wounded and died three days afterwards. Broderick dead was a greater man than Broderick living. For years he had waged a contest against the representatives of the slave oligarchy in California and the great mass of the people had looked on with indifference, even urging on his pursuers to the tragic end. Now that he was killed, the cry went up for vengeance on his murderers. Terry was arrested and admitted to bail in the sum of \$10,000. The trial was put off on some pretext and some ten months later he obtained a change of venue to Marin county on the plea that he could not obtain a fair and impartial trial in San Francisco. His case was afterwards dismissed without trial by a pro-slavery judge named Hardy. Although freed by the courts he was found guilty and condemned by public opinion. He went south and joined the Confederates at the breaking out of the Civil war. He some time after the close of the war returned to California. In 1880 he was a presidential elector on the Democratic ticket. His colleagues on the ticket were elected, but he was defeated. He was killed at Lathrop by a deputy United States marshal while attempting an assault on United States Supreme Judge Field.

In the hue and cry that was raised on the death of Broderick, the chivalry read the doom of their ascendancy. Gwin, as he was about to take the steamer on his return to Washington, "had flaunted in his face a large canvas frame, on which was painted a portrait of Broderick and this: 'It is the will of the people that the murderers of Broderick do not return again to California;' and below were also these words attributed to Mr. Broderick: 'They have killed me because I was opposed to the extension of slavery, and a corrupt administration.'"

Throughout his political career Broderick was a consistent anti-slavery man and a friend of the common people. Of all the politicians of the ante-bellum period, that is, before the Civil war, he stands to-day the highest in the estimation of the people of California. Like Lincoln, he was a self-made man. From a humble origin, unaided, he had fought his way up to a lofty position. Had he been living during the war against the perpetuity of human slavery, he would have been a power in the senate or possibly a commander on the field of battle. As it was, during that struggle in his adopted state, his name became a synonym of patriotism and love for the Union.

Milton S. Latham, who succeeded John B. Weller as governor in 1860, was, like his predecessor, a northern man with southern principles. Almost from the date of his arrival in California he had been an office-holder. He was a man of mediocre ability. He was a state divisionist and would have aided in that scheme by advocating in the senate of the United States (to which body he had been elected three days after his inauguration) the segregation of the southern counties and their formation into a new state with the hopes of restoring the equilibrium between the north and the south. But the time had passed for such projects. The lieutenant-governor, John G. Downey, succeeded Latham. Downey gained great popularity by his veto of the "bulkhead bill." This was a scheme of the San Francisco Dock and Wharf Company to build a stone bulkhead around the city water front in consideration of having the exclusive privilege of collecting wharfage and tolls for fifty years. Downey lost much of his popularity, particularly with the Union men, during the Civil war on account of his sympathy with the Confederates.

At the state election in September, 1861, Leland Stanford was chosen governor. He was the first Republican chosen to that office. He received fifty-six thousand votes. Two years before he had been a candidate for that office and received only ten thousand votes, so rapidly had public sentiment changed. The news of the firing upon Fort Sumter reached San Francisco April 24, twelve days after its oc-

currence. It came by pony express. The beginning of hostilities between the north and the south stirred up a strong Union sentiment. The great Union mass meeting held in San Francisco May 11, 1861, was the largest and most enthusiastic public demonstration ever held on the Pacific coast. The lines were sharply drawn between the friends of the government and its enemies. Former political alliances were forgotten. Most of the Anti-Lecompton or Douglas Democrats arrayed themselves on the side of the Union. The chivalry wing of the Democratic party were either open or secret sympathizers with the Confederates. Some of them were bold and outspoken in their disloyalty. The speech of Edmund Randolph at the Democratic convention July 24, 1861, is a sample of such utterances. * * * "To me it seems a waste of time to talk. For God's sake, tell me of battles fought and won. Tell me of usurpers overthrown; that Missouri is again a free state, no longer crushed under the armed heel of a reckless and odious despot. Tell me that the state of Maryland lives again; and, oh! gentlemen, let us read, let us hear, at the first moment, that not one hostile foot now treads the soil of Virginia! (Applause and cheers.) If this be rebellion, I am a rebel. Do you want a traitor, then I am a traitor. For God's sake, speed the ball; may the lead go quick to his heart, and may our country be free from the despot usurper that now claims the name of the president of the United States."* (Cheers.) Some of the chivalry Democrats, most of whom had been holding office in California for years, went south at the breaking out of the war to fight in the armies of the Confederacy, and among these was Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, who had been superseded in the command of the Pacific Department by Gen. Edwin V. Sumner. Johnston, with a number of fellow sympathizers, went south by the overland route and was killed a year later, at the battle of Shiloh, while in command of the Confederate army.

One form of disloyalty among the class known as "copperheads" (northern men with southern principles) was the advocacy of a Pa-

cific republic. Most prominent among these was ex-Governor John B. Weller. The movement was a thinly disguised method of aiding the southern Confederacy. The flag of the inchoate Pacific republic was raised in Stockton January 16, 1861. It is thus described by the *Stockton Argus*: "The flag is of silk of the medium size of the national ensign and with the exception of the Union (evidently a misnomer in this case) which contains a lone star upon a blue ground, is covered by a painting representing a wild mountain scene, a huge grizzly bear standing in the foreground and the words 'Pacific Republic' near the upper border." The flag raising was not a success. At first it was intended to raise it in the city. But as it became evident this would not be allowed, it was raised to the mast head of a vessel in the slough. It was not allowed to float there long. The hal-yards were cut and a boy was sent up the mast to pull it down. The owner of the flag was convinced that it was not safe to trifle with the loyal sentiment of the people.

At the gubernatorial election in September, 1863, Frederick F. Low, Republican, was chosen over John G. Downey, Democrat, by a majority of over twenty thousand. In some parts of the state Confederate sympathizers were largely in the majority. This was the case in Los Angeles and in some places in the San Joaquin valley. Several of the most outspoken were arrested and sent to Fort Alcatraz, where they soon became convinced of the error of their ways and took the oath of allegiance. When the news of the assassination of Lincoln reached San Francisco, a mob destroyed the newspaper plants of the *Democratic Press*, edited by Beriah Brown; the *Occidental*, edited by Zach. Montgomery; the *News Letter*, edited by F. Marriott, and the *Monitor*, a Catholic paper, edited by Thomas A. Brady. These were virulent copperhead sheets that had heaped abuse upon the martyred president. Had the proprietors of these journals been found the mob would, in the excitement that prevailed, have treated them with violence. After this demonstration Confederate sympathizers kept silent.

*Tuthill's History of California.

CHAPTER XXXI.

TRADE, TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION.

THE beginning of the ocean commerce of California was the two mission transport ships that came every year to bring supplies for the missions and presidios and take back what few products there were to send. The government fixed a price upon each and every article of import and export. There was no cornering the market, no bulls or bears in the wheat pit, no rise or fall in prices except when ordered by royal authority. An Arancel de Precios (fixed rate of prices) was issued at certain intervals, and all buying and selling was governed accordingly. These arancels included everything in the range of human needs—physical, spiritual or mental. According to a tariff of prices promulgated by Governor Fages in 1788, which had been approved by the audencia and had received the royal sanction, the price of a Holy Christ in California was fixed at \$1.75, a wooden spoon six cents, a horse \$9, a deerskin twenty-five cents, red pepper eighteen cents a pound, a dozen of quail twenty-five cents, brandy seventy-five cents per pint, and so on throughout the list.

In 1785 an attempt was made to open up trade between California and China, the commodities for exchange being seal and otter skins for quicksilver. The trade in peltries was to be a government monopoly. The skins were to be collected from the natives by the mission friars, who were to sell them to a government agent at prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$10 each. The neophytes must give up to the friars all the skins in their possession. All trade by citizens or soldiers was prohibited and any one attempting to deal in peltries otherwise than the regularly ordained authorities was liable, if found out, to have his goods confiscated. Spain's attempt to engage in the fur trade was not a success. The blighting monopoly of church and state nipped it in the bud. It died

out, and the government bought quicksilver, on which also it had a monopoly, with coin instead of otter skins.

After the government abandoned the fur trade the American smugglers began to gather up the peltries, and the California producer received better prices for his furs than the missionaries paid.

The Yankee smuggler had no arancel of prices fixed by royal edict. His price list varied according to circumstances. As his trade was illicit and his vessel and her cargo were in danger of confiscation if he was caught, his scale of prices ranged high. But he paid a higher price for the peltries than the government, and that was a consolation to the seller. The commerce with the Russian settlements of the northwest in the early years of the century furnished a limited market for the grain produced at some of the missions, but the Russians helped themselves to the otter and the seal of California without saying "By your leave" and they were not welcome visitors.

During the Mexican revolution, as has been previously mentioned, trade sprang up between Lima and California in tallow, but it was of short duration. During the Spanish era it can hardly be said that California had any commerce. Foreign vessels were not allowed to enter her ports except when in distress, and their stay was limited to the shortest time possible required to make repairs and take on supplies.

It was not until Mexico gained her independence and removed the proscriptive regulations with which Spain had hampered commerce that the hide droghers opened up trade between New England and California. This trade, which began in 1822, grew to considerable proportions. The hide droghers were emigrant ships as well as mercantile vessels. By

these came most of the Americans who settled in California previous to 1840. The hide and tallow trade, the most important item of commerce in the Mexican era, reached its maximum in 1834, when the great mission herds were, by order of the padres, slaughtered to prevent them from falling into the hands of the government commissioners. Thirty-two vessels came to the coast that year, nearly all of which were engaged in the hide and tallow trade.

During the year 1845, the last of Mexican rule, sixty vessels visited the coast. These were not all trading vessels; eight were men-of-war, twelve were whalers and thirteen came on miscellaneous business. The total amount received at the custom house for revenue during that year was \$140,000. The majority of the vessels trading on the California coast during the Mexican era sailed under the stars and stripes. Mexico was kinder to California than Spain, and under her administration commercial relations were established to a limited extent with foreign nations. Her commerce at best was feeble and uncertain. The revenue laws and their administration were frequently changed, and the shipping merchant was never sure what kind of a reception his cargo would receive from the custom house officers. The duties on imports from foreign countries were exorbitant and there was always more or less smuggling carried on. The people and the padres, when they were a power, gladly welcomed the arrival of a trading vessel on the coast and were not averse to buying goods that had escaped the tariff if they could do so with safety. As there was no land tax, the revenue on goods supported the expenses of the government.

Never in the world's history did any country develop an ocean commerce so quickly as did California after the discovery of gold. When the news spread abroad, the first ships to arrive came from Peru, Chile and the South Sea islands. The earliest published notice of the gold discovery appeared in the *Baltimore Sun*, September 20, 1848, eight months after it was made. At first the story was ridiculed, but as confirmatory reports came thick and fast, preparations began for a grand rush for the

gold mines. Vessels of all kinds, seaworthy and unseaworthy, were overhauled and fitted out for California. The American trade with California had gone by way of Cape Horn or the Straits of Magellan, and this was the route that was taken by the pioneers. Then there were short cuts by the way of the Isthmus of Panama, across Mexico and by Nicaragua. The first vessels left the Atlantic seaports in November, 1848. By the middle of the winter one hundred vessels had sailed from Atlantic and Gulf seaports, and by spring one hundred and fifty more had taken their departure, all of them loaded with human freight and with supplies of every description. Five hundred and forty-nine vessels arrived in San Francisco in nine months, forty-five reaching that port in one day.

April 12, 1848, before the treaty of peace with Mexico had been proclaimed by the President, the Pacific Mail Steamship Company was incorporated with a capital of \$500,000. Astoria, Ore., was to have been the Pacific terminus of the company's line, but it never got there. The discovery of gold in California made San Francisco the end of its route. The contract with the government gave the company a subsidy of \$200,000 for maintaining three steamers on the Pacific side between Panama and Astoria. The first of these vessels, the *California*, sailed from New York October 6, 1848, for San Francisco and Astoria via Cape Horn. She was followed in the two succeeding months by the *Oregon* and the *Panama*. On the Atlantic side the vessels of the line for several years were the *Ohio*, *Illinois* and *Georgia*. The vessels on the Atlantic side were fifteen hundred tons burden, while those on the Pacific were a thousand tons. Freight and passengers by the Panama route were transported across the isthmus by boats up the Chagres river to Gorgona, and then by mule-back to Panama. In 1855 the Panama railroad was completed. This greatly facilitated travel and transportation. The Atlantic terminus of the road was Aspinwall, now called Colon.

Another line of travel and commerce between the states and California in early days was the Nicaragua route. By that route passengers on the Atlantic side landed at San Juan del Norte

or Greytown. From there they took a river steamer and ascended the Rio San Juan to Lake Nicaragua, then in a larger vessel they crossed the lake to La Virgin. From there a distance of about twelve miles was made on foot or on mule-back to San Juan del Sur, where they re-embarked on board the ocean steamer for San Francisco.

The necessity for the speedy shipment of merchandise to California before the days of trans-continental railroads at a minimum cost evolved the clipper ship. These vessels entered quite early into the California trade and soon displaced the short, clumsy vessels of a few hundred tons burden that took from six to ten months to make a voyage around the Horn. The clipper ship *Flying Cloud*, which arrived at San Francisco in August, 1851, made the voyage from New York in eighty-nine days. These vessels were built long and narrow and carried heavy sail. Their capacity ranged from one to two thousand tons burden. The overland railroads took away a large amount of their business.

Capt. Jedediah S. Smith, as previously stated, was the real pathfinder of the western mountains and plains. He marked out the route from Salt Lake by way of the Rio Virgin, the Colorado and the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles in 1826. This route was extensively traveled by the belated immigrants of the early '50s. Those reaching Salt Lake City too late in the season to cross the Sierra Nevadas turned southward and entered California by Smith's trail.

The early immigration to California came by way of Fort Hall. From there it turned south-erly. At Fort Hall the Oregon and California immigrants separated. The disasters that be-fell the Donner party were brought upon them by their taking the Hastings cut-off, which was represented to them as saving two hundred and fifty miles. It was shorter, but the time spent in making a wagon road through a rough coun-try delayed them until they were caught by the snows in the mountains. Lassen's cut-off was another route that brought disaster and delays to many of the immigrants who were induced to take it. The route up the Platte through the

South Pass of the Rocky mountains and down the Humboldt received by far the larger amount of travel.

The old Santa Fe trail from Independence to Santa Fe, and from there by the old Spanish trail around the north bank of the Colorado across the Rio Virgin down the Mojave river and through the Cajon Pass to Los Angeles, was next in importance. Another route by which much of the southern emigration came was what was known as the Gila route. It started at Fort Smith, Ark., thence via El Paso and Tucson and down the Gila to Yuma, thence across the desert through the San Gorgono Pass to Los Angeles. In 1852 it was estimated one thousand wagons came by this route. There was another route still further south than this which passed through the northern states of Mexico, but it was not popular on account of the hostility of the Mexicans and the Apaches.

The first overland stage line was established in 1857. The route extended from San Antonio de Bexar, Tex., to San Diego, via El Paso, Mes-sillo, Tucson and Colorado City (now Yuma). The service was twice a month. The contract was let to James E. Burch, the Postal Depart-ment reserving "the right to curtail or discon-tinue the service should any route subsequently put under contract cover the whole or any por-tion of the route." The *San Diego Herald*, August 12, 1857, thus notes the departure of the first mail by that route: "The pioneer mail train from San Diego to San Antonio, Tex., under the contract entered into by the govern-ment with Mr. James Burch, left here on the 9th inst. (August 9, 1857) at an early hour in the morning, and is now pushing its way for the east at a rapid rate. The mail was of course carried on pack animals, as will be the case until wagons which are being pushed across will have been put on the line. * * * The first mail from the other side has not yet arrived, although somewhat overdue, and conjecture is rife as to the cause of the delay." The eastern mail arrived a few days later.

The service continued to improve, and the fifth trip from the eastern terminus to San Diego "was made in the extraordinary short

time of twenty-six days and twelve hours," and the *San Diego Herald* on this arrival, October 6, 1857, rushed out an extra "announcing the very gratifying fact of the complete triumph of the southern route notwithstanding the croakings of many of the opponents of the administration in this state." But the "triumph of the southern route" was of short duration. In September, 1858, the stages of the Butterfield line began making their semi-weekly trips. This route from its western terminus, San Francisco, came down the coast to Gilroy, thence through Pacheco Pass to the San Joaquin valley, up the valley and by way of Fort Tejon to Los Angeles; from there eastward by Temecula and Warner's to Yuma, thence following very nearly what is now the route of the Southern Pacific Railroad through Arizona and New Mexico to El Paso, thence turning northward to Fort Smith, Ark. There the route divided, one branch going to St. Louis and the other to Memphis. The mail route from San Antonio to San Diego was discontinued.

The Butterfield stage line was one of the longest continuous lines ever organized. Its length was two thousand eight hundred and eighty miles. It began operation in September, 1858. The first stage from the east reached Los Angeles October 7 and San Francisco October 10. A mass-meeting was held at San Francisco the evening of October 11 "for the purpose of expressing the sense entertained by the people of the city of the great benefits she is to receive from the establishment of the overland mail." Col. J. B. Crocket acted as president and Frank M. Pixley as secretary. The speaker of the evening in his enthusiasm said: "In my opinion one of the greatest blessings that could befall California would be to discontinue at once all communication by steamer between San Francisco and New York. On yesterday we received advices from New York, New Orleans and St. Louis in less than twenty-four days via El Paso. Next to the discovery of gold this is the most important fact yet developed in the history of California." W. L. Ormsby, special correspondent of the *New York Herald*, the first and only through passenger by the over-

land mail coming in three hours less than twenty-four days, was introduced to the audience and was greeted with terrific applause. He gave a description of the route and some incidents of the journey.

The government gave the Butterfield company a subsidy of \$600,000 a year for a service of two mail coaches each way a week. In 1859 the postal revenue from this route was only \$27,000, leaving Uncle Sam more than half a million dollars out of pocket. At the breaking out of the Civil war the southern overland mail route was discontinued and a contract was made with Butterfield for a six-times-a-week mail by the central route via Salt Lake City, with a branch line to Denver. The eastern terminus was at first St. Joseph, but on account of the war it was changed to Omaha. The western terminus was Placerville, Cal., time twenty days for eight months, and twenty-three days for the remaining four months. The contract was for three years at an annual subsidy of \$1,000,000. The last overland stage contract for carrying the mails was awarded to Wells, Fargo & Co., October 1, 1868, for \$1,750,000 per annum, with deductions for carriage by railway. The railway was rapidly reducing the distance of stage travel.

The only inland commerce during the Mexican era was a few bands of mules sold to New Mexican traders and driven overland to Santa Fe by the old Spanish trail and one band of cattle sold to the Oregon settlers in 1837 and driven by the coast route to Oregon City. The Californians had no desire to open up an inland trade with their neighbors and the traders and trappers who came overland were not welcome.

After the discovery of gold, freighting to the mines became an important business. Supplies had to be taken by pack trains and wagons. Freight charges were excessively high at first. In 1848, "it cost \$5 to carry a hundred pounds of goods from Sutter's Fort to the lower mines, a distance of twenty miles, and \$10 per hundred weight for freight to the upper mines, a distance of forty miles. Two horses can draw one thousand five hundred pounds." In December, 1849, the roads were almost impassable

and teamsters were charging from \$40 to \$50 a hundred pounds for hauling freight from Sacramento to Mormon Island.

In 1855 an inland trade was opened up between Los Angeles and Salt Lake City. The first shipment was made by Banning and Alexander. The wagon train consisted of fifteen ten-mule teams heavily freighted with merchandise. The venture was a success financially. The train left Los Angeles in May and returned in September, consuming four months in the journey. The trade increased and became quite an important factor in the business of the southern part of the state. In 1859 sixty wagons were loaded for Salt Lake in the month of January, and in March of the same year one hundred and fifty loaded with goods were sent to the Mormon capital. In 1865 and 1866 there was a considerable shipment of goods from Los Angeles to Idaho and Montana by wagon trains. These trains went by way of Salt Lake. This trade was carried on during the winter months when the roads over the Sierras and the Rocky mountains were blocked with snow.

Freighting by wagon train to Washoe formed a very important part of the inland commerce of California between 1859 and 1869. The immense freight wagons called "prairie schooners" carried almost as much as a freight car. The old-time teamster, like the old-time stage driver, was a unique character. Both have disappeared. Their occupation is gone. We shall never look on their like again.

The pony express rider came early in the history of California. Away back in 1775, when the continental congress made Benjamin Franklin postmaster-general of the United Colonies, on the Pacific coast soldier couriers, fleet mounted, were carrying their monthly budgets of mail between Monterey in Alta California, and Loreto, near the southern extremity of the peninsula of Lower California, a distance of one thousand five hundred miles.

In the winter of 1859-60 a Wall street lobby was in Washington trying to get an appropriation of \$5,000,000 for carrying the mails one year between New York and San Francisco. William H. Russell, of the firm of Russell, Ma-

jors & Waddell, then engaged in running a daily stage line between the Missouri river and Salt Lake City, hearing of the lobby's efforts, offered to bet \$200,000 that he could put on a mail line between San Francisco and St. Joseph that could make the distance, one thousand nine hundred and fifty miles, in ten days. The wager was accepted. Russell and his business manager, A. B. Miller, an old plains man, bought the fleetest horses they could find in the west and employed one hundred and twenty-five riders selected with reference to their light weight and courage. It was essential that the horses should be loaded as lightly as possible. The horses were stationed from ten to twenty miles apart and each rider was required to ride seventy-five miles. For change of horses and mail bag two minutes were allowed, at each station. One man took care of the two horses kept there. Everything being arranged a start was made from St. Joseph, April 3, 1860. The bet was to be decided on the race eastward. At meridian on April 3, 1860, a signal gun on a steamer at Sacramento proclaimed the hour of starting. At that signal Mr. Miller's private saddle horse, Border Ruffian, with his rider bounded away toward the foothills of the Sierra Nevadas. The first twenty miles were covered in forty-nine minutes. All went well till the Platte river was reached. The river was swollen by recent rain. Rider and horse plunged boldly into it, but the horse mired in the quicksands and was drowned. The rider carrying the mail bag footed it ten miles to the next relay station. When the courier arrived at the sixty-mile station out from St. Joseph he was one hour behind time. The last one had just three hours and thirty minutes in which to make the sixty miles and win the race. A heavy rain was falling and the roads were slippery, but with six horses to make the distance he won with five minutes and a fraction to spare. And thus was finished the longest race for the largest stake ever run in America.

The pony express required to do its work nearly five hundred horses, about one hundred and ninety stations, two hundred station keepers and over a hundred riders. Each rider usually rode the horses on about seventy-five miles.

but sometimes much greater distances were made. Robert H. Haslam, Pony Bob, made on one occasion a continuous ride of three hundred and eighty miles and William F. Cody, now famous as Buffalo Bill, in one continuous trip rode three hundred and eighty-four miles, stopping only for meals, and to change horses.

The pony express was a semi-weekly service. Fifteen pounds was the limit of the weight of the waterproof mail bag and its contents. The postage or charge was \$5 on a letter of half an ounce. The limit was two hundred letters, but sometimes there were not more than twenty in a bag. The line never paid. The shortest time ever made by the pony express was seven days and seventeen hours. This was in March, 1861, when it carried President Lincoln's message. At first telegraphic messages were received at St. Joseph up to five o'clock p. m. of the day of starting and sent to San Francisco on the express, arriving at Placerville, which was then the eastern terminus of the line. The pony express was suspended October 27, 1861, on the completion of the telegraph.

The first stage line was established between Sacramento and Mormon Island in September, 1849, fare \$16 to \$32, according to times. Sacramento was the great distributing point for the mines and was also the center from which radiated numerous stage lines. In 1853 a dozen lines were owned there and the total capital invested in staging was estimated at \$335,000. There were lines running to Coloma, Nevada, Placerville, Georgetown, Yankee Jim's, Jackson, Stockton, Shasta and Auburn. In 1851 Stockton had seven daily stages. The first stage line between San Francisco and San José was established in April, 1850, fare \$32. A number of lines were consolidated. In 1860 the California stage company controlled eight lines northward, the longest extending seven hundred and ten miles to Portland with sixty stations, thirty-five drivers and five hundred horses, eleven drivers and one hundred and fifty horses pertaining to the rest. There were seven independent lines covering four hundred and sixty-four miles, chiefly east and south, the longest to Vir-

ginia City.* These lines disappeared with the advent of the railroad.

The pack train was a characteristic feature of early mining days. Many of the mountain camps were inaccessible to wagons and the only means of shipping in goods was by pack train. A pack train consisted of from ten to twenty mules each, laden with from two hundred to four hundred pounds. The load was fastened on the animal by means of a pack saddle which was held in its place by a cinch tightly laced around the animal's body. The sure-footed mules could climb steep grades and wind round narrow trails on the side of steep mountains without slipping or tumbling over the cliffs. Mexicans were the most expert packers.

The scheme to utilize camels and dromedaries as beasts of burden on the arid plains of the southwest was agitated in the early fifties. The chief promoter if not the originator of the project was Jefferson Davis, afterwards president of the Southern Confederacy. During the last days of the congress of 1851, Mr. Davis offered an amendment to the army appropriation bill appropriating \$30,000 for the purchase of thirty camels and twenty dromedaries. The bill was defeated. When Davis was secretary of war in 1854, congress appropriated \$30,000 for the purchase and importation of camels and in December of that year Major C. Wayne was sent to Egypt and Arabia to buy seventy-five. He secured the required number and shipped them on the naval store ship Supply. They were landed at Indianola, Tex., February 10, 1857. Three had died on the voyage. About half of the herd were taken to Albuquerque, where an expedition was fitted out under the command of Lieutenant Beale for Fort Tejon, Cal.; the other half was employed in packing on the plains of Texas and in the Gadsen Purchase, as Southern Arizona was then called.

It very soon became evident that the camel experiment would not be a success. The American teamster could not be converted into an Arabian camel driver. From the very first meeting there was a mutual antipathy between the

* Sacramento Union, January 1, 1861.

American mule whacker and the beast of the prophet. The teamsters when transformed into camel drivers deserted and the troopers refused to have anything to do with the misshapen beasts. So because there was no one to load and navigate these ships of the desert their voyages became less and less frequent, until finally they ceased altogether; and these desert ships were anchored at the different forts in the southwest. After the breaking out of the Civil war the camels at the forts in Texas and New Mexico were turned loose to shift for themselves. Those in Arizona and California were condemned and sold by the government to two Frenchmen who used them for packing, first in Nevada and later in Arizona, but tiring of the animals they turned them out on the desert. Some of these camels or possibly their descendants are still roaming over the arid plains of southern Arizona and Sonora.

The first telegraph was completed September 11, 1853. It extended from the business quarter of San Francisco to the Golden Gate and was used for signalling vessels. The first long line connected Marysville, Sacramento, Stockton and San José. This was completed October 24, 1853. Another line about the same time was built from San Francisco to Placerville by way of Sacramento. A line was built southward from San José along the Butterfield overland mail route to Los Angeles in 1860. The Overland Telegraph, begun in 1858, was completed November 7, 1861.

The first express for the States was sent under the auspices of the *California Star* (newspaper). The *Star* of March 1, 1848, contained the announcement that "We are about to send letters by express to the States at fifty cents each, papers twelve and a half cents; to start April 15; any mail arriving after that time will be returned to the writers. The *Star* refused to send copies of its rival, *The Californian*, in its express.

The first local express was started by Charles L. Cady in August, 1847. It left San Francisco every Monday and Fort Sacramento, its other terminus, every Thursday. Letters twenty-five cents. Its route was by way of Saucelito, Napa and Petaluma to Sacramento.

Weld & Co.'s express was established in October, 1849. This express ran from San Francisco to Marysville, having its principal offices in San Francisco, Benicia and Sacramento. It was the first express of any consequence established in California. Its name was changed to Hawley & Co.'s express. The first trip was made in the *Mint*, a sailing vessel, and took six days. Afterward it was transferred to the steamers *Hartford* and *McKim*. The company paid these boats \$800 per month for the use of one state room; later for the same accommodation it paid \$1,500 per month. The *Alta California* of January 7, 1850, says: "There are so many new express companies daily starting that we can scarcely keep the run of them."

The following named were the principal companies at that time: Hawley & Co., Angel, Young & Co., Todd, Bryan, Stockton Express, Henly, McKnight & Co., Brown, Knowlton & Co. The business of these express companies consisted largely in carrying letters to the mines. The letters came through the postoffice in San Francisco, but the parties to whom they were addressed were in the mines. While the miner would gladly give an ounce to hear from home he could not make the trip to the Bay at a loss of several hundred dollars in time and money. The express companies obviated this difficulty. The *Alta* of July 27, 1850, says: "We scarcely know what we should do if it were not for the various express lines established which enable us to hold communication with the mines. With the present defective mail communication we should scarcely ever be able to hear from the towns throughout California or from the remote portions of the Placers north or south. Hawley & Co., Todd & Bryan and Besford & Co. are three lines holding communication with different sections of the country. Adams & Co. occupy the whole of a large building on Montgomery street."

Adams & Co., established in 1850, soon became the leading express company of the coast. It absorbed a number of minor companies. It established relays of the fastest horses to carry the express to the mining towns. As early as 1852 the company's lines had penetrated the remote mining camps. Some of its riders per-

formed feats in riding that exceeded the famous pony express riders. Isaac W. Elwell made the trip between Placerville and Sacramento in two hours and fifty minutes, distance sixty-four miles; Frank Ryan made seventy-five miles in four hours and twenty minutes. On his favorite horse, Colonel, he made twenty miles in fifty-five minutes. Adams & Co. carried on a banking business and had branch banks in all the leading mining towns. They also became a po-

litical power. In the great financial crash of 1855 they failed and in their failure ruined thousands of their depositors. Wells, Fargo & Co. express was organized in 1851. It weathered the financial storm that carried down Adams & Co. It gained the confidence of the people of the Pacific coast and has never betrayed it. Its business has grown to immense proportions. It is one of the leading express companies of the world.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RAILROADS.

THE agitation of the Pacific railroad question began only two years after the first passenger railway was put in operation in the United States. The originator of the scheme to secure the commerce of Asia by a transcontinental railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific was Hartwell Carver, grandson of the famous explorer, Jonathan Carver. He published articles in the *New York Courier* and *Inquirer* in 1832 elaborating his idea, and memorialized congress on the subject. The western terminus was to be on the Columbia river. His road was to be made of stone. There were to be sleeping cars and dining cars attached to each train. In 1836, John Plumbe, then a resident of Dubuque, Iowa, advocated the building of a railroad from Lake Michigan to Oregon. At a public meeting held in Dubuque, March 26, 1838, which Plumbe addressed, a memorial to congress was drafted "praying for an appropriation to defray the expense of the survey and location of the first link in the great Atlantic and Pacific railroad, namely, from the lakes to the Mississippi." Their application was favorably received and an appropriation being made the same year, which was expended under the direction of the secretary of war, the report being of a very favorable character.*

Plumbe received the indorsement of the Wis-

consin legislature of 1839-40 and a memorial was drafted to congress urging the continuance of the work. Plumbe went to Washington to urge his project. But the times were out of joint for great undertakings. The financial panic of 1837 had left the government revenues in a demoralized condition. Plumbe's plan was to issue stock to the amount of \$100,000,000 divided in shares of \$5 each. The government was to appropriate alternate sections of the public lands along the line of the road. Five million dollars were to be called in for the first installment. After this was expended in building, the receipts from the sale of the lands was to continue the building of the road. One hundred miles were to be built each year and twenty years was the time set for the completion of the road. A bill granting the subsidy and authorizing the building of the road was introduced in congress, but was defeated by the southern members who feared that it would foster the growth of free states.

The man best known in connection with the early agitation of the Pacific railroad scheme was Asa Whitney, of New York. For a time he acted with Carver in promulgating the project, but took up a plan of his own. Whitney wanted a strip of land sixty miles wide along the whole length of the road, which would have given about one hundred million acres of the public domain. Whitney's scheme called forth a great deal of discussion. It was feared by some

*Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VII., p. 499.

timorous souls that such a monopoly would endanger the government and by others that it would bankrupt the public treasury. The agitation was kept up for several years. The acquisition of California and New Mexico threw the project into politics. The question of depleting the treasury or giving away the public domain no longer worried the pro-slavery politicians in congress. The question that agitated them now was how far south could the road be deflected so that it would enhance the value of the lands over which they hoped to spread their pet institution—human slavery.

Another question that agitated the members of congress was whether the road should be built by the government—should be a national road. The route which the road should take was fought over year after year in congress. The south would not permit the north to have the road for fear that freemen would absorb the public lands and build up free states. It was the old dog-in-the-manger policy so characteristic of the southern proslavery politicians.

The California newspapers early took up the discussion and routes were thick as leaves in Valambrosa. In the *Star* of May 13, 1848, Dr. John Marsh outlines a route which was among the best proposed: "From the highest point on the Bay of San Francisco to which seagoing vessels can ascend; thence up the valley of the San Joaquin two hundred and fifty miles; thence through a low pass (Walker's) to the valley of the Colorado and thence through Arizona and New Mexico by the Santa Fe trail to Independence, Mo."

Routes were surveyed and the reports of the engineers laid before congress; memorials were received from the people of California praying for a road; bills were introduced and discussed, but the years passed and the Pacific railroad was not begun. Slavery, that "sum of all villainies," was an obstruction more impassable than the mountains and deserts that intervened between the Missouri and the Pacific. Southern politicians, aided and abetted by Gwin of California neutralized every attempt.

One of the first of several local railroad projects that resulted in something more than resolutions, public meetings and the election of

a board of directors that never directed anything was the building of a railroad from San Francisco to San José. The agitation was begun early in 1850 and by February, 1851, \$100,000 had been subscribed. September 6 of that year a company was organized and the projected road given the high sounding title of the Pacific & Atlantic railroad. Attempts were made to secure subscriptions for its stock in New York and in Europe, but without success. Congress was appealed to, but gave no assistance and all that there was to the road for ten years was its name. In 1859 a new organization was effected under the name of the San Francisco & San José railroad company. An attempt was made to secure a subsidy of \$900,000 from the three counties through which the road was to pass, but this failed and the corporation dissolved. Another organization, the fourth, was effected with a capital stock of \$2,000,000. The construction of the road was begun in October, 1860, and completed to San José January 16, 1864.

The first railroad completed and put into successful operation in California was the Sacramento Valley road. It was originally intended to extend the road from Sacramento through Placer and Sutter counties to Mountain City, in Yuba county, a distance of about forty miles. It came to a final stop at a little over half that distance. Like the San José road the question of building was agitated several years before anything was really done. In 1853 the company was reorganized under the railroad act of that year. Under the previous organization subscriptions had been obtained. The *Sacramento Union* of September 19, 1852, says: "The books of the Sacramento Valley railroad company were to have been opened in San Francisco Wednesday. Upwards of \$200,000 of the necessary stock has been subscribed from here." The *Union* of September 24 announces, "That over \$600,000 had already been subscribed at San Francisco and Sacramento." Under the reorganization a new board was elected November 12, 1853. C. L. Wilson was made president; F. W. Page, treasurer, and W. H. Watson, secretary. Theodore D. Judah, afterwards famous in California railroad building, was employed as

engineer and the construction of the road began in February, 1855. It was completed to Folsom a distance of twenty-two miles from Sacramento and the formal opening of the road for business took place February 22, 1856. According to the secretary's report for 1857 the earnings of that year averaged \$18,000 per month. The total earnings for the year amounted to \$216,000; the expenses \$84,000, leaving a profit of \$132,000. The cost of the road and its equipment was estimated at \$700,000. From this showing it would seem that California's first railroad ought to have been a paying investment, but it was not. Money then was worth 5 per cent a month and the dividends from the road about 18 per cent a year. The difference between one and a half per cent and 5 per cent a month brought the road to a standstill.

Ten years had passed since California had become a state and had its representatives in congress. In all these years the question of a railroad had come up in some form in that body, yet the railroad seemingly was as far from a consummation as it had been a decade before. In 1859 the silver mines of the Washoe were discovered and in the winter of 1859-60 the great silver rush began. An almost continuous stream of wagons, pack trains, horsemen and footmen poured over the Sierra Nevadas into Carson Valley and up the slopes of Mount Davidson to Virginia City. The main line of travel was by way of Placerville, through Johnson's Pass to Carson City. An expensive toll road was built over the mountains and monster freight wagons hauled great loads of merchandise and mill machinery to the mines. "In 1863 the tolls on the new road amounted to \$300,000 and the freight bills on mills and merchandise summed up \$13,000,000."*

The rush to Washoe gave a new impetus to railroad projecting. A convention of the whole coast had been held at San Francisco in September, 1859, but nothing came of it beyond propositions and resolutions. Early in 1861, Theodore P. Judah called a railroad meeting at the St. Charles hotel in Sacramento. The feasibility of a road over the mountains, the large

amount of business that would come to that road from the Washoe mines and the necessity of Sacramento moving at once to secure that trade were pointed out. This road would be the beginning of a transcontinental line and Sacramento had the opportunity of becoming its terminus. Judah urged upon some of the leading business men the project of organizing a company to begin the building of a transcontinental road. The Washoe trade and travel would be a very important item in the business of the road.

On the 28th of June, 1861, the Central Pacific Railroad company was organized under the general incorporation law of the state. Leland Stanford was chosen president, C. P. Huntington, vice-president, Mark Hopkins, treasurer, James Bailey, secretary, and T. D. Judah, chief engineer. The directors were those just named and E. B. Crocker, John F. Morse, D. W. Strong and Charles Marsh. The capital stock of the company was \$8,500,000 divided into eighty-five thousand shares of \$100 each. The shares taken by individuals were few, Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, Judah and Charles Crocker subscribing for one hundred and fifty each; Glidden & Williams, one hundred and twenty-five shares; Charles A. Lombard and Orville D. Lombard, three hundred and twenty shares; Samuel Hooper, Benjamin J. Reed, Samuel P. Shaw, fifty shares each; R. O. Ives, twenty-five shares; Edwin B. Crocker, ten shares; Samuel Brannan, two hundred shares; cash subscriptions of which 10 per cent was required by law to be paid down realizing but a few thousand dollars with which to begin so important a work as a railroad across the Sierra Nevada.*

The total amount subscribed was \$158,000, scarcely enough to build five miles of road on the level plains if it had all been paid up. None of the men in the enterprise was rich. Indeed, as fortunes go now, none of them had more than a competence. Charles Crocker, who was one of the best off, in his sworn statement, placed the value of his property at \$25,000; C. P. Huntington placed the value of his individual possessions at \$7,222, while Leland Stanford and

* Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VII., p. 541.

* Bancroft's History of California, Vol. VII.

his brother together owned property worth \$32,950. The incubus that so long had prevented building a Pacific railroad was removed. The war of secession had begun. The southern senators and representatives were no longer in congress to obstruct legislation. The thirty-second and the thirty-fifth parallel roads southern schemes, were out of the way or rather the termini of these roads were inside the confederate lines.

A bill "to aid in the construction of a railroad and telegraph line from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean and to secure to the government the use of the same for postal, military and other purposes passed both houses and became a law July 1, 1862. The bill provided for the building of the road by two companies. The Union Pacific (which was to be a union of several roads already projected) was given the construction of the road to the eastern boundary of California, where it would connect with the Central Pacific. Government bonds were to be given to the companies to the amount of \$16,000 per mile to the foot of the mountains and \$48,000 per mile through the mountains when forty miles of road had been built and approved by the government commissioners. In addition to the bonds the companies were to receive "every alternate section of public land designated by odd numbers to the amount of five alternate sections per mile on each side of the railroad on the line thereof and within the limits of ten miles on each side of the road not sold, reserved or otherwise disposed of by the United States." Mineral lands were exempted and any lands unsold three years after the completion of the entire road were subject to a preëmption like other public lands at a price not exceeding \$1.25 per acre, payable to the company.

The government bonds were a first mortgage on the road. The ceremony of breaking ground for the beginning of the enterprise took place at Sacramento, February 22, 1863, Governor Stanford throwing the first shovelful of earth, and work was begun on the first eighteen miles of the road which was let by contract to be finished by August, 1863. The Central Pacific company was in hard lines. Its means were not sufficient to build forty miles which must be

completed before the subsidy could be received. In October, 1863, Judah who had been instrumental in securing the first favorable legislation set out a second time for Washington to ask further assistance from congress. At New York he was stricken with a fever and died there. To him more than any other man is due the credit of securing for the Pacific coast its first transcontinental railroad. In July, 1864, an amended act was passed increasing the land grant from six thousand four hundred acres to twelve thousand eight hundred per mile and reducing the number of miles to be built annually from fifty to twenty-five. The company was allowed to bond its road to the same amount per mile as the government subsidy.

The Western Pacific, which was virtually a continuation of the Central Pacific, was organized in December, 1862, for the purpose of building a railroad from Sacramento via Stockton to San José. A branch of this line was constructed from Niles to Oakland, which was made the terminus of the Central Pacific. The Union Pacific did not begin construction until 1865, while the Central Pacific had forty-four miles constructed. In 1867 the Central Pacific had reached the state line. It had met with many obstacles in the shape of lawsuits and unfavorable comments by the press. From the state line it pushed out through Nevada and on the 28th of April, 1869, the two companies met with their completed roads at Promontory Point in Utah, fifty-three miles west of Ogden. The ceremony of joining the two roads took place May 10. The last tie, a handsomely finished piece of California laurel, was laid and Governor Stanford with a silver hammer drove a golden spike. The two locomotives, one from the east and one from the west, bumped noses and the first transcontinental railroad was completed.

The Southern Pacific Railroad company of California was incorporated in December, 1865. It was incorporated to build a railroad from some point on the bay of San Francisco through the counties of Santa Clara, Monterey, San Luis Obispo, Tulare, Los Angeles to San Diego and thence easterly through San Diego to the eastern boundary of the state there to

connect with a railroad from the Mississippi river.

"In July, 1866, congress granted to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad company to aid in the construction of its road and telegraph line from Springfield, Mo., by the most eligible route to Albuquerque in New Mexico and thence by the thirty-fifth parallel route to the Pacific, an amount of land equal to that granted to the Central Pacific. By this act the Southern Pacific Railroad was authorized to connect with the Atlantic and Pacific near the boundary line of California, at such point as should be deemed most suitable by the companies and should have therefore the same amount of land per mile as the Atlantic and Pacific."*

In 1867 the Southern Pacific company decided to change its route and instead of building down through the coast counties to go eastward from Gilroy through Pacheco's pass into the upper San Joaquin valley through Fresno, Kern and San Bernardino to the Colorado river near Fort Mojave. This contemplated change left the lower coast counties out in the cold and caused considerable dissatisfaction, and an attempt was made to prevent it from getting a land subsidy. Congress, however, authorized the change, as did the California legislature of 1870, and the road secured the land.

The San Francisco and San José Railroad came into possession of the Southern Pacific company, San Francisco donating three thousand shares of stock in that road on condition that the Southern Pacific company, after it secured the San José road, should extend it to the southeastern boundary of the state. In 1869 a proposition was made to the supervisors of San Francisco to donate \$1,000,000 in bonds of the city to the Southern Pacific company, on condition that it build two hundred miles south from Gilroy, the bonds to be delivered on the completion and stocking of each section of fifty miles of road. The bonds were voted by the people of the city. The road was built to Soledad, seventy miles from Gilroy, and then stopped. The different branch roads in the San José and Salinas valley were all consolidated

under the name of the Southern Pacific. The Central Pacific and the Southern Pacific, although apparently different organizations, were really one company.

The Southern Pacific built southward from Lathrop, a station on the Central Pacific's line, a railroad up the valley by way of Tehachapi Pass to Los Angeles. While this road was in course of construction in 1872 a proposition was made to the people of Los Angeles through the county board of supervisors to vote a subsidy equal to 5 per cent of the entire amount of the taxable property of the county on condition that the Southern Pacific build fifty miles of its main line to Yuma in the county. Part of the subsidy was to be paid in bonds of the Los Angeles & San Pedro Railroad, amounting to \$377,000 and sixty acres of land for depot purposes. The total amount of subsidy to be given was \$610,000. The proposition was accepted by the people, the railroad company in addition to its original offer agreeing to build a branch road twenty-seven miles long to Anaheim. This was done to head off the Tom Scott road which had made a proposition to build a branch road from San Diego to Los Angeles to connect with the Texas Pacific road which the year before had been granted a right of way from Marshall, Tex., to San Diego, and was preparing to build its road. The Southern Pacific completed its road to Los Angeles in September, 1876, and reached the Colorado river on its way east in April, 1877. It obtained the old franchise of the Texas Pacific and continued its road eastward to El Paso, Tex., where it made connections with roads to New Orleans and other points south and east, thus giving California its second transcontinental railroad. This road was completed to El Paso in 1881.

The Atlantic & Pacific road with which the Southern Pacific was to connect originally, suffered from the financial crash of 1873 and suspended operations for a time. Later it entered into a combination with the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe and St. Louis & San Francisco railroad companies. This gave the Atchison road a half interest in the charter of the Atlantic & Pacific. The two companies built a main line jointly from Albuquerque (where the Atchison

* Bancroft, VII., p. 594.

road ended) west to the Colorado river at the Needles. Their intention was to continue the road to Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The California Southern and the California Southern Extension companies were organized to extend the Atlantic & Pacific from Barstow to San Diego. These companies consolidated and completed a road from San Diego to San Bernardino September 13, 1883. The Southern Pacific interfered. It attempted to prevent the California Southern from crossing its tracks at Colton by placing a heavy engine at the point of crossing, but was compelled to move the engine to save it from demolition. It built a branch from Mojave station to connect with the Atlantic & Pacific in which it had an interest. This gave connection for the Atlantic & Pacific over the Southern Pacific lines with both Los Angeles and San Francisco. This was a serious blow to the California Southern, but disasters never come singly. The great flood of January, 1884, swept down through the Temecula Cañon and carried about thirty miles of its track out to sea. It was doubtful under the circumstances whether it would pay to rebuild it. Finally the Southern Pacific agreed to sell its extension from Barstow to the Needles to the California Southern, reserving its road from Barstow to

Mojave. Construction was begun at once on the California Southern line from Barstow to San Bernardino and in November, 1885, the road was completed from Barstow to San Diego. In October, 1886, the road passed under control of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe. In the spring of 1887 the road was extended westerly from San Bernardino to meet the San Gabriel valley road which had been built eastward from Los Angeles through Pasadena. The completed line reached Los Angeles in May, 1887, thus giving California a third transcontinental line.

After many delays the gap in the Southern Pacific coast line was closed and the first trains from the north and the south passed over its entire length between Los Angeles and San Francisco on the 31st of March, 1901, nearly thirty years after the first section of the road was built.

The Oregon & California and the Central Pacific were consolidated in 1870. The two ends of the road were united at Ashland, Ore., in 1887. The entire line is now controlled by the Southern Pacific, and, in connection with the Northern Pacific and the Oregon Railway & Navigation Road at Portland, forms a fourth transcontinental line for California.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

IT IS quite the fashion now with a certain school of writers, who take their history of California from "Ramona" and their information on the "Indian question" under the rule of the mission padres from sources equally fictitious, to draw invidious comparisons between the treatment of the Indian by Spain and Mexico when mission rule was dominant in California and his treatment by the United States after the conquest.

That the Indian was brutally treated and unmercifully slaughtered by the American miners and rancheros in the early '50s none will deny; that he had fared but little better under the rule

of Spain and Mexico is equally true. The tame and submissive Indians of the sea coast with whom the mission had to deal were a very different people from the mountain tribes with whom the Americans came in conflict.

We know but little of the conquistas or gentile hunts that were occasionally sent out from the mission to capture subjects for conversion. The history of these was not recorded. From "The narrative of a voyage to the Pacific and Berings strait with the Polar expedition; performed in his majesty's ship Blossom, under command of Capt. F. W. Beechey, R. N., in the years 1825-26-27-28, we have the story of one of these

conquistas or convert raids. Captain Beechey visited California in 1828. While in California he studied the missions, or at least those he visited, and after his return to England published his observations. His observations have great value. He was a disinterested observer and gave a plain, straightforward, truthful account of what he saw, without prejudice or partiality. His narrative dispels much of the romance that some modern writers throw around mission life. This conquista set out from the Mission San José.

"At a particular period of the year also, when the Indians can be spared from agricultural concerns of the establishment, many are permitted to take the launch of the mission and make excursions to the Indian territory. All are anxious to go on such occasions. Some to visit friends, some to procure the manufactures of their barbarian countrymen (which, by the by, are often better than their own) and some with a secret determination never to return. On these occasions the padres desire them to induce as many of their unconverted brethren as possible to accompany them back to the mission; of course, implying that this is to be done only by persuasion; but the boat being furnished with a cannon and musketry and in every respect equipped for war, it too often happens that the neophytes and the *gente de razon*, who superintend the direction of the boat, avail themselves of their superiority with the desire of ingratiating themselves with their master and receiving a reward. There are besides repeated acts of aggression, which it is necessary to punish, all of which furnish proselytes. Women and children are generally the first objects of capture, as their husbands and parents sometimes voluntarily follow them into captivity. These misunderstandings and captivities keep up a perpetual enmity amongst the tribes whose thirst for revenge is insatiable."

We had an opportunity of witnessing the tragical issue of one of these holiday excursions of the neophytes of the Mission San José. The launch was armed, as usual, and placed under the superintendence of an alcalde of the mission, who appears from one statement (for there are several), converted the party of pleasure either

into an attack for procuring proselytes or of revenge upon a particular tribe for some aggression in which they were concerned. They proceeded up the Rio San Joachin until they came to the territory of a particular tribe named Consemenes, when they disembarked with the gun and encamped for the night near the village of Los Gentiles, intending to make an attack upon them next morning, but before they were prepared the gentiles, who had been apprised of their intention and had collected a large body of their friends, became the assailants and pressed so hard upon the party that, notwithstanding they dealt death in every direction with their cannon and musketry and were inspired with confidence by the contempt in which they held the valor and tactics of their unconverted countrymen, they were overpowered by numbers and obliged to seek their safety in flight and to leave the gun in the woods. Some regained the launch and were saved and others found their way overland to the mission, but thirty-four of the party never returned to tell their tale.

"There were other accounts of the unfortunate affair, one of which accused the padre of authorizing the attack. The padre was greatly displeased at the result of the excursion, as the loss of so many Indians to the mission was of great consequence and the confidence with which the victory would inspire the Indians was equally alarming.

"He therefore joined with the converted Indians in a determination to chastise and strike terror into the victorious tribe and in concert with the governor planned an expedition against them. The mission furnished money, arms, Indians and horses and the presidio troops, headed by Alferes Sanches, a veteran, who had been frequently engaged with the Indians and was acquainted with that part of the country. The expedition set out November 19, and we heard nothing of it until the 27th, but two days after the troops had taken to the field some immense columns of smoke rising above the mountains in the direction of the Cosemmes bespoke the conflagration of the village of the persecuted gentiles; and on the day above mentioned the veteran Sanches made a triumphant entry into

the Mission of San José, escorting forty miserable women and children. The gun which had been lost in the first battle was retaken and other trophies captured.

"This victory, so glorious according to the ideas of the conquerors, was achieved with the loss of only one man on the part of the Christians, who was mortally wounded by the bursting of his own gun; but on the part of the enemy it was considerable, as Sanches the morning after the battle counted forty-one men, women and children dead. It is remarkable that none of the prisoners was wounded and it is greatly to be feared that the Christians, who could scarcely be prevented from revenging the death of their relatives upon those who were brought to the mission, glutted their brutal passions on all who fell into their hands.

"The prisoners they had captured were immediately enrolled in the list of the mission, except a nice little boy whose mother was shot while running away with him in her arms, and he was sent to the presidio and, as I heard, given to the Alferéz as a reward for his services. The poor little orphan had received a slight wound in his forehead; he wept bitterly at first and refused to eat, but in time became reconciled to his fate.

"Those who were taken to the mission were immediately converted and were daily taught by the neophytes to repeat the Lord's prayer and certain hymns in the Spanish language. I happened to visit the mission about this time and saw these unfortunate beings under tuition. They were clothed in blankets and arranged in a row before a blind Indian, who understood their dialect and was assisted by an alcalde to keep order. Their tutor began by desiring them to kneel, informing them that he was going to teach them the names of the persons composing the trinity and they were to repeat in Spanish what he dictated. The neophytes being arranged, the speaker began: 'Santisima Trinidad, Dios, Jesu Christo, Espiritu Santo,' pausing between each name to listen if the simple Indians, who had never before spoken a word of Spanish, pronounced it correctly or anything near the mark. After they had repeated these names satisfactorily, their blind tutor, after a

pause, added 'Santos' and recapitulated the names of a great many saints, which finished the morning's lesson.

"They did not appear to me to pay much attention to what was going forward and I observed to the padre that I thought their teachers had an arduous task, but he said they had never found any difficulty; that the Indians were accustomed to change their own gods and that their conversion was in a measure habitual to them.

"The expenses of the late expedition fell heavily upon the mission and I was glad to find the padre thought it was paying very dear for so few converts, as in all probability it will lessen his desire to undertake another expedition and the poor Indians will be spared the horrors of being butchered by their own countrymen or dragged from their homes into captivity."

This conquista and the results that followed were very similar to some of the so-called Indian wars that took place after the American occupation. The Indians were provoked to hostilities by outrage and injustice. Then the military came down on them and wiped them out of existence.

The unsanitary condition of the Indian villages at some of the missions was as fatal as an Indian war. The Indian was naturally filthy, but in his native state he had the whole country to roam over. If his village became too filthy and the vermin in it too aggressive, he purified it by fire—burned up his wigwam. The adobe houses that took the place of the brush hovel, which made up the early mission villages, could not be burned to purify them. No doubt the heavy death rate at the missions was due largely to the uncleanly habits of the neophytes. The statistics given in the chapter on the Franciscan missions show that in all the missionary establishments a steady decline, a gradual extinction of the neophyte population, had been in progress for two to three decades before the missions were secularized. Had secularization been delayed or had it not taken place in the course of a few decades, at the rate the neophytes were dying off the missions would have become depopulated. The death rate was greater than the birth rate in all of them and the mortality among

the children was greater even than among the adults. After secularization the neophytes drifted to the cities and towns where they could more readily gratify their passion for strong drink. Their mission training and their Christianity had no restraining influence upon them. Their vicious habits, which were about the only thing they had acquired by their contact with the whites, soon put an end to them.

During the Spanish and Mexican eras Northern California remained practically a terra incognita. Two missions, San Rafael and San Francisco Solano, and the castillo at Sonora, had been established as a sort of protection to the northern frontier. A few armed incursions had been made into the country beyond these to punish Indian horse and cattle thieves. General Vallejo, who was in command of the troops on the frontera del norte, had always endeavored to cultivate friendly relations with the gentiles, but the padres disliked to have these near the missions on account of their influence on the neophytes. Near the Mission San Rafael, in 1833, occurred one of those Indian massacres not uncommon under Spanish and Mexican rule. A body of gentiles from the rancherias of Pulia, encouraged by Figueroa and Vallejo, came to the Mission San Rafael with a view to establishing friendly relations. The padre put off the interview until next day. During the night a theft was committed, which was charged to the gentiles. Fifteen of them were seized and sent as prisoners to San Francisco. Padre Mercado, fearing that their countrymen might retaliate, sent out his major doma Molina with thirty-seven armed neophytes, who surprised the gentiles in their rancharia, killed twenty-one, wounded many more and captured twenty men, women and children. Vallejo was indignant at the shameful violation of his promises of protection to the Indians. He released the prisoners at San Francisco and the captives at the mission and tried to pacify the wrathful gentiles. Padre Mercado was suspended from his ministry for a short time, but was afterward freed and returned to San Rafael.*

There was a system of Indian slavery in ex-

istence in California under the rule of Spain and Mexico. Most of the wealthier Spanish and Mexican families had Indian servants. In the raids upon the gentiles the children taken by the soldiers were sometimes sold or disposed of to families for servants. Expeditions were gotten up upon false prettexts, while the main purpose was to steal Indian children and sell them to families for servants. This practice was carried on by the Americans, too, after the conquest.

For a time after the discovery of gold the Indians and the miners got along amicably. The first miners were mainly old Californians, used to the Indians, but with the rush of '49 came many rough characters who, by their injustice, soon stirred up trouble. Sutter had employed a large number of Indians on his ranches and in various capacities. These were faithful and honest. Some of them were employed at his mill in Coloma and in the diggings. In the spring of '49 a band of desperadoes known as the Mountain Hounds murdered eight of these at the mill. Marshall, in trying to defend them, came near being lynched by the drunken brutes.

The injustice done the Indians soon brought on a number of so-called Indian wars. These were costly affairs to the state and in less than two years had plunged the young commonwealth into a debt of nearly \$1,000,000. In a copy of the *Los Angeles Star* for February 28, 1852, I find this enumeration of the wars and the estimated cost of each: The Morehead expedition, \$120,000; General Bean's first expedition, \$66,000; General Bean's second expedition, \$50,000; the Mariposa war, \$230,000; the El Dorado war, \$300,000. The Morehead war originated out of an injustice done the Yuma Indians. These Indians, in the summer of 1849, had obtained an old scow and established a ferry across the Colorado river below the mouth of the Gila, and were making quite a paying business out of it by ferrying emigrants across the river. A Dr. A. L. Lincoln, from Illinois, had established a ferry at the mouth of the Gila early in 1850. Being short handed he employed eight men of a party of immigrants, and their leader, Jack Glanton, who seems to have been a desperado. Glanton insulted a Yuma chief and the Indians charged him with destroying their boat

* Bancroft's History of California, Vol. III.

and killing an Irishman they had employed.

Watching their chance the Yumas killed eleven of the ferrymen, including Lincoln and Glanton. Governor Burnett ordered Major-General Bean to march against the Yumas. Bean sent his quartermaster-general, Joseph C. Morehead. Morehead, on Bean's orders, provided necessaries for a three months' campaign at most extravagant prices, paying for them in drafts on the state treasury. Morehead started out from Los Angeles with forty men, but by the time he reached the Colorado river he had recruited his force to one hundred and twenty-five men. The liquid supplies taken along doubtless stimulated recruiting. They reached the Colorado in the summer of 1850, and camped at the ferry. The Indians at their approach fled up the river. After two months' services they were disbanded. William Carr, one of the three ferrymen who escaped, was wounded and came to Los Angeles for treatment. The doctor who treated him charged the state \$500. The man who boarded him put in a bill of \$120; and the patriot who housed him wanted \$45 for house rent. Bean's first and second expeditions were very similar in results to the Morehead campaign. The El Dorado expedition or Rogers' war, as it was sometimes called, was another of Governor Burnett's fiascos. He ordered William Rogers, sheriff of El Dorado county, to call out two hundred men at the state's expense to punish the Indians for killing some whites who had, in all probability, been the aggressors and the Indians had retaliated. It was well known that there were men in that part of the country who had wantonly killed Indians for the pleasure of boasting of their exploits.

Nor were the whites always the aggressors. There were bad Indians, savages, who killed without provocation and stole whenever an opportunity offered. In their attempts at retaliation the Indians slaughtered indiscriminately and the innocent more often were their victims than the guilty. On the side of the whites it was a war of extermination waged in many instances without regard to age or sex; on the part of the Indian it was a war of retaliation waged with as little distinction.

The extermination of the aborigines was fear-

fully rapid. Of over ten thousand Indians in Yuba, Placer, Nevada and Sierra counties in 1849 not more than thirty-eight hundred remained in 1854. Much of this decrease had been brought about by dissipation and disease engendered by contact with the whites. Reservations were established in various parts of the state, where Indians abounded, but the large salaries paid to agents and the numerous opportunities for speculation made these positions attractive to politicians, who were both incompetent and dishonest. The Indians, badly treated at the reservations, deserted them whenever an opportunity offered.

A recital of the atrocities committed upon each other in the northwestern part of the state during a period of nearly twenty years would fill a volume. The Indian with all his fiendishness was often outmatched in cruelty by his pale faced brother. The Indian Island massacre was scarcely ever equaled in the annals of Indian cruelties. Indian Island lies nearly opposite the city of Eureka in Humboldt Bay. On this island, fifty years ago, was a large rancheria of inoffensive Indians, who lived chiefly by fishing. They had not been implicated in any of the wars or raids that had disturbed that part of the country. They maintained many of their old customs and had an annual gathering, at which they performed various rites and ceremonies, accompanied by dancing. A number of the Indians from the mainland joined them at these times. Near midnight of February 25, 1860, a number of boats filled with white men sped silently out to the island. The whites landed and quietly surrounded the Indians, who were resting after their orgies, and began the slaughter with axes, knives and clubs, splitting skulls, knocking out brains and cutting the throats of men, women and children. Of the two hundred Indians on the island only four or five men escaped by swimming to the mainland. The same night a rancheria at the entrance of Humboldt Bay and another at the mouth of Eel river were attacked and about one hundred Indians slaughtered. The fiends who committed these atrocities belonged to a secret organization. No rigid investigation was ever made to find out who they were. The grand

jury mildly condemned the outrage and there the matter ended.

The Indians kept up hostilities, rendering travel and traffic unsafe on the borders of Humboldt, Klamath and Trinity counties. Governor Stanford in 1863 issued a proclamation for the enlistment of six companies of volunteers from the six northwestern counties of the state. These recruits were organized into what was known as the Mountaineer battalion with Lieut.-Col. Stephen G. Whipple in command. A number of Indian tribes united and a desultory warfare began. The Indians were worsted in nearly every engagement. Their power was broken and in February, 1865, fragments of the different tribes were gathered into the Hoopa Valley reservation. The Mountaineer battalion in what was known as the "Two Years' War" settled the Indian question from Shasta to the sea for all time.

The Modoc war was the last of the Indian disturbances in the state. The Modocs inhabited the country about Rhett Lake and Lost river in the northeast part of the state, bordering on Oregon. Their history begins with the massacre of an immigrant train of sixty-five persons, men, women and children, on their way from Oregon to California. This brought upon them a reprisal by the whites in which forty-one out of forty-six Indians who had been invited by Benjamin Wright to a pow wow after they had laid aside their arms were set upon by Wright and his companions with revolvers and all killed but five. In 1864 a treaty had been made with the Modocs by which they were to reside on the Klamath reservation. But tiring of reservation life, under their leader, Captain Jack, they returned to their old homes on Lost river. A company of United States troops and several volunteers who went along to see the fun were sent to bring them back to the reservation. They refused to go and a fight ensued in which four of the volunteers and one of the regulars were killed, and the troops retreated. The Modocs after killing several settlers gathered at the lava beds near Rhett Lake and prepared for war.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wheaton with about four hundred men attacked the Indians in the lava

beds January 17, 1873. Captain Jack had but fifty-one men. When Wheaton retreated he had lost thirty-five men killed and a number wounded, but not an Indian had been hurt. A few days after the battle a peace commission was proposed at Washington. A. B. Meacham, Jesse Applegate and Samuel Case were appointed. Elijah Steele of Yreka, who was on friendly terms with the Indians, was sent for. He visited the lava beds with the interpreter, Fairchild, and had a big talk. He proposed to them to surrender and they would be sent to Angel Island near San Francisco, fed and cared for and allowed to select any reservation they wished. Steele, on his return to camp, reported that the Indians accepted the terms, but Fairchild said they had not and next day on his return Steele found out his mistake and barely escaped with his life. Interviews continued without obtaining any definite results, some of the commission became disgusted and returned home. General Canby, commanding the department, had arrived and taken charge of affairs. Commissioner Case resigned and Judge Rosborough was appointed in his place and the Rev. E. Thomas, a doctor of divinity in the Methodist church, was added to the commission. A man by the name of Riddle and his wife Toby, a Modoc, acted as go-betweens and negotiations continued.

A pow wow was arranged at the council tent at which all parties were to meet unarmed, but Toby was secretly informed that it was the intention of the Modocs to massacre the commissioners as had been done to the Indian commissioners twenty years before by Benjamin Wright and his gang. On April 10, while Meacham and Dyer, the superintendent of the Klamath reservation, who had joined the commissioners, were away from camp, the Rev. Dr. Thomas made an agreement with a delegation from Captain Jack for the commission and General Canby to meet the Indians at the council tent. Meacham on his return opposed the arrangement, fearing treachery. The doctor insisted that God had done a wonderful work in the Modoc camp, but Meacham shocked the pious doctor by saying "God had not been in the Modoc camp this winter."

Two of the Indian leaders, Boston Charley and Bogus Charley, came to headquarters to accompany the commission. Riddle and his wife, Toby, bitterly opposed the commissioners' going, telling them they would be killed, and Toby going so far as to seize Meacham's horse to prevent him from going, telling him, "You get kill." Canby and the doctor insisted upon going, despite all protests, the doctor saying, "Let us go as we agreed and trust in God." Meacham and Dyer secured derringers in their side pockets before going. When the commissioners, the interpreters, Riddle and his wife, reached the council tent they found Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim, Shancknasty Jim, Ellen's Man and Hooker Jim sitting around a fire at the council tent. Concealed behind some rocks a short distance away were two young Indians with a number of rifles. The two Charleys, Bogus and Boston, who had come with the commissioners from headquarters, informed the Indians that the commissioners were not armed. The interview began. The Indians were very insolent. Suddenly, at a given signal, the Indians uttered a war whoop, and Captain Jack drew a revolver from under his coat and shot General Canby. Boston Charley shot Dr. Thomas, who fell, rose again, but was shot down while begging for his life. The young Indians had brought up the rifles and a fusillade was begun upon the others. All escaped without injury except Meacham, who, after running some distance, was felled by a bullet fired by Hooker Jim, and left for dead. He was saved from being scalped by the bravery of Toby. He recovered, however, although badly disfigured. While this

was going on, Curly Haired Doctor and several other Modocs, with a white flag, inveigled Lieutenants Boyle and Sherwood beyond the lines. Seeing the Indians were armed, the officers turned to flee, when Curly Haired Jack fired and broke Lieutenant Sherwood's thigh. He died a few days later. The troops were called to arms when the firing began, but the Indians escaped to the lava beds. After a few days' preparation, Colonel Gillem, who was in command, began an attack on the Indian stronghold. Their position was shelled by mountain howitzers. In the fighting, which lasted four days, sixteen soldiers were killed and thirteen wounded. In a reconnaissance under Captain Thomas a few days later, a body of seventy troops and fourteen Warm Spring Indians ran into an ambush of the Indians and thirteen soldiers, including Thomas, were killed. Gen. Jefferson C. Davis was placed in command. The Indians were forced out of the lava beds, their water supply having been cut off. They quarreled among themselves, broke up into parties, were chased down and all captured. Captain Jack and Schonchin John, the two leaders, were shackled together. General Davis made preparations to hang these and six or eight others, but orders from Washington stopped him. The leading Indians were tried by court-martial. Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim and Boston Charley were hung, two others were sentenced to imprisonment for life. The other Modocs, men, women and children, were sent to a fort in Nebraska and afterwards transferred to the Quaw Paw Agency in Indian Territory. This ended the Modoc war and virtually put an end to the Modoc Indians.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SOME POLITICAL HISTORY.

THE first Chinese emigrants to California arrived in the brig *Eagle*, from Hong Kong, in the month of February, 1848. They were two men and one woman. This was before the discovery of gold was known abroad. What brought these waifs from the Flowery

Kingdom to California does not appear in the record. February 1, 1849, there were fifty-four Chinamen and one Chinawoman in the territory. January 1, 1850, seven hundred and eighty-nine men and two women had arrived. January 1, 1851, four thousand and eighteen men and seven

women; a year later their numbers had increased to eight thousand one hundred and twenty-one men and eight women; May 7, 1852, eleven thousand seven hundred and eighty men and seven women had found their way to the land of gold. The *Alta California*, from which I take these figures, estimated that between seven and ten thousand more would arrive in the state before January 1, 1853. The editor sagely remarks: "No one fears danger or misfortune from their excessive numbers." There was no opposition to their coming; on the contrary, they were welcomed and almost lionized. The *Alta* of April 27, 1851, remarks: "An American barque yesterday brought eighty worshippers of the sun, moon and many stars. These Celestials make excellent citizens and we are pleased to notice their daily arrival in large numbers." The *Alta* describes a Great Chinese meeting on Portsmouth Square, which took place in 1851. It seems to have been held for the purpose of welcoming the Chinese to California and at the same time doing missionary work and distributing religious tracts among them. The report says: "A large assemblage of citizens and several ladies collected on the plaza to witness the ceremonies. Ah Hee assembled his division and Ah Sing marched his into Kearny street, where the two divisions united and then marched to the square. Many carried fans. There were several peculiar looking Chinamen among them. One, a very tall, old Celestial with an extensive tail, excited universal attention. He had a huge pair of spectacles upon his nose, the glasses of which were about the size of a telescope lens. He also had a singularly colored fur mantle or cape upon his shoulders and a long sort of robe. We presume he must be a mandarin at least.

"Vice Consul F. A. Woodworth, His Honor, Major J. W. Geary, Rev. Albert Williams, Rev. A. Fitch and Rev. F. D. Hunt were present. Ah Hee acted as interpreter. The Rev. Hunt gave them some orthodox instruction in which they were informed of the existence of a country where the China boys would never die; this made them laugh quite heartily. Tracts, scriptural documents, astronomical works, almanacs and other useful religious and instructive docu-

ments printed in Chinese characters were distributed among them."

I give the report of another meeting of "The Chinese residents of San Francisco," taken from the *Alta* of December 10, 1849. I quote it to show how the Chinese were regarded when they first came to California and how they were flattered and complimented by the presence of distinguished citizens at their meetings. Their treatment a few years later, when they were mobbed and beaten in the streets for no fault of theirs except for coming to a Christian country, must have given them a very poor opinion of the white man's consistency. "A public meeting of the Chinese residents of the town was held on the evening of Monday, November 19, at the Canton Restaurant on Jackson street. The following preamble and resolutions were presented and adopted:

"Whereas, It becomes necessary for us, strangers as we are in a strange land, unacquainted with the language and customs of our adopted country, to have some recognized counselor and advisor to whom we may all appeal with confidence for wholesome instruction, and,

"Whereas, We should be at a loss as to what course of action might be necessary for us to pursue therefore,

"Resolved, That a committee of four be appointed to wait upon Selim E. Woodworth, Esq., and request him in behalf of the Chinese residents of San Francisco to act in the capacity of arbiter and advisor for them."

"Mr. Woodworth was waited upon by Ah Hee, Jon Ling, Ah Ting and Ah Toon and kindly consented to act. The whole affair passed off in the happiest manner. Many distinguished guests were present, Hon. J. W. Geary, alcalde; E. H. Harrison, ex-collector of the port, and others."

At the celebration of the admission of California into the Union the "China Boys" were a prominent feature. One report says: "The Celestials had a banner of crimson satin on which were some Chinese characters and the inscription 'China Boys.' They numbered about fifty and were arrayed in the richest stuff and commanded by their chief, Ah Sing."

While the "China Boys" were feted and flat-

tered in San Francisco they were not so enthusiastically welcomed by the miners. The legislature in 1850 passed a law fixing the rate of license for a foreign miner at \$20 per month. This was intended to drive out and keep out of the mines all foreigners, but the rate was so excessively high that it practically nullified the enforcement of the law and it was repealed in 1851. As the Chinese were only allowed peaceable possession of mines that would not pay white man's wages they did not make fortunes in the diggings. If by chance the Asiatics should happen to strike it rich in ground abandoned by white men there was a class among the white miners who did not hesitate to rob the Chinamen of their ground.

As a result of their persecution in the mines the Chinese flocked to San Francisco and it was not long until that city had more "China Boys" than it needed in its business. The legislature of 1855 enacted a law that masters, owners or consignors of vessels bringing to California persons incompetent to become citizens under the laws of the state should pay a fine of \$50 for every such person landed. A suit was brought to test the validity of the act; it was declared unconstitutional. In 1858 the foreign miner's tax was \$10 per month and as most of the other foreigners who had arrived in California in the early '50s had by this time become citizens by naturalization the foreigners upon whom the tax bore most heavily were the Chinese who could not become citizens. As a consequence many of them were driven out of the mines and this again decreased the revenue of the mining counties, a large part of which was made up of poll tax and license.

The classes most bitterly opposed to the Chinese in the mines were the saloon-keepers, the gamblers and their constituents. While the Chinaman himself is a most inveterate gambler and not averse to strong drink he did not divest himself of his frugal earnings in the white man's saloon or gambling den, and the gentry who kept these institutions were the first, like Bill Nye in Bret Harte's poem, to raise the cry, "We are ruined by Chinese cheap labor." While the southern politicians who were the rulers of the state before the Civil war were

opposed to the Chinese and legislated against them, it was not done in the interest of the white laborer. An act to establish a coolie system of servile labor was introduced in the pro-slavery legislature of 1854. It was intended as a substitute for negro slavery. Senator Roach, a free state man, exposed its iniquity. It was defeated. The most intolerant and the most bitter opponents of the Chinese then and later when opposition had intensified were certain servile classes of Europeans who in their native countries had always been kept in a state of servility to the aristocracy, but when raised to the dignity of American citizens by naturalization proceeded to celebrate their release from their former serfdom by persecuting the Chinese, whom they regarded as their inferiors. The outcry these people made influenced politicians, who pandered to them for the sake of their votes to make laws and ordinances that were often burlesques on legislation.

In 1870 the legislature enacted a law imposing a penalty of not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000 or imprisonment upon any one bringing to California any subject of China or Japan without first presenting evidence of his or her good character to the commissioner of immigration. The supreme court decided the law unconstitutional. Laws were passed prohibiting the employment of Chinese on the public works; prohibiting them from owning real estate and from obtaining licenses for certain kinds of business. The supervisors of San Francisco passed an ordinance requiring that the hair of any male prisoner convicted of an offense should be cut within one inch of his head. This, of course, was aimed at Chinese convicts and intended to deprive them of their queues and degrade them in the estimation of their people. It was known as the Pig Tail Ordinance; the mayor vetoed it. Another piece of class legislation by the San Francisco supervisors imposed a license of \$15 a quarter on laundries using no horses, while a laundry using a one-horse wagon paid but \$2 per quarter. The Chinese at this time (1876) did not use horses in their laundry business. The courts decided against this ordinance.

Notwithstanding the laws and ordinances

against them the Chinese continued to come and they found employment of some kind to keep them from starving. They were industrious and economical; there were no Chinese tramps. Although they filled a want in the state, cheap and reliable labor, at the beginning of its railroad and agricultural development, they were not desirable citizens. Their habits and morals were bad. Their quarters in the cities reeked with filth and immorality. They maintained their Asiatic customs and despised the "white devils" among whom they lived, which, by the way, was not strange considering the mobbing and maltreatment they received from the other aliens. They made merchandise of their women and carried on a revolting system of female slavery.

The Burlingame treaty guaranteed mutual protection to the citizens of China and the United States on each other's soil; to freedom in religious opinions; to the right to reside in either country at will and other privileges accorded to civilized nations. Under this treaty the Chinese could not be kept out of California and agitation was begun for the modification or entire abrogation of the treaty.

For a number of years there had been a steady decline in the price of labor. Various causes had contributed to this. The productiveness of the mines had decreased; railroad communication with the east had brought in a number of workmen and increased competition; the efforts of the labor unions to decrease the hours of labor and still keep up the wages at the old standard had resulted in closing up some of the manufacturing establishments, the proprietors finding it impossible to compete with eastern factories. All these and other causes brought about a depression in business and brought on in 1877-78 a labor agitation that shook the foundations of our social fabric. The hard times and decline in wages was charged against the Chinese. No doubt the presence of the Mongolians in California had considerable to do with it and particularly in the lower grades of employment but the depression was mainly caused from over-production and the financial crisis of 1873, which had affected the whole United States. Another cause local to California was the wild

mania for stock gambling that had prevailed in California for a number of years. The bonanza kings of the Washoe by getting up corners in stocks running up fraudulent values and then unloading on outside buyers had impoverished thousands of people of small means and enriched themselves without any return to their dupes.

Hard times always brings to the front a class of noisy demagogues who with no remedy to prescribe increase the discontent by vituperative abuse of everybody outside of their sympathizers. The first of the famous sand lot mass meetings of San Francisco was held July 23, 1877, on a vacant lot on the Market street side of the city hall. Harangues were made and resolutions passed denouncing capitalists, declaring against subsidies to steamship and railroad lines, declaring that the reduction of wages was part of a conspiracy for the destruction of the republic and that the military should not be employed against strikers. An anti-coolie club was formed and on that and the two succeeding evenings a number of Chinese laundries were destroyed. In a fight between the police (aided by the committee of safety) and the rioters several of the latter were killed. Threats were made to destroy the railroad property and burn the vessels of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company unless the Chinese in their employ were immediately discharged.

Among the agitators that this ebullition of discontent threw to the front was an Irish drayman named Dennis Kearney. He was shrewd enough to see that some notoriety and political capital could be made by the organization of a Workingmen's party.

On the 5th of October a permanent organization of the Workingmen's party of California was effected. Dennis Kearney was chosen president, J. G. Day, vice-president, and H. L. Knight, secretary. The principles of the party were the condensed essence of selfishness. The working classes were to be elevated at the expense of every other. "We propose to elect none but competent workmen and their friends to any office whatever." "The rich have ruled us till they have ruined us." "The republic must and shall be preserved, and only workmen will do it." "This party will exhaust all peaceable means of

attaining its ends, but it will not be denied justice when it has the power to enforce it." "It will encourage no riot or outrage, but it will not volunteer to repress or put down or arrest, or prosecute the hungry and impatient who manifest their hatred of the Chinamen by a crusade against John or those who employ him." These and others as irrelevant and immaterial were the principles of the Workingmen's party that was to bring the millennium. The movement spread rapidly, clubs were formed in every ward in San Francisco and there were organizations in all the cities of the state. The original leaders were all of foreign birth, but when the movement became popular native born demagogues, perceiving in it an opportunity to obtain office, abandoned the old parties and joined the new.

Kearney now devoted his whole time to agitation, and the applause he received from his followers pampered his inordinate conceit. His language was highly incendiary. He advised every workingman to own a musket and one hundred rounds of ammunition and urged the formation of military companies. He posed as a reformer and even hoped for martyrdom. In one of his harangues he said: "If I don't get killed I will do more than any reformer in the history of the world. I hope I will be assassinated, for the success of the movement depends on that." The incendiary rant of Kearney and his fellows became alarming. It was a tame meeting, at which no "thieving millionaire, scoundrelly official or extortionate railroad magnate" escaped lynching by the tongues of laborite reformers. The charitable people of the city had raised by subscription \$20,000 to alleviate the prevailing distress among the poor. It was not comforting to a rich man to hear himself doomed to "hemp! hemp! hemp!" simply because by industry, economy and enterprise he had made a fortune. It became evident that if Kearney and his associates were allowed to talk of hanging men and burning the city some of their dupes would put in practice the teachings of their leaders. The supervisors, urged on by the better class of citizens, passed an ordinance called by the sand-lotters "Gibbs' gag law." On the 29th of October, Kearney and

his fellow agitators, with a mob of two or three thousand followers, held a meeting on Nob Hill, where Stanford, Crocker, Hopkins and other railroad magnates had built palatial residences. He roundly denounced as thieves the nabobs of Nob Hill and declared that they would soon feel the power of the workingmen. When his party was thoroughly organized they would march through the city and compel the thieves to give up their plunder; that he would lead them to the city hall, clear out the police, hang the prosecuting attorney, burn every book that had a particle of law in it, and then enact new laws for the workingmen. These and other utterances equally inflammatory caused his arrest while addressing a meeting on the borders of the Barbary coast. Trouble was expected, but he quietly submitted and was taken to jail and a few days later Day, Knight, C. C. O'Donnell and Charles E. Pickett were arrested on charges of inciting riot and taken to jail. A few days in jail cooled them off and they began to "squeal." They addressed a letter to the mayor, saying their utterances had been incorrectly reported by the press and that if released they were willing to submit to any wise measure to allay the excitement. They were turned loose after two weeks' imprisonment and their release was celebrated on Thanksgiving Day, November 29, by a grand demonstration of sand lotters—seven thousand of whom paraded the streets.

It was not long before Kearney and his fellows were back on the sand lots hurling out threats of lynching, burning and blowing up. On January 5 the grand jury presented indictments against Kearney, Wellock, Knight, O'Donnell and Pickett. They were all released on the rulings of the judge of the criminal court on the grounds that no actual riot had taken place.

The first victory of the so-called Workingmen's party was the election of a state senator in Alameda county to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Senator Porter. An individual by the name of John W. Bones was elected. On account of his being long and lean he was known as Barebones and sometimes Praise God Barebones. His only services in the senate were the perpetration of some doggerel verses and a

speech or two on Kearney's theme, "The Chinese Must Go." At the election held June 19, 1878, to choose delegates to a constitutional convention of the one hundred and fifty-two delegates the Workingmen elected fifty-seven, thirty-one of whom were from San Francisco. The convention met at Sacramento, September 28, 1878, and continued to sit in all one hundred and fifty-seven days. It was a mixed assemblage. There were some of the ablest men in the state in it, and there were some of the most narrow minded and intolerant bigots there. The Workingmen flocked by themselves, while the non-partisans, the Republicans and Democrats, for the most part, acted in unison. Opposition to the Chinese, which was a fundamental principle of the Workingmen's creed, was not confined to them alone; some of the non-partisans were as bitter in their hatred of the Mongolians as the Kearneyites. Some of the crudities proposed for insertion in the new constitution were laughable for their absurdity. One sand lotter proposed to amend the bill of rights, that all men are by nature free and independent, to read, "All men who are capable of becoming citizens of the United States are by nature free and independent." One non-partisan wanted to incorporate into the fundamental law of the state Kearney's slogan, "The Chinese Must Go."

After months of discussion the convention evolved a constitution that the ablest men in that body repudiated, some of them going so far as to take the stump against it. But at the election it carried by a large majority. Kearney continued his sand lot harangues. In the summer of 1879 he made a trip through the southern counties of the state, delivering his diatribes against the railroad magnates, the land monopolists and the Chinese. At the town of Santa Ana, now the county seat of Orange county, in his harangue he made a vituperative attack upon the McFadden Brothers, who a year or two before had built a steamer and run it in opposition to the regular coast line steamers until forced to sell it on account of losses incurred by the competition. Kearney made a number of false and libelous statements in regard to the transaction. While he was waiting for the stage to San Diego in front of the hotel he was con-

fronted by Rule, an employee of the McFadden's, with an imperious demand for the name of Kearney's informant. Kearney turned white with fear and blubbered out something about not giving away his friends. Rule struck him a blow that sent him reeling against the building. Gathering himself together he made a rush into the hotel, drawing a pistol as he ran. Rule pursued him through the dining room and out across a vacant lot and into a drug store, where he downed him and, holding him down with his knee on his breast, demanded the name of his informer. One of the slandered men pulled Rule off the "martyr" and Kearney, with a face resembling a beefsteak, took his departure to San Diego. From that day on he ceased his vituperative attacks on individuals. He had met the only argument that could convince him of the error of his ways. He lost caste with his fellows. This braggadocio, who had boasted of leading armies to conquer the enemies of the Workingmen, with a pistol in his hand had ignominiously fled from an unarmed man and had taken a humiliating punishment without a show of resistance. His following began to desert him and Kearney went if the Chinese did not. The Workingmen's party put up a state ticket in 1879, but it was beaten at the polls and went to pieces. In 1880 James Angell of Michigan, John F. Swift of California, and William H. Trescott of South Carolina were appointed commissioners to proceed to China for the purpose of forming new treaties. An agreement was reached with the Chinese authorities by which laborers could be debarred for a certain period from entering the United States. Those in the country were all allowed the rights that aliens of other countries had. The senate ratified the treaty May 5th, 1881.

The following is a list of the governors of California, Spanish, Mexican and American, with date of appointment or election: Spanish: Gaspar de Portolá, 1767; Felipe Barri, 1771; Felipe de Neve, 1774; Pedro Fages, 1790; José Antonio Romeu, 1790; José Joaquin de Arrillaga, 1792; Diego de Borica, 1794; José Joaquin de Arrillaga, 1800; José Arguello, 1814; Pablo Vicente de Sola, 1815. Mexican governors: Pablo Vicente de Sola, 1822; Luis

Arguello, 1823; José Maria Echeandia, 1825; Manuel Victoria, 1831; Pio Pico, 1832; José Maria Echeandia, Agustin Zamorano, 1832; José Figueroa, 1833; José Castro, 1835; Nicolas Gutierrez, 1836; Mariano Chico, 1836; Nicolas Gutierrez, 1836; Juan B. Alvarado, 1836; Manuel Micheltorena, 1842; Pio Pico, 1845. American military governors: Commodore Robert F. Stockton, 1846; Col. John C. Fremont, January, 1847; Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, March 1, 1847; Col. Richard B. Mason, May 31, 1847; Gen. Bennet Riley, April 13, 1849. American governors elected: Peter H. Burnett, 1849. John McDougal, Lieutenant-governor, became governor on resignation of P. H. Burnett in January, 1851; John Bigler, 1851; John Bigler,

1853; J. Neely Johnson, 1855; John B. Weller, 1857; M. S. Latham, 1859; John G. Downey, lieutenant-governor, became governor in 1859 by election of Latham to United States senate; Leland Stanford, 1861; Frederick F. Low, 1863; Henry H. Haight, 1867; Newton Booth, 1871; Romualdo Pacheco, lieutenant governor, became governor February, 1875, on election of Booth to the United States senate; William Irwin, 1875; George C. Perkins, 1879; George Stoneman, 1882; Washington Bartlett, 1886; Robert W. Waterman, lieutenant-governor, became governor September 12, 1887, upon the death of Governor Bartlett; H. H. Markham, 1890; James H. Budd, 1894; Henry T. Gage, 1898; George C. Pardee, 1902; James H. Gillett, 1906.

CHAPTER XXXV.

EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE Franciscans, unlike the Jesuits, were not the patrons of education. They bent all their energies towards proselyting. Their object was to fit their converts for the next world. An ignorant soul might be as happy in paradise as the most learned. Why educate the neophyte? He was converted, and then instructed in the work assigned him at the mission. There were no public schools at the missions. A few of the brightest of the neophytes, who were trained to sing in the church choirs, were taught to read, but the great mass of them, even those of the third generation, born and reared at the missions, were as ignorant of book learning as were their great-grandfathers, who ran naked among the oak trees of the mesas and fed on acorns.

Nor was there much attention paid to education among the *gente de razon* of the presidios and pueblos. But few of the common people could read and write. Their ancestors had made their way in the world without book learning. Why should the child know more than the parent? And trained to have great filial regard for his parent, it was not often that the progeny aspired to rise higher in the scale

of intelligence than his progenitor. Of the eleven heads of families who founded Los Angeles, not one could sign his name to the title deed of his house lot. Nor were these an exceptionally ignorant collection of hombres. Out of fifty men comprising the Monterey company in 1785, but fourteen could write. In the company stationed at San Francisco in 1794 not a soldier among them could read or write; and forty years later of one hundred men at Sonoma not one could write his name.

The first community want the American pioneers supplied was the school house. Whenever the immigrants from the New England and the middle states planted a settlement, there, at the same time, they planted a school house. The first community want that the Spanish pabladores (colonists) supplied was a church. The school house was not wanted or if wanted it was a long felt want that was rarely or never satisfied. At the time of the acquisition of California by the Americans, seventy-seven years from the date of its first settlement, there was not a public school house owned by any presidio, pueblo or city in all its territory.

The first public school in California was

opened in San José in December, 1794, seventeen years after the founding of that pueblo. The pioneer teacher of California was Manuel de Vargas, a retired sergeant of infantry. The school was opened in the public granary. Vargas, in 1795, was offered \$250 to open a school in San Diego. As this was higher wages than he was receiving he accepted the offer. José Manuel Toca, a *gamute* or ship boy, arrived on a Spanish transport in 1795 and the same year was employed at Santa Barbara as schoolmaster at a yearly salary of \$125. Thus the army and the navy pioneered education in California.

Governor Borica, the founder of public schools in California, resigned in 1800 and was succeeded by Arrillaga. Governor Arrillaga, if not opposed to, was at least indifferent to the education of the common people. He took life easy and the schools took long vacations; indeed, it was nearly all vacation during his term. Governor Sola, the successor of Arrillaga, made an effort to establish public schools, but the indifference of the people discouraged him. In the lower pueblo, Los Angeles, the first school was opened in 1817, thirty-six years after the founding of the town. The first teacher there was Maximó Piña, an invalid soldier. He received \$140 a year for his services as schoolmaster. If the records are correct, his was the only school taught in Los Angeles during the Spanish régime. One year of schooling to forty years of vacation, there was no educational cramming in those days. The schoolmasters of the Spanish era were invalid soldiers, possessed of that dangerous thing, a "little learning;" and it was very little indeed. About all they could teach was reading, writing and the doctrina Christiana. They were brutal tyrants and their school government a military despotism. They did not spare the rod or the child, either. The rod was too mild an instrument of punishment. Their implement of torture was a cat-o'-ninetails, made of hempen cords with iron points. To fail in learning the doctrina Christiana was an unpardonable sin. For this, for laughing aloud, playing truant or other offenses no more heinous, the guilty boy "was stretched face downward upon a bench with a handkerchief

thrust into his mouth as a gag and lashed with a dozen or more blows until the blood ran down his little lacerated back." If he could not imbibe the Christian doctrine in any other way, it was injected into him with the points of the lash.

Mexico did better for education in California than Spain. The school terms were lengthened and the vacation shortened proportionally. Governor Echeandia, a man hated by the friars, was an enthusiastic friend of education. "He believed in the gratuitous and compulsory education of rich and poor, Indians and *gente de razon* alike." He held that learning was the corner-stone of a people's wealth and it was the duty of the government to foster education. When the friars heard of his views "they called upon God to pardon the unfortunate ruler unable to comprehend how vastly superior a religious education was to one merely secular.* Echeandia made a brave attempt to establish a public school system in the territory. He demanded of the friars that they establish a school at each mission for the neophytes; they promised, but, with the intention of evading, a show was made of opening schools. Soon it was reported that the funds were exhausted and the schools had to close for want of means to support them. Nor was Echeandia more successful with the people. He issued an order to the commanding officers at the presidios to compel parents to send their children to school. The school at Monterey was opened, the alcalde acting as schoolmaster. The school furniture consisted of one table and the school books were one arithmetic and four primers. The school funds were as meager as the school furniture. Echeandia, unable to contend against the enmity of the friars, the indifference of the parents and the lack of funds, reluctantly abandoned his futile fight against ignorance.

One of the most active and earnest friends of the public schools during the Mexican era was the much abused Governor Micheltorena. He made an earnest effort to establish a public school system in California. Through his efforts schools were established in all the principal

*Bancroft's California Pastoral.

towns and a guarantee of \$500 from the territorial funds promised to each school. Micheltorena promulgated what might be called the first school law of California. It was a decree issued May 1, 1844, and consisted of ten articles, which prescribed what should be taught in the schools, school hours, school age of the pupils and other regulations. Article 10 named the most holy virgin of Guadalupe as patroness of the schools. Her image was to be placed in each school. But, like all his predecessors, Micheltorena failed; the funds were soon exhausted and the schools closed.

Even had the people been able to read there would have been nothing for them to read but religious books. The friars kept vigilant watch that no interdicted books were brought into the country. If any were found they were seized and publicly burned. Castro, Alvarado and Vallejo were at one time excommunicated for reading Rousseau's works, Telemachus and other books on the prohibited list. Alvarado having declined to pay Father Duran some money he owed him because it was a sin to have anything to do with an excommunicated person, and therefore it would be a sin for the father to take money from him, the padre annulled the sentence, received the money and gave Alvarado permission to read anything he wished.

During the war for the conquest of California and for some time afterwards the schools were all closed. The wild rush to the gold mines in 1848 carried away the male population. No one would stay at home and teach school for the paltry pay given a schoolmaster. The ayuntamiento of Los Angeles in the winter of 1849-50 appointed a committee to establish a school. After a three months' hunt the committee reported "that an individual had just presented himself who, although he did not speak English, yet could he teach the children many useful things; and besides the same person had managed to get the refusal of Mrs. Pollerena's house for school purpose." At the next meeting of the ayuntamiento the committee reported that the individual who had offered to teach had left for the mines and neither a school house nor a schoolmaster could be found.

In June, 1850, the ayuntamiento entered into

a contract with Francisco Bustamente, an ex-soldier, "to teach to the children first, second and third lessons and likewise to read script, to write and count and so much as I may be competent to teach them orthography and good morals." Bustamente was to receive \$60 per month and \$20 for house rent. This was the first school opened in Los Angeles after the conquest.

"The first American school in San Francisco and, we believe, in California, was a merely private enterprise. It was opened by a Mr. Marston from one of the Atlantic states in April, 1847, in a small shanty which stood on the block between Broadway and Pacific streets, west of Dupont street. There he collected some twenty or thirty pupils, whom he continued to teach for almost a whole year, his patrons paying for tuition."*

In the fall of 1847 a school house was built on the southwest corner of Portsmouth square, fronting on Clay street. The money to build it was raised by subscription. It was a very modest structure—box shaped with a door and two windows in the front and two windows in each end. It served a variety of purposes besides that of a school house. It was a public hall for all kinds of meetings. Churches held service in it. The first public amusements were given in it. At one time it was used for a court room. The first meeting to form a state government was held in it. It was finally degraded to a police office and a station house. For some time after it was built no school was kept in it for want of funds.

On the 21st of February, 1848, a town meeting was called for the election of a board of school trustees and Dr. F. Fourguard, Dr. J. Townsend, C. L. Ross, J. Serrini and William H. Davis were chosen. On the 3d of April following these trustees opened a school in the school house under the charge of Thomas Douglas, A. M., a graduate of Yale College and an experienced teacher of high reputation. The board pledged him a salary of \$1,000 per annum and fixed a tariff of tuition to aid towards its payment; and the town council, afterwards,

*Annals of San Francisco.

to make up any deficiency, appropriated to the payment of the teacher of the public school in this place \$200 at the expiration of twelve months from the commencement of the school. "Soon after this Mr. Marston discontinued his private school and Mr. Douglas collected some forty pupils."*

The school flourished for eight or ten weeks. Gold had been discovered and rumors were coming thick and fast of fortunes made in a day. A thousand dollars a year looked large to Mr. Douglas when the contract was made, but in the light of recent events it looked rather small. A man in the diggings might dig out \$1,000 in a week. So the schoolmaster laid down the pedagogical birch, shouldered his pick and hied himself away to the diggings. In the rush for gold, education was forgotten. December 12, 1848, Charles W. H. Christian reopened the school, charging tuition at the rate of \$10. Evidently he did not teach longer than it took him to earn money to reach the mines. April 23, 1849, the Rev. Albert Williams, pastor of the First Presbyterian church, obtained the use of the school house and opened a private school, charging tuition. He gave up school teaching to attend to his ministerial duties. In the fall of '49 John C. Pelton, a Massachusetts schoolmaster, arrived in San Francisco and December 26 opened a school with three pupils in the Baptist church on Washington street. He fitted up the church with writing tables and benches at his own expense, depending on voluntary contributions for his support. In the spring of 1850 he applied to the city council for relief and for his services and that of his wife he received \$500 a month till the summer of 1851, when he closed his school.

Col. T. J. Nevins, in June, 1850, obtained rent free the use of a building near the present intersection of Mission and Second streets for school purposes. He employed a Mr. Samuel Newton as teacher. The school was opened July 13. The school passed under the supervision of several teachers. The attendance was small at first and the school was supported by contributions, but later the council voted an ap-

propriation. The school was closed in 1851. Colonel Nevins, in January, 1851, secured a fifty-vara lot at Spring Valley on the Presidio road and built principally by subscription a large school building, employed a teacher and opened a free school, supported by contributions. The building was afterwards leased to the city to be used for a free school, the term of the lease running ninety-nine years. This was the first school building in which the city had an ownership. Colonel Nevins prepared an ordinance for the establishment, regulation and support of free common schools in the city. The ordinance was adopted by the city council September 25, 1851, and was the first ordinance establishing free schools and providing for their maintenance in San Francisco.

A bill to provide for a public school system was introduced in the legislature of 1850, but the committee on education reported that it would be two or three years before any means would become available from the liberal provisions of the constitution; in the meantime the persons who had children to educate could do it out of their own pockets. So all action was postponed and the people who had children paid for their tuition or let them run without schooling.

The first school law was passed in 1851. It was drafted mainly by G. B. Lingley, John C. Pelton and the superintendent of public instruction, J. G. Marvin. It was revised and amended by the legislatures of 1852 and 1853. The state school fund then was derived from the sale and rental of five hundred thousand acres of state land; the estates of deceased persons escheated to the state; state poll tax and a state tax of five cents on each \$100 of assessed property. Congress in 1853 granted to California the 16th and 36th sections of the public lands for school purposes. The total amount of this grant was six million seven hundred and sixty-five thousand five hundred and four acres, of which forty-six thousand and eighty acres were to be deducted for the founding of a state university or college and six thousand four hundred acres for public buildings.

The first apportionment of state funds was made in 1854. The amount of state funds for

* Annals of San Francisco.

that year was \$52,961. The county and municipal school taxes amounted to \$157,702. These amounts were supplemented by rate bills to the amount of \$42,557. In 1856 the state fund had increased to \$69,961, while rate bills had decreased to \$28,619. That year there were thirty thousand and thirty-nine children of school age in the state, of these only about fifteen thousand were enrolled in the schools.

In the earlier years, following the American conquest, the schools were confined almost entirely to the cities. The population in the country districts was too sparse to maintain a school. The first school house in Sacramento was built in 1849. It was located on I street. C. H. T. Palmer opened school in it in August. It was supported by rate bills and donations. He gathered together about a dozen pupils. The school was soon discontinued. Several other parties in succession tried school keeping in Sacramento, but did not make a success of it. It was not until 1851 that a permanent school was established. A public school was taught in Monterey in 1849 by Rev. Willey. The school was kept in Colton Hall. The first public school house in Los Angeles was built in 1854. Hugh Overns taught the first free school there in 1850.

The amount paid for teachers' salaries in 1854 was \$85,860; in 1906 it reached \$5,666,045. The total expenditures in 1854 for school purposes amounted to \$275,606; in 1906 to \$8,727,008. The first high school in the state was established in San Francisco in 1856. In 1906 there were one hundred and ninety high schools, with an attendance of eighteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine students. Four millions of dollars were invested in high school buildings, furniture and grounds, and one thousand teachers were employed in these schools.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC.

This institution was chartered in August, 1851, as the California Wesleyan College, which name was afterwards changed by act of the legislature to that it now bears. The charter was obtained under the general law of the state as it then was, and on the basis of a subscription of \$27,500 and a donation of some ten acres of land adjacent to the village of Santa Clara. A

school building was erected in which the preparatory department was opened in May, 1852, under the charge of Rev. E. Banister as principal, aided by two assistant teachers, and before the end of the first session had over sixty pupils. Near the close of the following year another edifice was so far completed that the male pupils were transferred to it, and the Female Collegiate Institute, with its special course of study, was organized and continued in the original building. In 1854 the classes of the college proper were formed and the requisite arrangement with respect to president, faculty, and course of study made. In 1858 two young men, constituting the first class, received the degree of A. B., they being the first to receive that honor from any college in California. In 1865 the board of trustees purchased the Stockton rancho, a large body of land adjoining the town of Santa Clara. This was subdivided into lots and small tracts and sold at a profit. By this means an endowment was secured and an excellent site for new college building obtained.

THE COLLEGE OF CALIFORNIA.

The question of founding a college or university in California had been discussed early in 1849, before the assembling of the constitutional convention at San José. The originator of the idea was the Rev. Samuel H. Willey, D. D., of the Presbyterian church. At that time he was stationed at Monterey. The first legislature passed a bill providing for the granting of college charters. The bill required that application should be made to the supreme court, which was to determine whether the property possessed by the proposed college was worth \$20,000, and whether in other respects a charter should be granted. A body of land for a college site had been offered by James Stokes and Kimball H. Dimmick to be selected from a large tract they owned on the Guadalupe river, near San José. When application was made for a college charter the supreme court refused to give a charter to the applicants on the plea that the land was unsurveyed and the title not fully determined.

The Rev. Henry Durant, who had at one time been a tutor in Yale College, came to California

in 1853 to engage in teaching. At a meeting of the presbytery of San Francisco and the Congregational Association of California held in Nevada City in May, 1853, which Mr. Durant attended, it was decided to establish an academy at Oakland. There were but few houses in Oakland then and the only communication with San Francisco was by means of a little steamer that crossed the bay two or three times a day. A house was obtained at the corner of Broadway and Fifth street and the academy opened with three pupils. A site was selected for the school, which, when the streets were opened, proved to be four blocks, located between Twelfth and Fourteenth, Franklin and Harrison streets. The site of Oakland at that time was covered with live oaks and the sand was knee deep. Added to other discouragements, titles were in dispute and squatters were seizing upon the vacant lots. A building was begun for the school, the money ran out and the property was in danger of seizure on a mechanics' lien, but was rescued by the bravery and resourcefulness of Dr. Durant.

In 1855 the College of California was chartered and a search begun for a permanent site. A number were offered at various places in the state. The trustees finally selected the Berkeley site, a tract of one hundred and sixty acres on Strawberry creek near Oakland, opposite the Golden Gate. The college school in Oakland was flourishing. A new building, Academy Hall, was erected in 1858. A college faculty was organized. The Rev. Henry Durant and the Rev. Martin Kellogg were chosen professors and the first college class was organized in June, 1860. The college classes were taught in the buildings of the college school, which were usually called the College of California. The college classes were small and the endowment smaller. The faculty met with many discouragements. It became evident that the institution could never become a prominent one in the educational field with the limited means of support it could command. In 1863 the idea of a state university began to be agitated. A bill was passed by the state legislature in 1866, devoting to the support of a narrow polytechnical school, the federal land grants to California for

the support of agricultural schools and a college of mechanics. The trustees of the College of California proposed in 1867 to transfer to the state the college site at Berkeley, opposite the Golden Gate, together with all the other assets remaining after the debts were paid, on condition that the state would build a University of California on the site at Berkeley, which should be a classical and technological college.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

A bill for the establishing of a state university was introduced in the legislature March 5, 1868, by Hon. John W. Dwinelle of Alameda county. After some amendments it was finally passed, March 21, and on the 27th of the same month a bill was passed making an appropriation for the support of the institution.

The board of regents of the university was organized June 9, 1868, and the same day Gen. George B. McClellan was elected president of the university, but at that time being engaged in building Stevens Battery at New York he declined the honor. September 23, 1869, the scholastic exercises of the university were begun in the buildings of the College of California in Oakland and the first university class was graduated in June, 1873. The new buildings of the university at Berkeley were occupied in September, 1873. Prof. John Le Conte was acting president for the first year. Dr. Henry Durant was chosen to fill that position and was succeeded by D. C. Gilman in 1872. The cornerstone of the Agricultural College, called the South Hall, was laid in August, 1872, and that of the North Hall in the spring of 1873.

The university, as now constituted, consists of Colleges of Letters, Social Science, Agriculture, Mechanics, Mining, Civil Engineering, Chemistry and Commerce, located at Berkeley; the Lick Astronomical Department at Mount Hamilton; and the professional and affiliated colleges in San Francisco, namely, the Hastings College of Law, the Medical Department, the Post-Graduate Medical Department, the College of Dentistry and Pharmacy, the Veterinary Department and the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art. The total value of the property belonging to the university at this time is about \$5,000,000

and the endowment funds nearly \$3,000,000. The total income in 1900 was \$475,254.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.

"When the intention of Senator Stanford to found a university in memory of his lamented son was first announced, it was expected from the broad and comprehensive views which he was known to entertain upon the subject, that his plans, when formed, would result in no ordinary college endowment or educational scheme, but when these plans were laid before the people their magnitude was so far beyond the most extravagant of public anticipation that all were astonished at the magnificence of their aggregate, the wide scope of their detail and the absolute grandeur of their munificence. The brief history of California as an American state comprises much that is noble and great, but nothing in that history will compare in grandeur with this act of one of her leading citizens. The records of history may be searched in vain for a parallel to this gift of Senator Stanford to the state of his adoption. * * * By this act Senator Stanford will not only immortalize the memory of his son, but will erect for himself a monument more enduring than brass or marble, for it will be enshrined in the hearts of succeeding generations for all time to come."*

Senator Stanford, to protect the endowments he proposed to make, prepared a bill, which was passed by the legislature, approved by the governor and became a law March 9, 1885. It is entitled "An act to advance learning, the arts and sciences and to promote the public welfare, by providing for the conveyance, holding and protection of property, and the creation of trusts for the founding, endowment, erection and maintenance within this state of universities, colleges, schools, seminaries of learning, mechanical institutes, museums and galleries of art."

Section 2 specifies how a grant for the above purposes may be made: "Any person desiring in his lifetime to promote the public welfare by founding, endowing and having maintained within this state a university, college, school,

seminary of learning, mechanical institute, museum or gallery of art or any or all thereof, may, to that end, and for such purpose, by grant in writing, convey to a trustee, or any number of trustees named in such grant (and their successors), any property, real or personal, belonging to such person, and situated or being within this state; provided, that if any such person be married and the property be community property, then both husband and wife must join in such grant." The act contains twelve sections. After the passage of the act twenty-four trustees were appointed. Among them were judges of the supreme and superior courts, a United States senator and business men in various lines.

Among the lands deeded to the university by Senator Stanford and his wife were the Palo Alto estate, containing seventy-two hundred acres. This ranch had been devoted principally to the breeding and rearing of thoroughbred horses. On this the college buildings were to be erected. The site selected was near the town of Palo Alto, which is thirty-four miles south from San Francisco on the railroad to San José, in Santa Clara county.

Another property donated was the Vina rancho, situated at the junction of Deer creek with the Sacramento river in Tehama county. It consisted of fifty-five thousand acres, of which thirty-six thousand were planted to vines and orchard and the remainder used for grain growing and pasture.

The third rancho given to the support of the university was the Gridley ranch, containing about twenty-one thousand acres. This was situated in Butte county and included within its limits some of the richest wheat growing lands in the state. At the time it was donated its assessed value was \$1,000,000. The total amount of land conveyed to the university by deed of trust was eighty-three thousand two hundred acres.

The name selected for the institution was Leland Stanford Junior University. The cornerstone of the university was laid May 14, 1887, by Senator and Mrs. Leland Stanford. The site of the college buildings is about one mile west from Palo Alto. In his address to the trustees

* Monograph of Leland Stanford Junior University.

November 14, 1885, Senator Stanford said: "We do not expect to establish a university and fill it with students at once. It must be the growth of time and experience. Our idea is that in the first instance we shall require the establishment of colleges for both sexes; then of primary schools, as they may be needed; and out of all these will grow the great central institution for more advanced study." The growth of the university has been rapid. In a very few years after its founding it took rank with the best institutions of learning in the United States.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The legislature of 1862 passed a bill authorizing the establishment of a state normal school for the training of teachers at San Francisco or at such other place as the legislature may hereafter direct. The school was established and conducted for several years at San Francisco, but was eventually moved to San José, where a site had been donated. A building was erected and the school became a flourishing institution. The first building was destroyed by fire and the present handsome and commodious building erected on a new site. The first normal school established in the state was a private one, conducted by George W. Minns. It was started in

San Francisco in 1857, but was discontinued after the organization of the state school in 1863, Minns becoming principal. A normal school was established by the legislature at Los Angeles in 1881. It was at first a branch of the state school at San José and was under control of the same board of trustees and the same principal. Later it was made an independent institution with a board and principal of its own.

Normal schools have been established at Chico (1889), San Diego (1897) and San Francisco (1899). The total number of teachers employed in the five state normal schools in 1900 was one hundred and one, of whom thirty-seven were men and sixty-four women. The whole number of students in these at that time was two thousand and thirty-nine, of whom two hundred and fifty-six were men and one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine women.

The total receipts for the support of these schools from all sources were for the year ending June 30, 1906, \$429,416; the total expenditures for the same time were \$316,127; the value of the normal school property of the state is about \$1,017,195. The educational system and facilities of California, university, college, normal school and public school, rank with the best in the United States.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CITIES OF CALIFORNIA—THEIR ORIGIN AND GROWTH.

ALTHOUGH Spain and Mexico possessed California for seventy-seven years after the date of the first settlement made in it, they founded but few towns and but one of those founded had attained the dignity of a city at the time of the American conquest. In a previous chapter I have given sketches of the founding of the four presidios and three pueblos under Spanish rule. Twenty missions were established under the rule of Spain and one under the Mexican Republic. While the country increased in population under the rule of Mexico, the only new settlement that was formed was the mission at Solano.

Pueblos grew up at the presidios and some of the mission settlements developed into towns. The principal towns that have grown up around the mission sites are San Juan Capistrano, San Gabriel, San Buenaventura, San Miguel, San Luis Obispo, Santa Clara and San Rafael.

The creation of towns began after the Americans got possession of the country. Before the treaty of peace between the United States and Mexico had been made, and while the war was in progress, two enterprising Americans, Robert Semple and T. O. Larkin, had created on paper an extensive city on the Straits of Carquinez. The city of Francisca "comprises five miles,"

so the proprietors of the embryo metropolis announced in the *Californian* of April 20, 1847, and in subsequent numbers. According to the theory of its promoters, Francisca had the choice of sites and must become the metropolis of the coast. "In front of the city," says their advertisement, "is a commodious Bay, large enough for two hundred ships to ride at anchor safe from any wind. The country around the city is the best agricultural portion of California on both sides of the Bay; the straits being only one mile wide, an easy crossing may always be made. The entire trade of the great Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys (a fertile country of great width and nearly seven hundred miles long from North to South) must of necessity pass through the narrow channel of Carquinez and the Bay, and the country is so situated that every person who passes from one side of the Bay to the other will find the nearest and best way by Francisca."

In addition to its natural advantages the proprietors offered other attractions and inducements to settlers. They advertised that they would give "seventy-five per cent of the net proceeds of the ferries and wharves for a school fund and the embellishment of the city"; "they have also laid out several entire squares for school purposes and several others for public walks" (parks). Yet, notwithstanding all the superior attractions and natural advantages of Francisca, people would migrate to and locate at the wind-swept settlement on the Cove of Yerba Buena. And the town of the "good herb" took to itself the name of San Francisco and perforce compelled the Franciscans to become Benicians. Then came the discovery of gold and the consequent rush to the mines, and although Francisca, or Benicia, was on the route, or one of the routes, somehow San Francisco managed to get all the profits out of the trade and travel to the mines.

The rush to the land of gold expanded the little settlement formed by Richardson and Leese on the Cove of Yerba Buena into a great city that in time included within its limits the mission and the presidio. The consolidation of the city and county governments gave a simpler

form of municipal rule and gave the city room to expand without growing outside of its municipal jurisdiction. The decennial Federal census from 1850 to the close of the century indicates the remarkable growth of San Francisco. Its population in 1850 was 21,000; in 1860, 56,802; in 1870, 149,473; in 1880, 234,000; in 1890, 298,997; in 1900, 342,742.

In Chapter XXVI, page 175 et seq. of this volume, I have given the early history of San Francisco, or Yerba Buena, as it was called at first. I have there given an account of its growth and progress from the little hamlet on Yerba Buena cove until it became the metropolis of the Pacific coast. In that chapter I have told briefly the story of the "Six Great Fires" that, between December, 1849, and July, 1851, devastated the city. These wiped out of existence every trace of the make-shift and nondescript houses of the early gold period. After each fire the burned district was rebuilt with hastily constructed houses, better than those destroyed, but far from being substantial and fire-proof structures. The losses from these fires, although great at the time, would be considered trivial now. In the greatest of these—the fifth—starting on the night of May 3, 1851, and raging for ten hours, the property loss was estimated to be between ten and twelve million dollars. There were many lives lost. Over one thousand houses were destroyed. The brick blocks and corrugated iron houses that by this time had replaced the flimsy structures of the earlier period in the business quarter of the city were supposed to be fire-proof, but the great conflagration of May 3d and 4th, 1851, disapproved this claim. They were consumed or melted down by the excessive heat of that great fire.

It became evident to the business men and property holders that a better class of buildings must be constructed, more stringent building regulations enforced, and a more abundant water supply secured. All these in due time were obtained, and the era of great fires apparently ended. As it expanded beyond the business quarter it became a city of wooden walls. But few dwelling houses were built of brick or stone, and south of Market street many of the business

houses too were built of wood. Ninety per cent. of all the buildings in the modern city were frame structures.

After the great fires of the early '50s San Francisco seemed to have become practically immune from destructive conflagrations. Other large cities of its class had suffered from great fires. Chicago, in 1871, had been swept out of existence by a fire that destroyed \$170,000,000 of property. Boston, in 1872, had been forced to give up to the fire fiend \$75,000,000 of its wealth; and Baltimore, in 1904, had suffered a property loss of \$50,000,000. San Francisco for more than half a century had suffered but little loss from fires. Those that had started were usually confined to the building or the block in which they originated. The efficiency of its fire fighters, its fire-proof business blocks, and the supposed indestructibility of the redwood walls of its dwelling houses had engendered in its inhabitants a sense of security against destructive fires.

The emblem on the seal of the city and county of San Francisco—the Phoenix rising from the flames in front of the Golden Gate—adopted in 1852, after the last of the "Six Great Fires," had little significance to the inhabitants of the modern city. The story of the Great Fires was ancient history. Nil desperandum—motto of the invincibles who rebuilt the old city six times—had no particular meaning to their descendants except as a reminder of the energy, enterprise and unconquerable determination of the men of the olden, golden days. History would not repeat itself. The day of great fires for San Francisco was past. This dream of the immunity of their city from destructive conflagrations was to receive a rude awakening.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE.

On the morning of April 18, 1906, at thirteen minutes past 5 o'clock, its four hundred thousand inhabitants were aroused from their slumbers by the terrifying shock of an earthquake. The temblor was not a new visitor to San Francisco. Earthquake shocks had shaken it at intervals ever since its founding, but these had done little damage and had come to be regarded more as a bugbear to frighten new arrivals than anything to

be feared. The earthquake of October, 1868, was the most severe of those in the past. Five lives were lost in it by falling walls. The walls of many buildings were cracked. But one of the most dangerous elements of the last great temblor did not exist then, that is the electric wire. The live wire has become one of the most dreaded agents in great fires.

The impressions produced by the shock and the sights witnessed during the progress of the fire are thus graphically described by James Hopper in "*Everybody's Magazine*" for June (1906): "Right away it was incredible—the violence of the quake. It started with a directness, a savage determination that left no doubt of its purpose. It pounced upon the earth as some soidal bulldog, with a rattle of hungry eagerness. The earth was a rat, shaken in the grinding teeth, shaken, shaken, shaken with periods of slight weariness followed by new bursts of vicious rage. As far as I can remember my impressions were as follows: First for a few seconds a feeling of incredulity, capped immediately with one of finality, of incredulity at the violence of the vibrations. 'It's incredible, incredible,' I think I said aloud. Then the feeling of finality: 'It's the end—St. Pierre, Samoa, Vesuvius, Formosa, San Francisco—this is death.' Simultaneously with that a picture of the city swaying beneath the curl of a tidal wave foaming to the sky. Then incredulity again at the length of it, at the sullen violence of it. Incredulity again at the mere length of the thing, the fearful stubbornness of it. Then curiosity—I must see it.

"I got up and walked to the window. I started to open it, but the pane obligingly fell outward and I poked my head out, the floor like a geyser beneath my feet. Then I heard the roar of the bricks coming down in cataracts and the groaning of twisted girders all over the city, and at the same time I saw the moon, a calm crescent in the green sky of dawn. Below it the skeleton frame of an unfinished sky-scraper was swaying from side to side with a swing as exaggerated and absurd as that of a palm in a stage tempest.

"Just then the quake, with a sound as of a snarl, rose to its climax of rage, and the back wall of my building for three stories above me fell. I

saw the mass pass across my vision swift as a shadow. It struck some little wooden houses in the alley below. I saw them crash in like emptied egg shells and the bricks pass through the roof as through tissue paper.

"The vibrations ceased and I began to dress. Then I noted the great silence. Throughout the long quaking, in this great house full of people I had not heard a cry, not a sound, not a sob, not a whisper. And now, when the roar of crumbling buildings was over and only a brick falling here and there like the trickle of a spent rain, this silence continued, and it was an awful thing. But now in the alley some one began to groan. It was a woman's groan, soft and low.

"I went down the stairs and into the streets, and they were full of people, half-clad, dishevelled, but silent, absolutely silent, as if suddenly they had become speechless idiots. I went into the little alley at the back of the building, but it was deserted and the crushed houses seemed empty. I went down Post street toward the center of town, and in the morning's garish light I saw many men and women with gray faces, but none spoke. All of them, they had a singular hurt expression, not one of physical pain, but rather one of injured sensibilities, as if some trusted friend, say, had suddenly wronged them, or as if some one had said something rude to them." * * * * *

He made his way to the *Call* building, where he met the city editor, who said to him: "The Brunswick hotel at Sixth and Folsom is down with hundreds inside her. You cover that."

"Going up into the editorial rooms of the *Call*, with water to my ankles, I seized a bunch of copy paper and started up Third street. At Tehama street I saw the beginning of the fire which was to sweep all the district south of Market street. It was swirling up the narrow way with a sound that was almost a scream. Before it the humble population of the district were fleeing, and in its path, as far as I could see, frail shanties went down like card houses. And this marks the true character of the city's agony. Especially in the populous districts south of Market street, but also throughout the city, hundreds were pinned down by the debris, some to a merciful death,

others to live hideous minutes. The flames swept over them while the saved looked on impotently. Over the tragedy the fire threw its flaming mantle of hypocrisy, and the full extent of the holocaust will never be known, will remain ever a poignant mystery."

"The firemen there were beginning the tremendous and hopeless fight which, without intermission, they were to continue for three days. Without water (the mains had been burst by the quake) they were attacking the fire with axes, with hooks, with sacks, with their hands, retreating sullenly before it only when its feverish breath burned their clothing and their skins."

* * * * *

He secured an automobile at the hire of \$50 a day to cover the progress of the fire.

"We started first to cover the fire I had seen on its westward course from Third street. From that time I have only a vague kaleidoscopic vision of whirring at whistling speed through a city of the damned. We tried to make the fallen Brunswick hotel at Sixth and Folsom streets. We could not make it. The scarlet steeple chaser beat us to it, and when we arrived the crushed structure was only the base of one great flame that rose to heaven with a single twist. By that time we knew that the earthquake had been but a prologue, and that the tragedy was to be written in fire. We went westward to get the western limit of the blaze."

"Already we had to make a huge circle to get above it. The whole district south of Market street was now a pitiful sight. By thousands the multitudes were pattering along the wide streets leading out, heads bowed, eyes dead, silent and stupefied. We stopped in passing at the Southern Pacific hospital. Carts, trucks, express wagons, vehicles of all kinds laden with wounded, were blocking the gate. Upon the porch stood two internes, and their white aprons were red-spotted as those of butchers. There were one hundred and twenty-five wounded inside and eight dead. Among the wounded was Chief Sullivan of the fire department. A chimney of the California hotel had crushed through his house at the first shock of the earthquake, and he and his wife had been taken out of the debris with

incredible difficulty. He was to die two days later, spared the bitter, hopeless effort which his men were to know."

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"At Thirteenth and Valencia streets a policeman and a crowd of volunteers were trying to raise the debris of a house where a man and woman were pinned. One block farther we came to a place where the ground had sunk six feet. A fissure ran along Fourteenth street for several blocks and the car tracks had been jammed along their length till they rose in angular projections three or four feet high. As we were examining the phenomenon in a narrow way called Treat avenue a quake occurred. It came upon the far-end of endurance of the poor folk crowding the alley. Women sank to their knees, drew their shawls about their little ones, and broke out in piercing lamentations, while men ran up and down aimlessly, wringing their hands. An old woman led by a crippled old man came wailing down the steps of a porch, and she was blind. In the center of the street they both fell and all the poor encouragement we could give them could not raise them. They had made up their minds to die."

* * * * *

"On Valencia street, between Eighteenth and Nineteenth, the Valencia hotel, a four-story wooden lodging-house was down, its four stories telescoped to the height of one, its upper rooms ripped open with the cross section effect of a doll-house. A squad of policemen and some fifty volunteers were working with rageful energy at the tangle of walls and rafters. Eleven men were known to have escaped, eight had been taken out dead, and more than one hundred were still in the ruins. The street here was sunk six feet, and again, as I was to see it many times more, I saw that strange angular rise of the tracks as if the ground had been pinched between some gigantic fingers."

"We went down toward the fire now. We met it on Eighth street. From Third it had come along in a swath four blocks wide. From Market to Folsom, from Second to Eighth, it spread its heaving red sea, and with a roar it was rushing on, its advance billow curling like a

monster comber above a flotsam of fleeing humanity. There were men, women and children. Men, women and children—really that is about all I remember of them, except that they were miserable and crushed. Here and there are still little snap-shots in my mind—a woman carrying in a cage a green and red parrot, squawking incessantly 'Hurry, hurry, hurry;' a little smudge-faced girl with long-lashed brown eyes holding in her arms a blind puppy; a man with naked torso carrying upon his head a hideous chromo; another with a mattress and a cracked mirror. But by this time the cataclysm itself, its manifestation, its ferocious splendor, hypnotized the brain, and humans sank into insignificance as ants caught in the slide of a mountain. One more scene I remember. On Eighth street, between Folsom and Howard, was an empty sand lot right in the path of the conflagration. It was full of refugees, and what struck me was their immobility. They sat there upon trunks, upon bundles of clothing. On each side, like the claws of a crab, the fire was closing in upon them. They sat there motionless, as if cast in bronze, as if indeed they were wrought upon some frieze representing the Misery of Humanity. The fire roared, burning coals showered them, the heat rose, their clothes smoked, and they still sat there, upon their little boxes, their bundles of rags, their goods, the pathetic little hoard which they had been able to treasure in their arid lives, a fixed determination in their staring eyes not to leave again, not to move another step, to die there and then, with the treasures for the saving of which their bodies had no further strength."

The vibrations of the first earthquake shock had scarcely ceased before the fire broke out in a number of different localities. The first alarm came from Clay and Drumm streets on the city front. Others followed in rapid succession until by the afternoon of the first day the fire had almost entirely circled the lower section of the city. The firemen made a brave fight at various points to stay its progress, but the water mains had been broken and their engines were useless. Then the only hope to arrest the march of the fire fiend was dynamite. The steady boom, boom of that explosive as hour after hour passed and house after

house was blown up told of the losing fight that was being waged against the destroying element.

The wooden houses south of lower Market street, one of the sections first attacked by the fire fiend, were quickly destroyed and the fire swept on to the westward. By Wednesday night it had swept up to and leaped across Market street. The tall buildings of the *Call*, *Chronicle* and *Examiner* at Third and Market streets succumbed and the great business blocks of the neighborhood were gutted by the flames, only their outer shells remained. By Thursday morning the flames had swept over Sansome and Montgomery to Kearney and in places beyond.

Jack London, in "*Collier's*" of May 5th, gives the following dramatic description of the scenes in the heart of the business section:

"At nine o'clock Wednesday evening I walked down through the very heart of the city. I walked through miles and miles of magnificent buildings and towering skyscrapers. Here was no fire. All was in perfect order. The police patrolled the streets. Every building had its watchman at the door. And yet it was doomed, all of it. There was no water. The dynamite was giving out. And at right angles two different conflagrations were sweeping down upon it.

"At one o'clock in the morning I walked down through the same section. Everything still stood intact. There was no fire. And yet there was a change. A rain of ashes was falling. The watchmen at the doors were gone. The police had been withdrawn. There were no firemen, no fire-engines, no men fighting with dynamite. The district had been absolutely abandoned. I stood at the corner of Kearney and Market, in the very heart of San Francisco. Kearney street was deserted. Half a dozen blocks away it was burning on both sides. The street was a wall of flame. And against this wall of flame, silhouetted sharply, were two United States cavalymen sitting their horses, calmly watching. That was all. Not another person was in sight. In the intact heart of the city two troopers sat their horses and watched.

"Surrender was complete. There was no water. The sewers had long since been pumped dry. There was no dynamite. Another fire had

broken out further up-town, and now from three sides conflagrations were sweeping down. The fourth side had been burned earlier in the day. In that direction stood the tottering walls of the *Examiner* building, the burned-out *Call* building, the smouldering ruins of the Grand hotel, and the gutted, devastated, dynamited Palace hotel. The following will illustrate the sweep of the flames and the inability of men to calculate their speed. At eight o'clock Wednesday evening I passed through Union Square. It was packed with refugees. Thousands of them had gone to bed on the grass. Government tents had been set up, supper was being cooked, and the refugees were lining up for free meals.

"At half-past one in the morning three sides of Union Square were in flames. The fourth side, where stood the great St. Francis hotel, was still holding out. An hour later, ignited from top and sides, the St. Francis was flaming heavenward. Union Square, heaped high with mountains of trunks, was deserted. Troops, refugees, and all had deserted.

"Remarkable as it may seem, Wednesday night, while the whole city crashed and roared into ruin, was a quiet night. There were no crowds. There was no shouting and yelling. There was no hysteria, no disorder. I passed Wednesday night in the path of the advancing flames, and in all those terrible hours I saw not one woman who wept, not one man who was excited, not one person who was in the slightest degree panic-stricken.

"Before the flames, throughout the night, fled tens of thousands of homeless ones. Some were wrapped in blankets. Others carried bundles of bedding and dear household treasures. Sometimes a whole family was harnessed to a carriage or delivery wagon that was weighted down with their possessions. Baby buggies, toy wagons and go-carts were used as trucks, while every other person was dragging a trunk. Yet everybody was gracious. The most perfect courtesy obtained. Never, in all San Francisco's history, were her people so kind and courteous as on this night of terror."

* * * * *

"All night these tens of thousands fled before

the flames. Many of them, the poor people from the labor ghetto, had fled all day as well. They had left their homes burdened with possessions. Now and again they lightened up, flinging out upon the street clothing and treasures they had dragged for miles.

"They held on longest to their trunks, and over these trunks many a strong man broke his heart that night. The hills of San Francisco are steep, and up these hills, mile after mile, were the trunks dragged. Everywhere were trunks, with across them lying their exhausted owners, men and women. Before the march of the flames were flung picket lines of soldiers. And a block at a time, as the flames advanced, these pickets retreated. One of their tasks was to keep the trunk-pullers moving. The exhausted creatures, stirred on by the menace of bayonets, would arise and struggle up the steep pavements, pausing from weakness every five or ten feet.

"Often, after surmounting a heart-breaking hill, they would find another wall of flame advancing upon them at right angles and be compelled to change anew the line of their retreat. In the end, completely played out, after toiling for a dozen hours like giants, thousands of them were compelled to abandon their trunks.

"It was in Union Square that I saw a man offering \$1,000 for a team of horses. He was in charge of a truck piled high with trunks from some hotel. It had been hauled here into what was considered safety, and the horses had been taken out. The flames were on three sides of the Square, and there were no horses."

* * * * *

"An hour later, from a distance, I saw the truck-load of trunks burning merrily in the middle of the street."

* * * * *

All day Thursday the fight was waged, the flames steadily advancing to the westward. It was determined to make the last stand on Van Ness avenue, the widest street in the city. It was solidly lined with magnificent dwellings, the residences of many of the wealthy inhabitants. Here the fire fighters rallied. Here all the remaining resources for fighting the destroying element were collected, dynamite, barrels of powder from

the government stores and a battery of marine guns. The mansions lining the avenue for nearly a mile in length were raked with artillery or blown up with dynamite and powder. Here and there the flames leaped across the line of defense and ignited buildings beyond. Two small streams of water were secured from unbroken pipes and the fires that broke out beyond the line of defense were beaten out, principally by the use of wet blankets and rugs. By midnight of the 19th the fire was under control, and by Friday morning the flames were conquered. A change of wind during the night had aided the fire fighters to check its westward march. As the wind drove it back, it swept around the base of Telegraph Hill and destroyed all the poor tenement houses near the base of that hill that it had spared on its first advance, except a little oasis on the upper slope that had been saved by a liberal use of Italian wine. In the great fire of May 4, 1851, De Witt & Harrison saved their warehouse, which stood on the west side of Sansome street between Pacific and Broadway, scarce a stone's throw from Telegraph Hill, by knocking in the heads of barrels of vinegar and covering the building with blankets soaked in that liquid in place of water, which could not be obtained. Eighty thousand gallons were used, but the onward march of the flames in that direction was stopped. How many gallons of wine were sacrificed will never be known.

The earthquake shock had scarcely ceased before General Funston, in command of the military forces at the Presidio, called out the troops and sent them down into the stricken city, to aid in keeping order and fighting the fire. Mayor Schmitz issued a proclamation placing the city under martial law. Across the streets were thrown cordons of soldiers, who forced the dazed and half-crazed crowd to keep away from the danger of the advancing fire and falling walls. In addition to their other duties the military had to undertake the repression of crime. Even amid the scenes of suffering, desolation and death, thieves looted stores and robbed the dead bodies, and ghouls, half-drunk with liquor, committed deeds of unspeakable horror. These when caught received short shrift. They were shot

down without trial. Several regiments of the National Guard, from different parts of the state, were called out and they did efficient service in San Francisco, Oakland and Alameda. The Presidio, Golden Gate Park and other parks were converted into refugee camps and rations issued. Military organization was prompt and effective. Four days after the fire there were military butchers, blacksmiths, carpenters, chimney inspectors and sanitary inspectors. Strict military regulations were enforced in the various camps and a constant watch was kept up to prevent the breaking out of epidemic diseases. Train loads of provisions and clothing were hurried from all parts of the state and beyond for the immediate relief of the sufferers. Contributions of money flowed in from all over the country, until the total ran up into the millions. The railroads furnished free transportation to all who had friends in other cities of the state. The Red Cross Relief Society, at the head of which is James D. Phelan, ex-mayor of San Francisco, had taken up the burden of caring for the destitute until they could take care of themselves.

The actual number of lives lost by the earthquake will never be known; many who were pinned down in the wrecked buildings would have escaped with slight injuries had not the fire followed so quickly after the earthquake shock. The total number of deaths officially reported up to the last of May was three hundred and thirty-three. The property loss ranges from two hundred to two hundred and fifty millions of dollars. Insurance covered about one hundred and twenty millions; whether all of this will be paid is yet to be decided.

The fire devastated two hundred and sixty-nine blocks, covering an area of nearly three thousand acres, or about five square miles. In this vast fire-swept desert there were three little oases that the destroyer had left unscathed. In the very heart of this desert stood the mint with its accumulated treasure unharmed by fire or earthquake shock. Thirty-five years ago, when Gen. O. H. La Grange was superintendent of the mint, he had sunk an artesian well within the inclosure. He received neither thanks nor encouragement from the government for his work. When the

fire surged around it the employes and ten soldiers were housed within it; for seven hours they fought against the onslaught of flames that dashed against the building. The courageous fighters, aided by the thick walls and the water supply from the artesian well, won the victory and the building with its treasure was saved. Throughout the days and nights that the fire raged the tall tower of the Ferry building loomed up through the smoke of the burning city, the hands of the silent clock mutely pointing to 13 minutes past 5, the moment the temblor began its work.

The post office, with but nominal damages, survived the wreck and ruin of the city. The palatial homes of the bonanza kings and railroad magnates, built on Knob Hill thirty years ago, were wiped out of existence. Of Mark Hopkins Art Institute with its treasures of art only a chimney is left. Of the Stanford house, the Crocker mansion, the Huntington palace and the Flood residence only broken pillars, ruined arches, heaps of bricks, shattered glass and piles of ashes tell how complete a leveler of distinction fire is. Chinatown, the plague spot of San Francisco and the old time *bête noir* of Denis Kearney and his followers, has been obliterated from the map of the city. Not a vestige is left to mark where it was, but is not. Kearney's slogan, "The Chinese must go," is again reiterated; and it is questionable whether the almond-eyed followers of Confucius will be allowed to relocate in their former haunts.

OAKLAND, ALAMEDA AND BERKELEY.

The cities across the bay from San Francisco, Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley, escaped with but slight damage. A number of buildings were wrecked and chimneys thrown down, but the fire did not follow the shock and the aggregated loss of property in all three did not exceed \$2,000,000. There were five lives lost in Oakland. These cities became great camps of refuge for the homeless of San Francisco. The hospitality of their people was taxed to the utmost to take care of the San Francisco sufferers, who fled from their stricken city as soon as the means of exit were available.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY.

With a strange partiality the temblor spared the buildings of the State University at Berkeley. Located only a dozen miles from San Francisco, scarcely a brick was displaced from a chimney, but it wrought ruin to many of the noble buildings of Stanford University, thirty-four miles distant from the metropolis. The Memorial Church, the unfinished library, the new gymnasium, part of the art museum, the Stanford residence at Palo Alto and the memorial arch were badly wrecked. Some of them were hopelessly ruined. Encina hall (the men's dormitory) was injured by the fall of stone chimneys and one student was killed. The loss in all amounted to \$3,000,000.

SAN JOSE.

The city of San Jose seemed to be in the line of march chosen by the temblor. The business center was wrecked, its court house destroyed and many of its dwellings badly damaged. Fortunately it escaped a visitation by fire. Nineteen lives were lost and the property loss exceeded \$2,000,000.

SANTA ROSA.

The city of Santa Rosa, the capital of Sonoma county, in proportion to its wealth and the number of its inhabitants, suffered more severely than any other city in California. The business portion of the city, which was closely grouped around the Court House Square, was entirely destroyed. As there were no suburban stores the supply of provisions was cut off. The breaking off of communication left the outside world ignorant of Santa Rosa's fate. For a time she was left entirely to her own resources to aid her sufferers. As in San Francisco, fire followed the temblor, which increased greatly the loss of life and property. The water mains were not broken and within three hours the fire was practically under control.

Among the buildings destroyed by earthquake and fire were the court house, the new Masonic temple, the public library, six hotels, a five-story brewery, a shoe factory, a four-story flour mill, two theaters, the Odd Fellows hall, and a num-

ber of office buildings, flats and apartment houses. The number of dead reported was fifty-six. The injured and missing numbered eighty-seven.

The business houses in San Mateo, Belmont, Palo Alto and Redwood City were nearly all wrecked. Many of the stately mansions and rose-embowered cottages that line the road between San Francisco and San Jose on the western side of the bay were thrown from their foundations and chimneys falling on the roofs had cut their way to the ground.

On the eastern side the towns of San Leandro and Haywards that were badly damaged in the earthquake of 1868 escaped this last temblor unharmed. Santa Clara, Gilroy and Salinas suffered in about the same proportion as San Jose.

At Monterey the Del Monte hotel was injured by the falling of the chimneys through the roof. Two persons, a bridal couple from Arizona, were killed by the falling of a chimney.

Hollister, Napa and Santa Cruz suffered considerable damage. The greatest loss of life at any public institution occurred at the Agnews Insane Asylum. It contained ten hundred and eighty-eight patients, besides physicians, nurses and attendants; of these, as nearly as can be ascertained, one hundred and ten inmates and employes were killed. The buildings were entirely destroyed. The inmates who escaped injury were housed in tents and guards stationed around the inclosure to keep them from running away. Temporary buildings were at once constructed. There was no loss of life or property south of Monterey. The shock throughout the southern part of the state was very slight.

LOS ANGELES.

The only settlement under Mexican domination that attained the dignity of a ciudad, or city, was Los Angeles. Although proclaimed a city by the Mexican Congress more than ten years before the Americans took possession of the country, except in official documents it was usually spoken of as *el pueblo*—the town. Its population at the time of its conquest by the Americans numbered about sixteen hundred. The first legislature gave it a city charter, although fifteen

years before it had been raised to the dignity of a city; the lawmakers for some reason cut down its area from four square leagues to four square miles. This did not affect its right to its pueblo lands. After the appointment of a land commission, in 1851, it laid claim to sixteen square leagues, but failed to substantiate its claim. Its pueblo area of four square leagues (Spanish) was confirmed to it by the commission. Within the past seven years, by annexation, its area has been increased from the original four square leagues or about twenty-seven miles, to thirty-seven square miles. Its increase in population during the past twenty years has been the greatest of any of the large cities of the state. In 1880 it had 11,183 inhabitants; in 1890, 50,353; in 1900, 102,429. Its growth since 1900 has exceeded that of any similar period in its history. Its estimated population January, 1908, is 300,000.

Many influences have contributed to the growth and advancement of the city, not the least of which has been the excellent transportation service developed in the Pacific Electric System. The first attempt to introduce the trolley car in Los Angeles was a failure, and the promoter, Howland, died in poverty. Later, other ventures to provide suitable transportation were made, though none was successfully launched until 1892, when the Los Angeles Electric Railroad system was inaugurated. The first line constructed was that on West Second, Olive, First and other streets to Westlake Park. The property owners on the line of the road gave a subsidy of \$50,000 to the promoters. When H. E. Huntington bought the controlling interest in the Los Angeles Electric Railway the building of a system of suburban and interurban railways to the different cities and towns contiguous to Los Angeles was begun. The road to Long Beach was completed in 1902, to Monrovia in 1903, and to Whittier the same year. The seven-story Huntington building, at the corner of Sixth and Main streets, the entrepot of all Huntington interurban lines, was completed in 1903. These improvements, together with the extension of new street car lines in the city, stimulated the real estate market and brought about a rapid advance in values. Lots on South Main street, held at

\$100 per front foot in 1900, sold five years later at \$1,500, and frontage on South Hill street valued at \$200 a front foot in 1901, sold in 1906 at \$2,500. Real estate contiguous to the business district, but still residence property, had advanced in value in five years from one thousand to twelve hundred per cent.

OAKLAND.

The site of the city of Oakland was discovered by the Spaniards in 1772, when a brave band of explorers set out to find the lost bay of San Francisco. The first spot settled in Alameda county by white men was the Mission San Jose, founded June 11, 1797, by Father Fernin Francisco de Lasuen, president of the Franciscan missionaries, and dedicated June 27. The first two ranchos granted in what is now Alameda county were San Antonio (upon which Oakland and other towns now stand, granted June 20, 1820, to Luis Maria Peralta by Col. Pablo Vicente de Sola, the last Spanish governor) and Los Tularcitos; the latter now embraces part of Alameda and Santa Clara counties; it was granted to José Higuera October 4, 1821, by Capt. Luis Antonio Arguello, the first Mexican governor.

Luis Maria Peralta had four sons, to whom he gave in as equal parts as possible the rancho San Antonio. It remained intact until 1842, when he parcelled it to them, fixing the boundaries by natural landmarks, each part extending from the bay to the hills. To José Domingo he gave the northwest quarter, now the site of Berkeley; the next part adjoining, including the Encinal del Temescal, then an oak grove, and now the Oakland city site, was given to Vicente; to Antonio Maria, the next adjoining on the south, the present site of East Oakland and Alameda; and to Ignacio the most southerly, bounded by San Leandro creek.

The first foreign born that appeared on the list of grantees was William Welch, his grant, Las Juntas, fronting the straits of Carquinez, and upon it the city of Martinez, the first county town, is built. Joseph Livermore, an English seaman, who followed in 1820, married Josefa Higuera, thereby acquiring Mexican citizenship. He obtained possession of Canada de Los

Vaqueros, and with José Noriega acquired the rancho Los Pocitas. Both of these now form part of Livermore valley.

A company of Mormons who had come to San Francisco with Samuel Brannan in July, 1846, on the bark Brooklyn, crossed the bay and settled at Washington, where they built their first church. At that time there were no settlements outside the ranchos except the mission. Upon the discovery of gold in 1848, the mission became an important trading post, and Henry C. Smith opened a general store. At the first constitutional convention, called by Governor Riley in 1849 to form the state, the present county of Alameda, then in the San Jose district, was represented by Elam Brown. W. R. Bassam was the first state senator, and Joseph Aram, Benjamin Corey and Elam Brown, the first assemblymen. By an act of the legislature March 23, 1850, Santa Clara and Contra Costa counties formed the fifth senatorial district, and jointly chose one senator. In 1852, Warren Brown, the county surveyor, mentioned three towns, Martinez, Oakland and Squatterville, now San Lorenzo.

Moses Chase, the first white settler in what now is East Oakland, pitched his tent on the east shore of the estuary in 1850. The same year he was joined by the three Patten brothers, Robert F., William and Edward. They jointly became owners of four hundred acres of land deeded by C. B. Strode, and at once laid out in lots and founded the town of Clinton. In 1851 Edson Adams, A. J. Moon and H. W. Carpentier squatted on the San Antonio ranch at the foot of what is now Broadway, disregarding entirely all the rights of Peralta. Assuming it to be government land, they divided it among themselves. They were followed by others and the rightful owner found he was losing his land as well as his cattle and timber. Vicente Peralta then obtained a writ of ejectment against Adams, Moon and Carpentier, the officers coming from Martinez, the county seat, to enforce the order, when a compromise was effected, the land being leased to the three men. They assumed ownership, and platted the town of Oakland. Carpentier obtained the office of enrolling clerk in the

state senate and while in this position advanced the scheme of incorporating Oakland, which in 1852 had only about one hundred inhabitants. The early conditions in Alameda county were in great contrast to the present. In 1851 and 1852, men were working in the redwoods of San Antonio. There were only a few native rancherios and their retainers between San Antonio and Mission San Jose. J. J. Estudillo was the only resident of the present site of San Leandro; San Lorenzo was an Indian rancheria; the whole site of Hayward was owned by Guillermo Costa; José Amador had the rancho San Ramon; New Haven, with no buildings, was the landing place for Mission San Jose; Centerville had a few white settlers who had located in 1850, among them John M. Horner. Henry C. Smith, the merchant at the mission, was alcalde under Governor Riley. Antonio Sunol (see biography) occupied the entire valley bearing his name. Augustine Bernal settled at what is now Pleasanton and in 1850, with Livermore, Noriega, Alviso and Amador, owned nearly one-half the country. Wild Mexican cattle roamed the prairie and hills by thousands; wild animals and wild game were abundant; the wild mustard grew luxuriantly, and the hills were covered with wild oats.

Alameda county was made separate by an act of the legislature passed March 25, 1853, the name being derived from the creek that runs through it near Niles, the banks of which were lined with trees, and covered with an abundance of grass, forming a contrast to the waste land on either side. It was called by the Spaniards el lugar de la Alameda, the name being derived from the resemblance of the shaded stream to a long avenue. It was applied by the Spaniards in 1796, when the first official reference to the name was found in the Mexican records. Governor Diego Borica was desirous of establishing a town in central California, to be independent of the missions, and to be called Branciforte. For the selection of a site he sent Don Pedro de Alborni, who traversed the country from Santa Cruz to the stream, which he named "the place of the Alameda."

The seat of justice was Alvarado, though the legislature in the same act created New Haven

as the county seat, which in 1856 was transferred to San Leandro, and there remained until April 29, 1873, being then transferred to Oakland. That city placed the unoccupied part of the city hall at the disposal of the board of supervisors, until buildings could be erected. However, on June 17, it was decided to locate the seat of justice in Brooklyn, then called East Oakland, and on June 26 all records were transferred and San Leandro began its decline. The first court was held in Oakland July 7, 1873. By an act of the legislature the county seat was established on Broadway, where it still exists.

In 1853 the population had increased to eight thousand. This same year Tamon & Clark made their embarcadero in Brooklyn township. Chipman and Aughenbaugh laid out the town of Encinal in 1852. During 1853 Moses Wicks, T. W. Mulford, Minor, and William Smith settled on the bay borders near San Leandro. At New Haven, Capt. John Chisholm and William Roberts established landings, built warehouses, and began a freighting business. They also took up land, and sailed sloops between New Haven (San Lorenzo) and San Francisco. In 1862 several persons settled at Hayward; William Hayward pitched his tent on the present site of the town. The same year A. M. Church (see biography) opened a store at New Haven. The number of settlers was rapidly increasing in all directions. They laid their foundations firmly but the tenure of their holdings were the only drawbacks, and these were not settled without long litigation. The first election of officers under the law of April 6, 1853, was held in May. The county was divided into six townships, Oakland, Contra Costa, Clinton, Eden, Washington and Murray. The boundaries of Oakland and Clinton were changed by petition, and the latter done away with. September 14, 1854, Alameda township was constituted, and changes made in the boundaries of Eden and Washington. The last meeting of the court of sessions was held January 22, 1855; and the following April the board of supervisors was created, consisting of one official from each township. In 1852 the first trustees of Oakland were A. W. Burrill, A. J. Moon, Amadee Marier and Edson Adams.

The town then owned ten thousand acres of overflowed lands, known as the waterfront. All of the lands lying between high tide and the ship channel had been granted and released to the town on condition of their being used for wharves and like purposes. The board of trustees was authorized to dispose of the entire frontage, and their first act was to sell and convey on May 31 to H. W. Carpentier the right, title and interest in, and to the waterfront, with the privilege of collecting wharfage. The consideration named was \$5, with the proviso that Carpentier and his representatives build a wharf at the foot of Main street, now Broadway, at least twenty feet wide, and extending toward deep water; and within one year, construct a wharf at the foot of F or G street, extending also into the channel; and that within eighteen months another wharf should be constructed at the foot of D or F street; and that two per cent of all wharfage receipts should be paid to the town of Oakland. Marier, then president of the board, refused to sign the deed of transfer, until being assured by Carpentier that he would merely hold the land in trust for the town in order that a succeeding board could not dispose of it. The facts were that the town had no right to a single acre of the land at that time; other parties were endeavoring to purchase from Peralta, the owner, and this transfer Carpentier wished to thwart. He promised Marier to deed back to the town as soon as all danger had passed; if he made such a promise, he never fulfilled it. The parties who had been negotiating for the property were, on March 3, 1852, given a deed by Peralta and his wife for a consideration of \$10,000. August 15, 1853, a deed of partition was executed, assigning to each party his portion, and making an equal division of the town property. Carpentier erected his wharf and a dock for the purpose of collecting wharfage. In 1853 the robbery of the town lands became known, and suits and countersuits ensued. The ordinance transferring the lands to Carpentier was confirmed by the legislature in 1862.

In 1867 the Western Pacific Railroad needed a terminus for their line in Oakland, but the town had no waterfront land to offer. At this

time the town began suit to recover title. A compromise was effected, and by a special legislative act, the city was enabled to carry into effect the agreement. In 1880 suit was again begun to grant title to five hundred acres that had been deeded to the railroad company. Then the government needed a body of land on the channel extending to Oakland creek, which the railroad company transferred for the purpose, while the above suit was pending. In 1853 and 1854 Carpentier disposed of his interests for \$62,850. August 16, 1855, John B. Watson sold the entire waterfront for \$6,000. There is no official record of how this property had come into his possession. December 15, 1853, a twenty year lease was made in Oakland by Carpentier to Edson Adams and A. J. Moon, for a two-third interest in a beach and water lot, for \$2,000. Adams claimed one-half of the entire property and obtained it by forcible means. This he later sold for a large sum to the Central Pacific Railroad. At one time Carpentier, in a message to the city council, stated that the owners and holders of the waterfront and franchises had expended \$100,000 on its improvement, and would not submit to any interference, but would demand and recover from the city full compensation for any losses they might sustain; and if the city fancied she had any cause for complaint, she should resort to the courts.

After the coming of the Southern Pacific Company, the Oakland Waterfront Company came into existence. It was organized by officers and representatives of the railroad, associated with private owners; and obtained possession of large portions of the waterfront. This complicated matters, and began a new series of suits, brought by the city against the Southern Pacific and the Oakland Waterfront Company, which kept the municipality in litigation until 1907. In that year the Western Pacific Company, to complete its transcontinental line, applied for waterfront lands. The interests of the city of Oakland were represented by Mayor Frank K. Mott, City Attorney J. E. McElroy, City Engineer F. C. Turner, ex-officio harbor commissioners, and William R. Davis, for many years special counsel for the city in waterfront litigation. On the

advice of Davis and McElroy, the city council assumed that the first transfers of the waterfront to private persons were illegal; and that subsequent legislation by the state, together with the right of eminent domain, made Oakland the controlling power of the waterfront. The city council granted the Western Pacific Company a franchise to valuable lands on the western waterfront. The Southern Pacific opposed this, but was forestalled by the case brought forward by the Western Pacific attorneys, which led to the return to the city of unquestioned control of the waterfront. This litigation between the two companies resulted in a decision in 1907 by the United States Circuit Court, which declared Oakland to have control of the wharfing-out rights. The harbor commissioners summoned all persons and corporations occupying lands between the high and low tide lines to a conference on July 8, 1908, at which the city officials asserted the city of Oakland to be the legal owner of all lands over which the rising tide flowed in 1852. About the same time, through Councilman B. H. Pendleton, the Western Pacific agreed to an amendment of their franchise, by which during the fifty years of its tenure they were to pay the city a rental for the water frontage, totalling \$50,000. This was the first recognition by an occupant of the property of the city's control of wharfing-out rights. The municipal ownership of tide lands was virtually established September 28, 1908, when the harbor commissioners made public an agreement voluntarily entered into by the railway companies, to end all litigation, and to have finally established the low-tide line of 1852. This was important on account of the decision of the United States Circuit Court, which returned to municipal control the area outward from the low-tide line of 1852 to the ship channel. The Southern Pacific Company agreed that the terms of their franchise, originally made perpetual, be limited to a life of fifty years, and also agreed to abandon and remove the Long Wharf, thus giving free access to the waterfront between the Southern Pacific broad gauge mole and the Key Route pier. The city agreed to grant the Southern Pacific land and water rights contiguous to their broad gauge mole for the

building of a new freight wharf, on the basis of a fifty year franchise. The last and most vital clause of the agreement was a stipulation of the Southern Pacific that the decision of the United States Circuit Court in 1907 should not be contested. Broadway wharf was returned to the city.

August 1, 1853, Vicente Peralta disposed of all but seven hundred acres of the Temescal for \$100,000, and about the same time José Domingo Peralta sold all but three hundred acres of the San Antonio rancho for the sum of \$82,000.

The first official survey of Oakland in 1853 established the boundaries at Fourteenth street on the north, Oakland creek on the south, the slough which now is Lake Merritt on the east, and on the west a line three hundred feet west of West street. The enclosed area was divided into blocks 200x300 feet in dimension, with streets eighty feet in width with the exception of the main street, one hundred and ten feet wide. Six blocks were reserved for parks. Oakland was incorporated March 25, 1854. H. W. Carpentier was the first mayor. The town had a newspaper, the *Alameda Express*. The fire department was organized with Col. John Scott of New York as the first chief. Other public institutions were established at the same time. From 1854 for the next ten years, Oakland had a very slow growth; the uncertainty of titles and increasing litigation retarded her progress. School advantages were inferior; streets were poorly kept; and there were only two or three churches. In 1853 Charles Minturn, associated with Carpentier, Moon and Adams, built the first steamboat in the estuary.

In 1868 the opening of the creek, the establishment of an opposition line of steamers, the construction of the Oakland street railway, and the prospects of a terminus of a transcontinental railroad, caused a change for the better, and gave business an upward turn; and a better class of residences were built. January, 1855, Oakland had a case of lynch law. George W. Sheldon, accused of horse stealing, was taken from the authorities by a mob and hanged to an oak tree in Clinton. Such occurrences were rare, the inhabitants generally being law abiding and peaceable. Oakland was the only place in the

county that had a jail. At the county seat, the sheriff often was obliged to stand guard over his prisoners, or lock them in a room in the Brooklyn hotel. One of the first acts of the supervisors was to provide for the preservation of the wooded sections of the county. In 1876 the corporate limits of Oakland comprised four and one-half miles of territory north and south, and three and one-half east and west, nearly 20,000 square acres, one-half in marsh lands, Lake Merritt, and the San Antonio estuary. Independence square, East Oakland, is one hundred and seventeen feet above tide water, while at Twelfth street and Broadway, it is thirty-eight feet.

Since 1880 the city has been extended toward the foothills, and laid out with regularity. The streets have been effectively paved, and constant attention given them. Large amounts of money have been expended for sidewalks, sewers have been kept in serviceable condition, and parks beautified. Lake Merritt has always been the pride of the citizens of Oakland. In 1874 a change of name was suggested, but the council protested strongly.

In 1870 the Berkeley & Oakland Water Company became incorporated with a capital of \$100,000 to supply fresh water to Oakland and other towns in the county. In 1891 the Contra Costa Water Company entered into a contract, agreeing to pay \$47,500 for a system of filters and other requisite machinery, locating their plant near Lake Chabot. The Contra Costa Company gradually absorbed all rivals, and as a result of the monopoly a series of suits over the fixing of the rates were brought against the city by the corporation. The last of these, brought in 1898, was handed down to the People's Water Company, which purchased the Contra Costa Company in 1906. Litigation was disposed of in 1908 by an agreement with the city council, taking effect that year, which permanently fixed the water rates. The first lighting company was organized in 1866, and from that has grown an elaborate system, the city now being lighted with both gas and electricity.

In 1853 little attention was paid to the moral

and religious welfare of the citizens; there were three or four Protestant organizations. The first clergyman was Rev. W. W. Brier. The Catholics, having no resident priest, had to go to San Jose or San Francisco, although their denomination was the oldest in the place. In 1865 Father King was the first regular priest. In 1869 a new Catholic church was begun in Jefferson street. June 23, 1872, the Church of the Immaculate Conception was dedicated. Father King also exerted an influence through which the Sacred Heart Convent was dedicated in 1868. During these years the organization has grown, several fine buildings have been erected in the environs of Oakland, among them deserving of special mention being St. Francis de Sales, one of the finest edifices in the city. There are a number of Catholic schools in the city, St. Francis de Sales, Sacred Heart Convent, St. Anthony's Christian Brothers' school at Fortieth and Grove streets, and St. Mary's College.

In 1852 St. John's Episcopal Church was organized with a parish of two families, and is the oldest Protestant church in Oakland. In 1853 Dr. Morgan preached under the trees; that same year a tent was raised, and Dr. Walsworth, a Presbyterian, held services. He afterwards became head of the Pacific Female College. His services were the origin of the first Presbyterian church, as the tents and seats were bought by members of that denomination, and Rev. Samuel B. Bell (see biography) became the first pastor of Christ's church. The foundation of the Baptist church was laid by Rev. Willis. In 1869 Rev. Hamilton established an Independent Presbyterian church. A Methodist church was built in 1874. Now (1908) there are more than fifty churches of various denominations. Oakland has become known as "The City of Churches" and "The Athens of the Pacific."

The city is amply provided with educational facilities, which are being increased by new buildings and new sites. The attendance in 1908 was an increase of nearly two thousand over the previous year. The system of instruction embraces every grade, from the kindergarten to the highest. The progress made and the efficiency attained are matters of pride to the citizens as

well as the teachers and officers. There are fifteen grammar schools, three night schools, a Polytechnic and Manual Training High School, and the Oakland High School, which ranks first in the list of accredited schools in California. The new buildings are modern in every detail and of high class design. In 1890 Anthony Chabot gave the school department an astronomical observatory, which is named in his honor and situated in Lafayette square. The first issue of bonds for school purposes was in 1868, when \$50,000 was voted for school sites; in the following year an additional \$112,000 was voted for the same purpose. A bond issue of \$960,000 for sites and new buildings was passed in 1905; of this amount, \$200,000 went for sites and these parcels of land have more than doubled in value. The earthquake of April 18, 1906, did considerable damage to the new buildings and \$280,000 was required for reconstruction, this sum being apportioned from the tax levy in addition to the amount brought by the sale of the bonds. The Oakland High School is situated at Twelfth and Jefferson streets, and was erected in 1892. The Polytechnic High occupies the old building of the high school at Twelfth and Market streets. The first class in Manual Training was established in 1884 in the old Lincoln school building, by Thomas Olin Crawford. There are several private schools besides those mentioned, Miss Horton's school for Boys, California Baptist College, Zion German-English school, Heald-Dixon Business College, and the Polytechnic Business College. Rev. Henry Durant established his school in Oakland in 1854, and from it has grown the University of California. Another of the institutions situated in the vicinity of Oakland, and one that has wielded a lasting influence for the education and training of young ladies, is Mills College, established in Benicia, by Dr. C. T. Mills and his wife in 1852 as a female seminary. In 1871 it was removed to Seminary Park, Alameda county, where adequate buildings were built and spacious grounds laid out. The seminary is presided over by Mrs. Mills; the course of study is broad and liberal, and as a girl's school there is not its equal in the west.

Oakland supports a fine public library, which has various branches in the outlying districts.

The first newspaper, the *Contra Costa*, was established in the fall of 1854 by S. M. Clarke, though the first devoted solely to Oakland's interests was the *Leader*, edited by H. Davison, founded in the spring of 1854 and printed in San Francisco. The *Oakland Journal*, a German weekly, was started in 1875. Oakland now supports two daily papers, the *Tribune* and the *Enquirer*.

In 1863 Mountain View cemetery site, consisting of two hundred acres, was purchased. This has since been added to and developed, until it compares favorably with any other in the country for its size. In the same year St. Mary's cemetery was consecrated. The following year a county hospital was established.

The city is well situated for manufacturing purposes, with its harbor facilities, its three trans-continental railways, and the settlement for all time of the city's complete ownership of the water front.

One of the most important bond issues was one passed in 1906 for \$450,000, and known as the sewer bond issue. It has enabled the city to reconstruct the entire system of outlets, and to put it on a scale adequate for years to come, with but few additions. The park system is being elaborated with the proceeds of a bond issue of \$970,000; out of this Adams Point was purchased, the south marsh of Lake Merritt made into a playground, De Fremery Park acquired, Independence Square completed, as was the boulevard around the lake, Bushrod Park added to by purchases (the original being a bequest to the city many years ago), and West Oakland Park site bought. In 1908 the city council created a park and playgrounds commission.

Oakland has eighteen banks, with an authorized capital of \$3,495,100. The total paid in capital is \$2,188,007; the deposits for June, 1908, totaled \$38,561,051.35. The institutions that occupy their own buildings are the Central Bank, the Union Savings, the Oakland Bank of Savings, and the First National, the last two named having completed modern structures in 1908.

No city of equal population has exceeded this banking record.

The Board of Trade was started in 1886, and became the Chamber of Commerce in 1901. The Merchants Exchange was organized in 1895.

During the Civil war Oakland and environs furnished their quota of military force to support the government. The Oakland Home Guards was organized August 31, 1861. The citizens have never failed to voice their love of country. Oakland has been virtually a Republican city since 1860, when the Democratic party, that had practically held sway since the founding of the town, was overthrown.

A mention of the introduction and development of the land and water transportation is found of interest. The first ferry to Oakland was put into operation in 1851 by Captain Rhodes. In 1852 the Boston, later destroyed by fire, was put in service; then the Kate Hays made trips until the organization of the Contra Costa Navigation Company. One dollar for a round trip was charged.

J. B. Larue organized and put in operation an opposition line of steamers in 1853, bringing the fare down to fifty cents round trip. In 1852 Carpentier, as attorney for the Contra Costa Navigation Company, made application to the county for a renewal of the license originally issued by the Court of Sessions to W. H. Brown and assigned by him to the company, to operate the ferry between San Francisco and Contra Costa one year and from July 14 they were to charge fifty cents for foot passengers, fifty cents for every hog or sheep, \$2 per head for horses, mules or cattle, \$1.50 for empty wagons, and twenty-five cents for every one hundred pounds of freight. It was granted. The construction of several roads was ordered at this time. In July, 1853, Carpentier offered to complete the bridge across San Antonio creek, with the privilege of collecting a toll of twelve cents for foot passengers, horses and cattle twenty-five cents, one-horse vehicles fifty cents and others pro rata. The bridge to be exempt from taxation and assessment, he agreed to surrender the bridge to the county to be used as a free one, within one year on being reimbursed the cost of construction

with interest at three per cent per month. It was accepted by the Court of Sessions and in December, 1853, he presented his account, totaling \$15,000.

In 1853 the county was divided into seven road districts; the Stockton road and the one leading from Union city were declared public highways, others were established in quick succession; the system was inexpensive. The bridges were the same, several were important, one between Oakland and Clinton, one at San Leandro, and another at Alvarado. Toll roads were generally avoided. In 1856 a gate was put across the Brooklyn and Oakland bridge, and only removed upon payment to Carpentier, Adams and Watson the amount of their long-contended bridge account. In 1870 bonds were issued for \$20,000 and a new bridge was completed that year. An act of the legislature empowered certain persons to construct a railway from the west end of this bridge to a point where the shore approaches nearest Yerba Buena Island or at such a point as a railway may be built from the shore to the island; an act was also granted to other parties to operate a ferry between the island and San Francisco and to build a railway from the island to the Alameda shore. This was known as the San Francisco & Oakland Railway Company. In 1863, \$220,000 were subscribed to the Alameda Valley Railway; the intended terminus was Niles. It was to be built from the east end of the San Francisco & Oakland Railway to form a connection with the Western Pacific near Vallejo Mills. It formed the San Francisco, Oakland & Alameda Railway. The first trip was made September 2, 1863, over four miles of track. In 1865 it was extended to Haywards and later to Niles and San Jose by the Central Pacific. The Western and Central Pacific were merged June 23, 1870, and July 1st, the San Francisco & Oakland and San Francisco & Alameda were amalgamated. The latter was completed in 1864 by A. A. Cohen, who in 1865 got control of the San Francisco, Oakland & Alameda Railroad, and built the steamers Alameda and El Capitan, the first double enders on the coast. In 1869 the Central Pacific purchased his interests.

In 1868 the Oakland Waterfront Company, a branch of the Western Pacific Railroad, was incorporated. As president of the company, Carpentier, on March 31, 1868, conveyed to the Waterfront Company all of the waterfront as described in the act of 1852. The following day the Waterfront Company conveyed to the Western Pacific five hundred acres, some concessions being made to the city in the matter of streets. Comparatively few accidents, considering the conditions, have occurred on the steam lines in Oakland. In 1869 a collision between the Alameda Railroad and the Western Pacific killed fourteen and injured twenty-four; in 1890 part of a train ran into an open drawbridge, killing several and injuring many, and on July 4, 1908, at Webster and First streets, seven were killed and several scores injured.

1876, Centennial year, was a remarkable one for Oakland. The West Oakland and Berkeley branches were put in operation. The Alameda section of the Dunbarton, Santa Clara & Santa Cruz narrow gauge was completed. In 1890 the Brooklyn and High street horse car line to Mountain View cemetery; the San Pablo avenue cable line and Piedmont cable roads were in operation. In 1891 the electric line to Haywards and the electric line to Berkeley were installed. The Park street bridge was built in 1892, widening the causeway between the shores, and the mole was made solid. In 1908 the Alameda mole was completed by the erection of a new depot. The Western Pacific are completing their lines into Oakland and to tide water, thereby making the city the terminus of three transcontinental lines—the Southern Pacific, Western Pacific and Santa Fe Railroads. January to September, 1908, twelve hundred and sixty-five vessels with a total tonnage of 681,544, from all parts of the world, docked in Oakland, an increase of six hundred and thirty-six over the year from August, 1906, to August, 1907.

The advancement of needed reforms and up-building of the city are being carried through successfully. The final settlement in September, 1908, of all waterfront litigation, gave Oakland possession of her tide lands. Modern business blocks have been erected, also elegant residences,

theaters, and hotels, among the latter being St. Marks, completed in 1908; the Claremont, in the Claremont hills, nearing completion; Bankers, to occupy a square block when completed, and which will compare with any in the west; Arcade, opened in May, 1908; The Key Route Inn, Hotel Metropole and Athens. The extension of the street railway, known as the Oakland Traction Company, into the suburban sections, is opening up fine residential districts, bringing the city in close connection with Piedmont, Berkeley, the sections about Fruitvale and other new settlements. The expansion of the Key Route service, and steam lines of the Southern Pacific, nearly ready to change to electricity, now in operation, giving rapid and safe transportation to and from San Francisco, together with the tendency toward clean, independent municipal government makes Oakland, with her rapidly increasing population (estimated in 1908 at 265,000 in her own limits), an ideal home city, as well as an excellent business location, second to none on the Pacific coast.

BERKELEY.

In 1772 an expedition was despatched from San Diego to find the lost bay of San Francisco and to establish a mission in the name of St. Francis of Assisi, considered by the Spanish a religious duty. It was conducted by Father Crespi and led by Lieutenant Fages, consisting of twelve soldiers, a muleteer and an Indian guide. They left the south March 20, and on March 27 climbed the hills that skirt the bay shore, passing an arm of the estuary, now known as Lake Merritt, stopping that night on the Berkeley hills, which never before had been trod by a white man. Not knowing that they had passed the lost bay they marched on to the north, and coming upon a body of water now named Carquinez straits, returned to the southland by way of Mount Diablo.

In 1820 the present site of Berkeley formed a part of a grant given to Don Luis Peralta by Governor Pablo Vicente de Sola, and was transferred in 1842 to his son, José Domingo Peralta, when Don Luis partitioned the grant. In 1852 came the first three American farmers in Oak-

land township, F. K. Shattuck, W. Hillegass, and G. M. Blake, who began farming on the present site of Berkeley. Not a house was in sight from where they pitched their tents. Years later, with Rev. Henry Durant, these three men labored to have that spot selected for the site of the University of California buildings and campus. On March 1, 1858, the trustees of the College of California, destined to grow into the great university, accepted a site of over two hundred acres, on the western slope of the Contra Costa hills, for a permanent location, in what is now Berkeley. The ground was dedicated April 16, 1860, by Rev. W. C. Anderson, Rev. S. H. Willey, Rev. D. B. Cheney, Rev. E. S. Lacey, Frederick Billings, E. B. Goddard, Edward McLean, Ira R. Rankin, and Rev. Henry Durant, the founder, and by whom the site had been chosen.

Standing on the ground where the university was to arise, these men cast about them for a name for the future city. Frederick Billings, quoting the prophetic line, "Westward the course of empire takes its way," suggested the name of the author of the poem, Bishop George Berkeley, who had passed three years in America in the seventeenth century, seeking to establish an institution of learning in Rhode Island, which he would have called Bermuda university. The suggestion of Billings was taken up by his associates and several years later, when the town actually was founded, it was formally given the name of Berkeley.

This took place in 1878, when by a special act of the legislature Berkeley town was incorporated. Within the ten years since the coming of the university in 1868, had grown up the little city. The first university buildings on the slopes looked down upon a small village known as Ocean View, later called West Berkeley, while the cluster of houses close around the university became known as East Berkeley, and comprised the first incorporated town. A superior class of citizens had begun to settle there when the university was established in its permanent home.

In 1891 the limits of Berkeley were extended by the annexation of Ocean View. Other territory was annexed by general elections in 1892,

1906 and 1908, in the last year stated the first public park being created by the acquisition of the old Indian burial ground. In 1893 Berkeley had become a town of the fifth class under the general laws of the state, and a freeholders' charter was adopted in 1895, with a subsequent amendment in 1905. In 1908 a new freeholder's charter, framed on the commissioner system, was adopted, but because of a flaw in the drafting was declared illegal. Immediately another election of freeholders was called to complete the work which had gone astray.

The growth of the city has been rapid; in 1908 it had an estimated population of over 35,000. In that year was completed a town hall at a cost of more than \$150,000, the new high school, worth about as much, having been completed about three years before. The new Polytechnic high school was begun in the fall of 1907, on property bought near the high school. Among the private educational institutions may be mentioned Anna Head's school for girls, Boone's preparatory school, St. Joseph's Presentation Convent, and the Pacific Theological Seminary. On account of the shipping facilities, including the new wharf on the west front, dedicated in 1908, several manufacturing concerns are being established in Berkeley. A heavy retail business is carried on in West Berkeley, and in the heart of central Berkeley. The banking facilities are adequate and the institutions are well capitalized and in a flourishing condition and rank high among those of the state. Transportation is afforded by two transcontinental railroads, a network of electric street car lines, and two suburban systems operating between San Francisco and Berkeley.

Because of the exceptional educational advantages, Berkeley has become a city of cultured citizens. Second in importance to the university only is the Institute for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind of California, which was located in Berkeley in 1866. It was established in San Francisco on a small scale in 1860, and supported by contributions of a few philanthropic women. While the embryonic institute was housed in a building in Tehama street, these women obtained money with which they bought a lot at Fifteenth

and Mission streets. An appeal for aid was made to the state legislature and in response \$10,000 was appropriated for a building on the Mission street property and for the care of afflicted children of poor parents. The building was completed and occupied on January 1, 1861, and the institute began to be conducted by a board of lady managers, this supervision continuing until 1865. In February of that year John Francis became principal. December 1, 1866, Warring Wilkinson, who came from New York city, became the principal, and he has since remained in charge. In March, 1866, the state legislature passed a bill authorizing the re-organization of the institute, the sale of the San Francisco property, and the selection of a new location within five miles of San Francisco, by the board of directors. Berkeley, for its advantageous position, was chosen for the site, which consists of one hundred and thirty acres of land, fifty acres being tillable. The new building was ready for occupancy in 1869, having been erected at a cost of \$149,000, and the site purchased for \$12,100. There were ninety-six pupils enrolled at the opening. When organized nine years before, the institute had only ten. On January 17, 1875, the home was destroyed by fire, but soon reopened at an expense of \$27,000, twenty-seven men loaning \$1,000 each. The state legislature appropriated \$110,500 at their next session, for the erection of two buildings, and these structures were opened in 1878. The following year and in 1881 others were added; the enrollment has increased with the passing years, necessitating other additions to keep pace with the growth.

The University of California, the pride of all Californians, and one of the ranking institutions of the world, has had a phenomenal growth since its inception. It was instituted by an act of the legislature on March 23, 1868. The instruction was begun in Oakland in 1869 and commencement held July 16, 1873, in Berkeley. The College of California, which was started in 1855 in Oakland by Rev. Henry Durant, was donated to the state and became a college of letters of the university in 1869, being transferred at that time; and through that college the university became possessed of some valuable

property in Oakland. The Brayton school in Oakland, which was opened June 20, 1853, had become the College of California mentioned, and really was the root from which the great university grew. The first faculty of the College of California was composed of Henry Durant and Martin Kellogg. They were unable to begin college instruction immediately because of the difficulty in enrolling students qualified for college work. On August 13, 1859, there was graduated from the Brayton school, which still was being conducted, a class which had finished academic work, and in 1860 Durant and Kellogg began college instruction. Meantime, the Brayton school had been taken over by the state as a preparatory school and Isaac H. Brayton made principal, with Frederick M. Campbell (see biography) as vice-principal. Dr. Brayton later became a professor in English in the University of California in Berkeley. The old Brayton preparatory school passed out of existence with the establishing of high schools and the inception of the University of California.

The University of California was formed by an act of the legislature passed March 23, 1868, which coalesced the College of California and the Agricultural, Mining and Mechanical Arts College. The College of California brought into the combination the literary departments and the technical college supplied the scientific. This union was brought about by the efforts of Dr. Durant, John B. Felton, Governor Low et al. In 1867 the Agricultural college had chosen provisionally a tract of land north of the College of California property in Berkeley, with a view to uniting. October 8, 1867, the directors of the latter offered to give one hundred and sixty acres of their property in Berkeley to the state board of directors of the mechanical college. On the next day, in a joint meeting, the directors of the two colleges took steps to present to the legislature a proposed law creating the University of California. John W. Dwinelle (see biography) prepared the charter of the university. The organization was effected by Governor H. H. Haight, and twenty-two regents. The temporary quarters were in Oakland; the first faculty of the university was made up of Professor

Carr, college of agriculture; Prof. John Le Conte, college of mechanics; Prof. Fisher, college of mines; Prof. Welcker and Prof. Soulé, mathematics. The last two virtually organized the college of engineering (see biographies of both), which was actually organized in 1872, when Prof. Frank Soulé was made professor of civil engineering.

The first president of the university was Henry Durant, after Gen. George B. McClellan had declined and Prof. D. C. Gilman had declined to come to California to take the position. In 1872 Durant resigned, and Gilman then was prevailed upon to take the presidency. He was installed November 7. In his administration, in 1873, the university was removed to the Berkeley property, where buildings erected by the state were completed. The institution continued to grow from that time, developing its possessions, and making a foundation for its future. After President Gilman had given up the executive chair, it was filled by Prof. John Le Conte (see biography), Horace Davis, Martin Kellogg (see biography); and from 1899, by the present head, Benjamin Ide Wheeler (see biography).

The years from 1878 to 1890 were a period of remarkable growth in the university, and of close financial stress because of the inadequacy of state support. During those years the Lick Astronomical department was given by James Lick; the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art was given; J. C. Wilmerding gave the Wilmerding School of Industrial Arts; Stiles hall was given for the use of the university Christian societies by Mrs. A. J. Stiles; and an exhibit was sent to the Mid-Winter fair, from which the university greatly benefited. Scholarships given by Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst were bestowed, and the Harmon gymnasium was donated.

From 1895 to 1900 new buildings were erected, these being the Botany, Philosophy and Agricultural buildings, and East Hall. In the same period the Hearst Mining Memorial building was begun.

On April 20, 1896, regents J. B. Reinstein and B. B. Maybeck projected the plan of a harmonious system of architecture for the future upbuilding of the Berkeley seat of learning. Ap-

proving of the proposal; the board began at once a tentative program under the direction of Prof. William R. Ware of Columbia University. On October 7, 1896, Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst who had heard of the proposed plan, wrote to the regents saying she contemplated two buildings on the university campus, one of which is the completed Hearst Memorial Mining building, then not even designed. She asked that she be allowed to contribute funds for an international competition, naming as trustees the late James H. Budd for the state, J. B. Reinstein for the regents, and William Carey Jones for the university. That same year Reinstein and Maybeck visited New York and Europe, with photographs and contour maps of the university site. They had six thousand prospectuses published in English, German and French, which were distributed throughout Europe, explaining that when the plans were fulfilled there would be twenty-eight buildings on the campus. An international jury was selected, consisting of R. Norman Shaw, and John Belcher of London, J. L. Pascal of Paris, Walter Cook of New York, and J. B. Reinstein of San Francisco. The contest opened in Europe January 15, 1898, and ten days earlier in other regions of the globe, and closed July 1, 1898. The plans were sent to United States Consul General Lincoln at Antwerp, one hundred and five being submitted. Under the care of the Antwerp municipal government, the plans were locked in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts. The jury met on September 30 and concluded October 4, having chosen a small number of plans whose designers were qualified for the final contest. The expenses of these last contestants were paid by Mrs. Hearst, to visit in person the university grounds. The final plans were submitted to the secretary on July 1, 1899, when the competition closed. The jury met in the Ferry building, San Francisco, August 30, 1899. The first award was made to E. Berard of Paris, who received a \$10,000 prize. The university now is being slowly built according to these plans, with John Galen Howard, professor of architecture, in supervision. The last great building to be completed under them was the Hearst Memorial mining building, and the last for which ground

was broken was the Doe library, to be a million-dollar structure. The Greek amphitheater, one of the most famous in the world of playhouses, is an open air concrete structure laid in a natural declivity between three small knolls in the upper university grounds. The acoustics of the place were noted and hailed as wonderful, even before William Randolph Hearst, at a cost of \$40,000, built the classic theater which not only is modelled on the lines of the theater of old Athens, but preserves the slopings of the hollow in which it rests. It will seat eight thousand, and has been the scene of the most remarkable performance ever seen in America—the presentation of Racine's masterly *Phaedre*, by Sarah Bernhardt, a Greek play in a Greek theater under Attic skies, the great role portrayed by the greatest of living or departed actresses.

In 1904, besides the Greek theater, were given to the university a magnificent library and property in escrow until her death, by Mrs. Jane K. Sather; the Bonnheim dissertation by Albert Bonnheim; and the Physiology hall, one of the finest buildings of its kind in the world, by Rudolph Spreckels.

In 1905 the state appropriated \$150,000 for a state university farm, which is located on seven hundred and eighty acres of land near Davisville, Yolo county, the citizens buying and donating to the university the water rights. In 1906 the San Francisco fire of April 18 destroyed the Hopkins Institute of Art and most of its treasures, an irreparable loss. In 1908 Clarence W. Mackay gave \$100,000 to build the new building for the college of mechanics, which was established in 1875.

The administration of the university and its finances is in the hands of a corporation known as the Regents of the University of California, consisting of the governor, lieutenant-governor, speaker of the assembly, state superintendent of public instruction, president of the State Agricultural Society, president of the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco, and the president of the university, all ex-officio; and the sixteen other members, appointees of the governor. Out of the proceeds of the sale of tide lands in the city and county of San Francisco, \$200,000 was ap-

propriated for the benefit of the university. Its resources are: The Seminary fund and Public building fund granted by Congress to the state; property received from the College of California, including the Berkeley site; funds derived from the Congressional land grant of July 2, 1862; tide land funds appropriated by the state; various appropriations by the legislature for specified purposes; State University fund created by the Vrooman act, of a perpetual endowment from the state tax, of one cent on each \$100 of assessed valuation; endowment fund of the Lick astronomical department; United States experiment station of \$1,500 a year; and gifts of individuals. The colleges of dentistry, medicine and pharmacy are supported by moderate fees from students; the college of law has a separate endowment; and there is also a military department in the charge of an officer of the United States army. The university has the second largest library in the state, containing collections of fine arts; and classical archeological museums, classified and distributed by departments. It also has complete laboratories and a gymnasium.

ALAMEDA.

Alameda was originally a part of the Encinal de San Antonio, transferred to Antonio Maria Peralta by his father. Col. Henry S. Fitch, failing to complete the purchase of Encinal del Temescal, turned his attention to this part of San Antonio, and obtained from Antonio Maria Peralta a written agreement to convey all the lands lying west of a line drawn from the nearest approach of San Leandro bay to the nearest water of San Antonio creek, embracing about twenty-three hundred acres, for the sum of \$7,000. The transfer was made, but Fitch was unable to raise the necessary money. W. W. Chipman and G. Aughenbaugh then purchased the land from Peralta for \$14,000 and agreed to settle any difficulty that might arise with Fitch. In order to do this Fitch was given an interest in the land and also he with William Sharon purchased a fourteenth undivided interest in the entire peninsula for \$3,000. Sharon afterward conveyed his interest to Colonel Fitch, who in turn conveyed it to Charles Fitch, his brother.

The latter forced the squatters on the tract to vacate and platted it in town lots. This property afterward was known as the "Fitch tract."

In 1852 Chipman and Aughenbaugh put up forty-three lots, four acres each, at auction, Fitch being the auctioneer, and these brought \$80 apiece. They fronted High street from each side, and on the upper end of the thoroughfare all business was centered. This street formed the eastern boundary. The two partners also built a levee extending across the slough, which they had to dam, between their property and the point, a great undertaking for that period. In 1854 the promoters procured permission to build a road and bridge across the arm of the channel from Alameda to Bay Farm Island, and on to the town of San Leandro. The bridge was constructed at a cost of \$8,000, and later was removed and used in the building of a wharf at the west end of the Encinal. The road was constructed for a little over a mile, twenty feet wide and with a surface of oyster shells one foot in depth. The rest of the road was never completed, although more than \$11,000 was expended in the undertaking. In the same year Dr. Hubbard laid out the town of Encinal, and about this time Woodstock was platted, both now forming the city of Alameda. The first store on the peninsula was opened by Zeno Kelly and A. B. Webster started the first lumber yard.

Alameda township was constituted in 1854 by a special act of the legislature. It covered a peninsula four and one-half miles long, by three-quarters to one and one-half miles wide, and contained about twenty-two hundred acres. The same legislature passed a special act incorporating the town of Encinal, but the population being insufficient, no town government was organized under this law until the next year.

The growth of the town was slow until 1864, when the Western Pacific Railroad, afterward absorbed by the Central Pacific, built its terminal into Alameda and located its station in the neighborhood of what is now Park street. All business then left the former location and centered about the station. To facilitate travel, the ferry boat Bonita, had been established on the ferry route between San Francisco and Alameda.

making two trips daily and taking the place of the lumber schooner Kangaroo, which began making semi-weekly trips in 1850. Blocks were laid out and sold at auction, thus extending the town limits, and with the \$15,000 realized from this sale, the boat Ranger was bought in Sacramento to replace the Bonita. Excursions were inaugurated, and an inducement of one lot free to any person who would agree to build upon it, was given. Three hundred applied, but only about twenty lived up to the terms. C. C. Mason about this time established the first livery stable; and a Mr. Keys opened the first boarding house, these two men being among the twenty. A. A. Cohen became one of the first citizens, and through his establishing of the Alameda ferry and the Alameda and Hayward railway, did more to advance the town's interest than any other man. The first newspaper, the *Encinal*, was established in 1869 by F. K. Krauth (see biography); the *Statesman* was founded in 1871. The first school was held in 1855, and in 1864 the first public school building was erected. In 1871 a drawbridge was built, giving access to Oakland, and the main avenue from Oakland to the business section of Alameda, a continuation of Webster street in Oakland, was built. In 1874 the first branch railway between Oakland and Alameda was put into operation, the Alameda and Piedmont street railway being built the following year.

By a special act of the legislature March 7, 1872, the town of Alameda was incorporated with the township boundaries. The act was amended in 1874 because of the growing needs of the town, and again in 1876; and in 1878 a re-incorporation act was passed. In 1884 under the general laws of the state, Alameda became a city of the fifth class. No further changes were made in the form of municipal government until 1906, when a model freeholders' charter was adopted.

In 1873 W. W. Chipman deeded a strip of land that Santa Clara avenue might be completed, and Mary Fitch gave the town all the streets, together with extensions north and south through the Fitch tract. E. H. Miller deeded for public use all the streets and parcels of land designated

as thoroughfares in Oak Park on the Encinal. In 1876 the town was divided into wards, a town hall erected and the following year the sewer system was begun and continued until 1885, when the present system was adopted. The fire department, organized as a volunteer department in 1876, and made a paid department in 1885, has gradually kept abreast of the growing conditions. The city government began the macadamizing of the streets in 1875, and the same year the first high school building was erected, and retained in use until 1899, when the present costly brick structure replaced it.

Soon after Alameda had been made a city of the fifth class, the Federal government became interested in the improvement of the harbor. Dredging, which since has been prosecuted at a total expenditure of \$3,000,000, was begun. The isthmus which connected Alameda to the main land was severed; a steel drawbridge was built across the canal on Park street by the United States government in 1892. The estuary, as San Antonio creek has come to be known, was continued by a tidal canal to San Leandro bay, which was deepened into a tidal basin. This project, which made an island of Alameda, was completed in 1902, and was celebrated by the citizens of the island city in a Mardi Gras on the shore of the new waterway. Private capital followed the government, by the reclaiming of marsh lands for manufacturing sites. Many firms have been attracted to the city.

The place is naturally healthy. A superb system of municipal lighting is in operation; pure artesian water for domestic purposes comes from a series of wells that were constructed at a cost of nearly \$500,000 by private individuals; thousands of substantial, and many of them beautiful, homes have been built; business blocks of considerable size have been erected; the public school system equals that of any city in the state, consisting of the high school, evening school, parental school, and eight grammar schools. The city supports a fine free library; churches of nearly every denomination have been provided; hospitals and private sanitariums are maintained; the police department is efficient; banking facilities are adequate and well capi-

talized; street car service is excellent, supplemented by the Southern Pacific broad and narrow gauge systems, traversing the entire peninsula. Alameda supports a full company of the National Guard of California. The city is an ideal residence place, with a population of about twenty-five thousand, famed for the upright character of her citizenship—patriotic, home-loving people, jealous of the fair name of their city in the world of industry and politics.

SACRAMENTO.

Sutter built his fort near the junction of the Sacramento and American rivers in 1839. It was then the most northerly settlement in California and became the trading post for the northern frontier. It was the outpost to which the tide of overland immigration flowed before and after the discovery of gold. Sutter's settlement was also known as New Helvetia. After the discovery of gold at Coloma it was, during 1848, the principal supply depot for the mines. Sutter had a store at the fort and did a thriving business. Sam Brannan, in June, 1848, established a store outside of the fort, in a long adobe building. His sales amounted to over \$100,000 a month. His profits were enormous. Gold dust was a drug on the market and at one time passed for \$8 an ounce, less than half its value. In September, 1848, Priest, Lee & Co. established a business house at the fort and did an immense business. The fort was not well located for a commercial center. It was too far away from the river by which all the freight from San Francisco was shipped. The land at the embarcadero was subject to overflow and was deemed unsuited for the site of a city. Sutterville was laid out on rising ground three miles below. A survey of lots was extended from the fort to the embarcadero and along the river bank. This embryo town at the embarcadero took the name of Sacramento from the river. Then began a rivalry between Sutterville and Sacramento. The first house in Sacramento, corner of Front and I streets, was erected in January, 1849. The proprietors of Sutterville, McDougal & Co., made an attempt to attract trade and building to their town by giving away

lots, but Sutter beat them at that game, and Sacramento surged ahead. Sam Brannan and Priest, Lee & Co. moved their stores into Sacramento. The fort was deserted and Sutterville ceased to contend for supremacy. In four months lots had advanced from \$50 to \$1,000 and business lots to \$3,000. A regular steamboat service on the river was inaugurated in August, 1849, and sailing vessels that had come around the Horn to avoid trans-shipment worked their way up the river and landed their goods at the embarcadero. The first number of the *Placer Times* was issued April 28, 1849. The steamboat rates of passage between San Francisco and Sacramento were: Cabin, \$30; steerage, \$20; freight \$2.50 per one hundred pounds. By the winter of 1849 the population of the town had reached five thousand and a year later it had doubled. Lots in the business section were held at \$30,000 to \$50,000 each. The great flood of 1849-50, when four-fifths of the city was under water, somewhat dampened the enthusiasm of the citizens, but did not check the growth of the city. Sacramento became the trading center of the mines. In 1855 its trade, principally with the mines, amounted to \$6,000,000. It was also the center of the stage lines, a dozen of which led out from it.

It became the state capital in 1853, and although disastrous floods drove the legislators from the capital several times, they returned when the waters subsided. The great flood of 1861-62 inundated the city and compelled an immense outlay for levees and for raising the grades of the streets. Sacramento was made the terminus of the Central Pacific Railroad system, and its immense workshops are located there. Its growth for the past thirty years has been slow but steady. Its population in 1890 was 26,386; in 1900, 29,282.

SAN JOSE.

The early history of San José has been given in the chapter on Pueblos. After the American conquest the place became an important business center. It was the first state capital and the removal of the capital for a time checked its progress. In 1864 it was connected with San

Francisco by railroad. The completion of the railroad killed off its former port, Alviso, which had been laid out as a city in 1849. Nearly all the trade and travel before the railroad was built had gone by way of Alviso down the bay to San Francisco. San José and its suburb, Santa Clara, early became the educational centers of California. The first American college founded in the state was located at Santa Clara and the first normal school building erected in the state was built at San José. The population of San José in 1880 was 12,570; in 1900, 21,500.

STOCKTON.

In 1844 the Rancho Campo de los Franceses, Camp of the French, or French Camp, on which the city of Stockton is located, was granted to William Gulnac by Governor Micheltorena. It contained eleven leagues of 48,747 acres of land. Captain Charles M. Weber, the founder of Stockton, was a partner of Gulnac, but not being a Mexican citizen, he could not obtain a land grant. After Gulnac obtained the grant he conveyed a half interest in it to Weber. Weber shortly afterward purchased his partner's interest and became sole owner of the grant. Some attempts were made to stock it with cattle, but Indian depredations prevented it. In 1847, after the country had come into the possession of the Americans, Weber removed from San José, which had been his place of residence since his arrival in California in 1841, and located on his ranch at French Camp. He erected some huts for his vaqueros and fortified his corral against Indians. In 1848 the site of the city was surveyed and platted under the direction of Captain Weber and Maj. R. P. Hammond. The rancho was surveyed and sectionized and land offered on most advantageous terms to settlers. Captain Weber was puzzled to find a fitting name for his infant metropolis. He hesitated between Tuleburgh and Castoria (Spanish for beaver). Tules were plentiful and so were beaver, but as the town grew both would disappear, so he finally selected Stockton after Commodore Stockton, who promised to be a godfather to the town, but proved to be a very indifferent step-father; he never did anything for it. The

discovery of gold in the region known as the southern mines brought Stockton into prominence and made it the metropolis of the southern mining district. Captain Weber led the party that first discovered gold on the Mokelumne river. The freight and travel to the mines on the Mokelumne, Tuolumne and Stanislaus rivers passed through Stockton, and its growth was rapid. In October, 1849, the *Alta California* reports lots in it selling from \$2,500 to \$6,000 each, according to situation. At that time it had a population of about one thousand souls and a floating population, that is, men coming and going to the mines, of about as many more. The houses were mostly cotton-lined shacks. Lumber was \$1 a foot and carpenters' wages \$16 per day. There was neither mechanics nor material to build better structures. Every man was his own architect and master builder. Cloth was scarce and high and tacks at one time were worth \$5 a package; even a cloth house was no cheap affair, however flimsy and cheap it might appear. On the morning of December 23, 1849, the business portion of the town was swept out of existence by fire. Rebuilding was begun almost before the embers of the departed city were cold and a better city arose from the ashes of the first. After the wild rush of mining days was over, Stockton drifted into a center of agricultural trade and it also became a manufacturing city. Its growth has been steady, devoid of booms or periods of inflation, followed by collapse. Its population in 1890 was 14,424; in 1900, 17,506.

SAN DIEGO.

In former chapters I have described the founding of the presidio and mission of San Diego. A pueblo of twenty-five or thirty houses grew up around the presidio. This is what is known as Old San Diego. In 1858 it was incorporated as a city. March 18, 1850, Alcalde Sutherland granted to William Heath Davis and five associates one hundred and sixty acres of land a few miles south of Old Town, in consideration that they build a wharf and create a "new port." The town of New San Diego was laid out, the wharf was built, several houses

erected, and government barracks constructed. A newspaper was established and the Panama steamers anchored at the wharf. San Diego was riding high on the wave of prosperity. But the wave broke and left San Diego stranded on the shore of adversity. In 1868, A. E. Horton came to San Diego. He bought about nine hundred acres of pueblo lands along the bay at twenty-six cents an acre. He subdivided it, gave away lots, built houses and a wharf and soon infused life into the sleepy pueblo. In 1884 the Southern California Railroad was completed into the city. In 1887 San Diego experienced a wonderful real estate boom and its growth for several years was marvelous. Then it came to a standstill, but has again started on the highway to prosperity. Its population in 1890 was 16,159; in 1900, 17,700.

FRESNO CITY.

Fresno City was founded by the Southern Pacific Railroad in May, 1872. The road at that time was in the course of construction. The outlook for a populous town was not brilliant. Stretching for miles away from the town site in different directions was an arid-looking plain. The land was fertile enough when well watered, but the few settlers had no capital to construct irrigating canals.

In 1875 began the agricultural colony era. The land was divided into twenty-acre tracts. A number of persons combined together and by their united capital and community labor constructed irrigating canals and brought the land under cultivation. The principal product is the raisin grape. Fresno City became the county seat of Fresno county in 1874. It is now the largest and most important city of the Upper San Joaquin Valley. Its population in 1890 was 10,818; in 1900, 12,470.

VALLEJO.

Vallejo was founded for the state capital. It was one of several towns which had that temporary honor in the early '50s, when the state capitol was on wheels, or at least on the move. The original name of the place was Eureka. General Vallejo made a proposition to the legis-

lature of 1850 to grant the state one hundred and fifty-six acres of land and to donate and pay to the state within two years after the acceptance of this proposition \$370,000, to be used in the erection of public buildings. The legislature accepted his proposition. The location of the state capital was submitted to a vote of the people at the election on October 7, 1850, and Vallejo received more votes than the aggregated vote of all its competitors. Buildings were begun, but never completed. The legislature met there twice, but on account of insufficient accommodations sought other places where they were better cared for. General Vallejo's proposition at his own request was cancelled. In 1854 Mare Island, in front of Vallejo, was purchased by the general government for a United States navy yard and naval depot. The government works gave employment to large numbers of men and involved the expenditure of millions of dollars. The town began to prosper and still continues to do so. Its population in 1890 was 6,343; in 1900, 7,965.

NEVADA CITY.

No mining town in California was so well and so favorably known in the early '50s as Nevada City. The first discovery of gold near it was made in September, 1849; and the first store and cabin erected. Rumors of rich strikes spread abroad and in the spring of 1850 the rush of gold-seekers came. In 1851 it was estimated that within a circuit of seven miles there was a population of 30,000. In 1856 the business section was destroyed by fire. It was then the third city in population in the state. It has had its periods of expansion and contraction, but still remains an important mining town. Its population in 1880 was 4,022; in 1890, 2,524; in 1900, 3,250.

GRASS VALLEY.

The first cabin in Grass Valley was erected in 1849. The discoveries of gold quartz raised great expectations. A quartz mill was erected in 1850, but this new form of mining not being understood, quartz mining was not a success; but with improved machinery and better meth-

ods, it became the most important form of mining. Grass Valley prospered and surpassed its rival, Nevada City. Its population in 1900 was 4,719.

EUREKA.

In the two hundred years that Spain and Mexico held possession of California its northwest coast remained practically a terra incognita, but it did not remain so long after the discovery of gold. Gold was discovered on the head waters of the Trinity river in 1849 and parties of prospectors during 1849 and 1850 explored the country between the head waters of the Trinity and Klamath rivers and the coast. Rich mines were found and these discoveries led to the founding of a number of towns on the coast which aspired to be the entrepots for the supplies to the mines. The most successful of these proved to be Eureka, on Humboldt Bay. It was the best located for commerce and soon outstripped its rivals, Arcata and Bucksport. Humboldt county was formed in 1854, and Eureka, in 1856, became the county seat and was incorporated as a city. It is the largest shipping point for lumber on the coast. It is also the commercial center of a rich agricultural and dairying district. Its population in 1880 was 2,639; in 1890, 4,858; in 1900, 7,327.

MARYSVILLE.

The site on which Marysville stands was first known as New Mecklenburg and was a trading post of two houses. In October, 1848, M. C. Nye purchased the rancho and opened a store at New Mecklenburg. The place then became known as Nye's rancho. In 1849 a town was laid out and named Yubaville. The name was changed to Marysville in honor of the wife of the proprietor of the town Covilland. His wife was Mary Murphy, of the Donner party. Marysville, being at the head of navigation of the north fork of the Sacramento, became the entrepot for mining supplies to the miners in the rich Yuba mines. After the decline of mining it became an agricultural center for the upper portion of the Sacramento. Its population in 1880 was 4,300; in 1890, 3,991; in 1900, 3,397.

REDDING.

The *Placer Times* of May 8, 1850, contains this notice of Reading, now changed to Redding: "Reading was laid off early in 1850 by P. B. Reading at the headwaters of the Sacramento within forty-five miles of the Trinity diggings. Reading is located in the heart of a most extensive mining district, embracing as it does, Cottonwood, Clear, Salt, Dry, Middle and Olney creeks, it is in close proximity to the Pitt and Trinity rivers. The pet steamer, Jack Hayes, leaves tomorrow morning (May 9, 1850) for Reading. It has been hitherto considered impossible to navigate the Sacramento to this height." The town grew rapidly at first, like all mining towns, and like most of such towns it was swept out of existence by fire. It was devastated by fire in December, 1852, and again in June, 1853. Its original name, Reading, got mixed with Fort Redding and it now appears on all railroad maps and guides as Redding. Its population in 1890 was 1,821; in 1900, 2,940.

PASADENA.

Pasadena is a child of the colony era of the early '70s. Its original name was the Indiana Colony. In 1873 a number of persons formed a company for the purchasing of a large tract of land and subdividing it among them. They incorporated under the title of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association and purchased four thousand acres in the San Pasqual rancho, situated about nine miles east of Los Angeles city. This was divided on the basis of one share of stock being equivalent to fifteen acres. Each stockholder received in proportion to his investment. The colonists turned their attention to the cultivation of vineyards and orange orchards. In 1875 the name was changed to Pasadena, an Algonquin word meaning Crown of the Valley. The colony had become quite noted for its production of oranges. In 1887 the great real estate boom struck it and the cross roads village suddenly developed into a city. It has become famous as a tourist winter resort. Its population in 1890 was 4,882; in 1900, 9,117.

POMONA.

Pomona was founded by the Los Angeles Immigration and Land Co-Operative Association. This company bought twenty-seven hundred acres of the Rancho San José, lying along the eastern border of Los Angeles county. The town was laid off in the center of the tract. The remainder of the tract was divided into forty-acre lots. The town made a rapid growth at first, but disaster overtook it. First the dry season of 1876-77, and next a fire that swept it almost out of existence. In 1880 its population had dwindled to one hundred and eighty persons. In about 1881 it began to revive and it has made a steady growth ever since. It is the commercial center of a large orange growing district. Its population in 1890 was 3,634; in 1900, 5,526.

SAN BERNARDINO.

San Bernardino was originally a Mormon colony. In 1851 one hundred and fifty families were sent from Salt Lake to found a colony or a stake of Zion. The object of locating a colony at this point was to keep open a line of communication with some seaport. San Bernardino was near the old Spanish trail which let out through the Cajon pass. Goods could be transported to Salt Lake from San Pedro at all seasons of the year, which could not be done to Salt Lake over the central route westward or eastward during the winter. The leaders of the Mormon colony, Lyman and Rich, bought the San Bernardino rancho from the Lugos. A portion of the land was subdivided into small tracts and sold to the settlers. The Mormons devoted themselves to the cultivation of wheat, of which they raised a large crop the first year and received as high as \$5 per bushel. The colony

prospered for a time, but in 1857 the settlers, or all of them that would obey the call, were called to Salt Lake by Brigham Young to take part in the threatened war with the United States. The faithful sold their lands for whatever they could get and departed. The gentiles bought them and the character of the settlement changed. The city of San Bernardino has an extensive trade with the mining districts to the east of it. Its population in 1890 was 4,012; in 1900, 6,150.

RIVERSIDE.

Riverside had its origin in the colony era. It began its existence as the Southern California Colony Association. In 1870 an association, of which Judge John W. North and Dr. James Greves were leaders, purchased four thousand acres of the Roubidoux rancho and adjoining lands, aggregating in all about nine thousand acres. This was subdivided into small tracts and sold to settlers at a low price. A town was laid off and named Jurupa, but this being difficult of pronunciation its name was changed to Riverside, which eventually became the name of the settlement as well. An extensive irrigating system was constructed and the cultivation of citrus fruits became the leading industry. The Bahia or Washington navel orange has made Riverside famous in orange culture. It was propagated by budding from two small trees sent by the Department of Agriculture to a citizen of Riverside. The city of Riverside in area is one of the largest cities of the state. Its boundaries include fifty-six square miles. Its corporate lines take in most of the orange groves of the settlement. By this means municipal regulations against insect pests can be better enforced. The population of Riverside in 1890 was 4,683; in 1900, 7,973.



BIOGRAPHICAL





Samuel P. Bell

SAMUEL BOOKSTAVER BELL.

Samuel Bookstaver Bell was born in 1817, in the town of Montgomery, Orange county, N. Y. He was of Scotch and Huguenot lineage, his father, Archibald Bell, being descended from a Scotch ancestor who immigrated to America from Scotland, and his mother, Pamela Mills-paugh, from a family of Huguenots who came over from Holland with Hendrik Hudson. His father and mother both passed away at advanced ages, being over eighty years old.

Samuel B. Bell was born a student, and from a child took special interest in natural science and in search after religious truth, being naturally of a religious turn of mind. His early ambitions were for political distinction and when he applied himself to legal studies it was only for the purpose of attaining political advancement. He studied in his native town, in Brooklyn, and in New York City, and was admitted to practice as an attorney in the supreme court of New York; conscientious scruples, however, prevented his engaging in the actual practice of law, and he voluntarily surrendered the profession which had cost him so much time and labor, and upon which as a youth his heart was set, and engaged instead in teaching, taking charge of educational institutes both in his native state and in Kentucky.

Having always been a close theological student and deeply interested in the religious problems of the time, he at length resolved to become a preacher of the Gospel, offered himself to the Presbyterian church as a candidate for the ministry, and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Onondaga, N. Y., in 1852. He was then ordained as an evangelist, and in November of that year was sent by the American Home Missionary Society as one of their missionaries to the Pacific coast, the company consisting of eight mission-

aries and their families, six, of whom Dr. Bell was one, destined for California, and the other two for Oregon. He sailed from New York in the clipper ship Trade Wind, a magnificent vessel of thirty-four hundred tons burden, and after a most eventful voyage of one hundred and five days landed in San Francisco. During the passage the ship was on fire for ten hours; a mutiny broke out among the sailors so serious that the ringleaders were taken to San Francisco in irons; a sperm whale of the very largest kind struck the prow of the ship head on and set everything aback; they were struck by a "white squall" off the coast of Buenos Ayres, which tore the sail to tatters and snapped the yards like pipe-stems, while the electric phenomena during the storm were very striking—bodies of fire playing around the masts like "spirits of the storm." The voyage was enlivened by the weekly issue of the Trade Wind Observer, a manuscript paper, of which Dr. Bell was editor in chief; some of the articles were of superior merit and found an extensive circulation in the eastern journals.

Upon his arrival in California Dr. Bell commenced his work as a Presbyterian missionary on the shores of San Francisco bay, just opposite the city of San Francisco, where Oakland now stands. Here in addition to his regular work as a missionary Dr. Bell has left his record in various ways. He bought and rang the first bell that ever called the people to religious services in that locality; it was an old steamboat bell, and was hung on the corner of a fence under a live oak tree, which was frequently his meeting house. He built the first Presbyterian church edifice upon the coast, and organized what is now one of the most flourishing churches in the Union: he was also one of the founders and procured the char-

ter for the College of California, now the University of California. He represented his district in the California senate and house of representatives for three years, giving efficient service and leaving his imprint upon the legislation of those years in the Homestead law, in the board of regents, the bill for creating it being introduced by him, and in his efforts to lighten the enormous burden of compounded interests. He was also president of the first Republican state convention convened in California, one of its members being Colonel, afterward General, E. D. Baker, who was killed at the battle of Ball's Bluff during the Civil war. Dr. Bell preserved a lively recollection of the flush times in California, when gold was so plentiful that men were apprehensive that it would soon become valueless; and of those days of crime and lawlessness which necessitated the organization of the vigilance committee, a body that was in session day and night for six months, and of which Dr. Bell said: "It was the only exhibition of perfectly irresponsible power I ever beheld, and yet it may be said that during all those months it never committed a blunder or made a mistake."

After a residence of nearly ten years in California, during which time, however, he had visited the east, Dr. Bell prepared to take up his ministerial work in the eastern states, and in 1862 left the Pacific coast for New York by the overland route. This was his first trip across the great American desert, and it was upon this occasion that he made the acquaintance of Brigham Young, and formed his opinion of Salt Lake and Mormonism from personal observation. He was treated with the utmost consideration by President Young, saw the "Chief of the destroying angels," and enough to convince him that it was not even safe for him to think while in Salt Lake or vicinity, lest some "destroying angel" should cut the thought out of his heart, and did not really feel secure until he had left Mormondom miles behind. The telegraph wire had just been stretched across the continent, and the first news conveyed to California was the death of Gen. E. D. Baker, Dr. Bell's old colleague in the California state convention. The doctor was greatly impressed with the almost omniscience of the

little instruments which he found clicking away on their dried mud tables at every station where he stopped to change horses on the overland route; and his description of these telegraph stations, and the manner in which he used to send messages and receive replies from all over the continent during the ten minutes spent in changing horses were highly dramatic.

Upon reaching the east Dr. Bell tendered his services to General Hooker, then in command of the Army of the Potomac, but was not permitted to go to the front. The same year (1862) he became pastor of the Fiftieth Street Presbyterian Church in New York City, and was an eye witness to the terrible riot which occurred there the following year, upon an attempt to force the draft ordered by the United States authorities. Dr. Bell received the intelligence of the fall of Vicksburg and the Union victory at Gettysburg while delivering the Fourth of July oration at Jersey City in 1863, and was at first disposed to regard the telegram as a hoax, considering the news too good to be true; but when convinced of the truth he soared into patriotic flights of eloquence, for he was a gifted orator. He was frequently called upon to deliver historic and patriotic addresses, and was always acceptably received. He pronounced the eulogy upon General Baker, before the California house of representatives; the Thanksgiving sermon on the day appointed by President Lincoln before the union churches in New York City; an oration at Cooper's Institute before the Orangemen of New York; and the address of welcome at Army hall upon the return from the war of a regiment from his native county. He also delivered the annual address before the California State Agricultural Society, the address before the State Editorial Convention, at Ithaca, N. Y., besides numerous addresses at the laying of corner stones, before colleges, universities and other learned bodies; before the Masonic orders, political conventions and mass meetings, and at commemorative military and festival occasions, many of which were printed and widely circulated.

Dr. Bell was a member of two general assemblies of the Presbyterian church of the United States, one at Baltimore and another at Pitts-

burg. Before the assembly at Pittsburg he delivered by invitation of that body, a very fine lecture on California, and another on the same theme before the Synod of New York and New Jersey. From New York City Dr. Bell was called to the pulpit of the First Presbyterian church of Lyons, Wayne county, N. Y., and from Lyons to the Presbyterian church in Hillsdale, Mich. From Hillsdale he removed to California, having accepted a chair in Washington College, Alameda county, which he resigned to become pastor of the First Congregational church of Mansfield, Ohio, holding the pastorate there for several years. From Mansfield he removed to Kansas City, Mo., as pastor of the First Presbyterian church there, and remained for a number of years. From Kansas City he returned to California and, in Santa Barbara, lived a retired life, passing away in 1897, in his eighty-first year.

Dr. Bell was made a Mason in 1848, held various offices of trust in the lodge; was grand lecturer of the Grand Lodge of California, and an honorary life member of Live Oak Lodge, No. 61, F. & A. M., of Oakland, and of Templar Lodge, New York City, having been so elected by those bodies for services rendered. In politics he was born a Democrat, his father having been a life-long member of that party; but upon arriving at manhood he cast in his fortunes with the Whigs until the organization of the Republican party, of which he was ever a supporter. He carried the first district that ever gave a Republican majority in California, consisting of Alameda and Santa Clara counties. This was when he was elected to the senate during the Fremont campaign, and this was the only district in the state so carried.

Dr. Bell was married in his native town, in 1845, to Miss Sophia Brown Walworth, a descendant of the same family from which Chancellor Walworth, of New York, descended. Of this union seven children were born, namely: Hodie B., deceased, who married J. P. Martin, and had two sons, Wisner B. and William P., of New York City; Hal, a prominent attorney of New York City, who is married and has two children; Edward Walworth, a merchant of Liverpool, England, who is married and has six children;

Sadie Pierson, who was born in San Francisco, and in womanhood became the wife of F. C. Havens, at the time of her death leaving four children, all now residing in Oakland, where they were also born: Wickham, Harold, Said and Paul; Harmon, of whom a brief review is given on another page of this volume; Durant, who was born in Oakland and died at the age of seven years; and Benjamin Pitman, born in Oakland and now engaged in business in New York City.

Dr. Bell was a man of positive convictions, an absolute believer in the divine person and works of Christ, and thoroughly assured of the unqualified truth of orthodoxy. He was the idol of his large congregations and esteemed as a man of charity of mind and catholicity of spirit. He appeared as a born theological champion in his pulpit, had a powerful constitution and one of the most genial and sociable men to be found. His experiences and adventures were themes of never failing interest to the listener, and he was a captivating conversationalist. Dr. Bell made the journey to California five times, crossing the great desert, by Panama, and by Cape Horn. His name swells the roll call of men who build for all time, and whose interests are of such practical and essential nature that their successors must follow closely in their footsteps or lag behind in the march of progress and civilization. The superstructure of his life was founded upon the resources of a great, new state, and upon those universal principles of toleration and humanity which man, from the age of civilization, has cherished as his highest ideals. He was the most devoted friend of education that California has ever had, encouraging a high standard and personally interesting himself in its development. He was a man of great generosity of heart, contributing liberally and cheerfully of his means toward the relief of suffering wherever he beheld it. The record of his well spent and noble life is one to which his descendants should revert with pride, conscious of the knowledge that he is entitled to a conspicuous place in the historical literature of the state of California, in whose early development he took so active and important a part.

THOMAS CUFF.

Thomas Cuff came to California at the time when law and order had not become a part of the civilizing influences, and the impressions made upon him at that terrible time have never faded from his mind. He was born in County Dublin, Ireland, in 1830, and in 1856 he set out for the Mecca of the Pacific coast, traveling from New York by way of Cuba (where he spent a few days) to Panama, and arriving there at the time of the great riots in which so many emigrants were killed and robbed of their possessions. The scene was indescribable, the naked, savage natives adding terror to the passengers, who were searched, robbed and maltreated. Mr. Cuff was relieved to arrive in San Francisco without personal mishap, but in this city, too, he found a riotous time. The law-abiding citizens were attempting to subdue the desperate characters which infested the town, but there was always an element which called for the most extreme measures and it was thus that so many men were hanged, often an innocent man suffering for the crimes of the guilty.

A very short time was spent in San Francisco, when Mr. Cuff came to Oakland, and finding employment on the claims of various squatters he devoted his time to that work. With his accumulated means, in 1858 he purchased fifteen acres of land for \$40 an acre, this being a part of the present site of Oakland. He has continued to make his home here ever since, gradually disposing of his property, until he now retains but one acre. A part of the property he traded for a ranch of two hundred and twenty-three acres in Contra Costa county, which he has since sold. He has erected a comfortable home and otherwise improved the property which he still owns. He rose to a position of respect in the community and in 1886 was appointed to the office of road overseer, ably discharging the duties for the period of two years, when he was elected to the same office and following this received the same honor until he had served for seven years.

In Westchester county, N. Y., January 20, 1856, Mr. Cuff was united in marriage with Miss Maria A. Fagan, a daughter of Patrick and Ann

(Agan) Fagan, and they became the parents of the following children: Thomas Franklin, who died at the age of thirty years; Amanda, Mrs. Frank Valarga; Clara L., an oil and china artist; Matilda, who died at the age of twenty-nine years; Napoleon F., of Oakland; and Charles Alexander, at home. Matilda was married in September, 1891, to Frank L. De Soto, a member of one of the old distinguished Spanish families of California. Mr. Cuff and his wife are the grandparents of eight children.

ROBERT VICKERS DIXON.

The success achieved by Robert Vickers Dixon has been entirely the result of his own efforts, for with nothing but a substantial education, ability and a progressive spirit he set out in the world to conquer fate. He is a young man, practically just launched upon his business career, having been born in 1875, in Belleville, Kan. His father was Brigadier-General Adam Dixon, of New York City, a veteran of the Civil war, who was taken prisoner at Gettysburg and sent to Libby prison, where he remained for eighteen months, escaping by digging his way out. He won distinction during his service and enrolled his name among the foremost men of the nation. His mother is still surviving and makes her home at No. 1772 Twenty-first avenue, East Oakland.

Robert Vickers Dixon received his early education in the public schools of Kansas and Nebraska, then took a normal course in college, and finally completed his education by a thorough business training in the Gem City Business College of Quincy, Ill. After leaving school he began as a law stenographer and reporter, and later began teaching in various commercial colleges of the middle west. Upon coming to San Francisco in 1899 he took charge of the shorthand department in the San Francisco Business College and held the position until 1903, when he resigned in order to establish the Dixon College in Oakland. This was consolidated in



Harmon Bell

1906 with the Heald College and took the name of the Heald-Dixon Business College. Mr. Dixon now acts as the business manager of this school, which is one of the best in this section of the country, each department being under the head of a thoroughly efficient instructor, equipment modern and up-to-date, and everything bespeaking the character and ability of the men who are at its head. Besides these interests Mr. Dixon has stock in the West Coast Printing Company of Oakland, and serves on its board of directors, has invested in real estate here, in stock in the German Bank, and also in the mines of California and Nevada.

Mr. Dixon was married to Miss Mattie Hanslip, of Osage City, Kan., the daughter of Dr. E. W. Hanslip, formerly a capitalist of that place and now deceased. In his fraternal relations Mr. Dixon is quite prominent, being a member of Oakland Lodge No. 188, F. & A. M., the Modern Woodmen of America and Knights of Pythias, in the last-named organization having held all the chairs. He takes a keen interest in the business affairs of Oakland, and is a member of the Chamber of Commerce.

HARMON BELL.

To attain so honorable a place in the community as has Harmon Bell is to live worthily and improve the opportunities within the reach of one's ability and industry. Without doubt the surroundings of his youth had much to do with formulating those principles of truth and uprightness which are the keynote of his character and have been the stepping stones by which he has reached his present high standing in the legal profession. On the paternal side he is a descendant of Scotch and Huguenot stock, and through a long line of sturdy ancestors the sterling qualities of both are exhibited in his well-rounded character. For a more complete history of the family the reader is referred to the sketch of his father, Samuel

Bookstaver Bell, which will be found on another page of this history.

Harmon Bell is a native of his home city, having been born in Oakland March 23, 1855, the son of Samuel B. and Sophia B. (Walworth) Bell, their family consisting of seven children, of whom Harmon was the fifth in order of birth. Up to the age of ten years he attended the schools of Oakland, and thereafter continued his studies in the east, whither the family removed, the father having been called there to take charge of a pulpit and engage in other ministerial work. After attending various schools and colleges he determined to concentrate his efforts in preparing for the legal profession, and in Mansfield, Ohio, he entered the office of Judge Durlam and began the study of law. He completed his training in the office of Judge Turner A. Gill, of Kansas City, Mo., and in 1878 was admitted to practice. In that city he at once established an office and began the practice of his profession, meeting with splendid success from the first, and during the twenty years of his residence and labor there became known as one of the most prominent and successful attorneys of the state. The year 1898 witnessed his removal to the Golden state and in San Francisco he opened an office and began the practice of his profession in the west. As in the east his efforts met with justifiable success, his thorough understanding of the intricacies of the law, coupled with an impartiality of judgment and keenness of discrimination, gathered about him a large clientele composed of many of the best and most responsible business men of the city and surrounding country. Shortly before the fire in 1906 he had established an office in Oakland, and here as elsewhere he has built up a large and remunerative practice. In addition to maintaining his general practice he also acts as legal adviser for various large interests, among them being the Oakland Traction Company and the Key Route.

In 1880 Mr. Bell was united in marriage with Miss Catherine Wilson, who was a representative of one of the old pioneer families of California, and whose parents, A. C. J. and Margaret Wilson, were prominent in the business and social circles of Santa Barbara. The marriage of Mr.

and Mrs. Bell resulted in the birth of four children, two of whom, Walworth and Marjorie, died in early childhood. The eldest son, Traylor W., an attorney-at-law, is associated in business with his father, and Joseph Samuel is still pursuing his studies. With his family Mr. Bell belongs to the First Presbyterian Church of Oakland, whose charities he supports with a liberal hand. In the line of his profession he is identified by membership in the San Francisco Bar Association and also the Alameda County Bar Association, while fraternally and socially he is a Mason of the Knight Templar degree, belongs to the Mystic Shrine, the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, and the Native Sons of the Golden West. In keeping with the characteristics of thoroughness and clear understanding which mark all of Mr. Bell's efforts he has decided opinions upon political matters and is a stanch advocate of Republican principles. While a resident of Kansas City he served one term in the Missouri legislature. Mr. Bell's wide experience and successful practice have placed him among the leading attorneys of the state, and have won for him the respect and esteem of all with whom he has been brought in contact, a just tribute to his unerring devotion to his chosen profession. In his personal make-up he has been endowed largely with those qualities which inspire confidence, is genial and affable, and all who know him may feel honored to number him among their friends. Large hearted and liberal by nature, he is a supporter of all public movements and of all measures that will promote the general welfare.

SYLVANUS DEXTER WATERMAN.

Prominent in the educational life of Berkeley is S. D. Waterman, superintendent of the city schools for the past ten years and during that period an important factor in the progress and development of the schools. Mr. Waterman is a native of Maine, his birth having occurred in Litchfield, September 14, 1842; his father's fam-

ily were among the earliest settlers in Massachusetts, and his mother's people are connected with the best families of England and Scotland. In the academy in his native town Mr. Waterman prepared for Bowdoin College, from which institution he was graduated in August, 1861, just one month before he was nineteen years of age. He then enlisted in Company I, Third Massachusetts Regiment Infantry, and after serving his time of enlistment in the army went west and settled in Louisville, Ky. During his three years' residence in that city he was a teacher and the principal in one of the ward schools. Going thence to Greencastle, Ind., he held the position of superintendent of public instruction for two years, and at the expiration of that time (1870) he removed to California. For twenty years he was engaged in high school work in Stockton, and for several years prior to his removal to Berkeley was principal of the school. The Stockton high school, during Mr. Waterman's regime, was one of the first schools in the state to be accredited by the University authorities. Upon his removal to Berkeley in 1890 Mr. Waterman assumed the principalship of the high school, and in 1898 was elected city superintendent, holding the office for the past ten years and discharging the duties incumbent upon him with an efficiency and faithfulness which have won him a wide friendship among the patrons. He has taken a prominent part in all public affairs and in 1882 was the Republican candidate for the office of state superintendent of public instruction, but was defeated with the remainder of the ticket.

Mr. Waterman is a prominent Mason, belonging to Durant Lodge No. 268, F. & A. M., Berkeley Chapter, R. A. M., and Berkeley Commandery No. 42 K. T. He belongs to Lookout Mountain Post, G. A. R., of Berkeley. He has also been associated with the Odd Fellows, being a member and past grand of Charity Lodge No. 6, I. O. O. F. Mr. Waterman assisted in securing the Carnegie library for Berkeley and was for several years president of the Library Board. In June, 1908, he resigned from the superintendency and assumed the principalship of the Whittier grammar school in Berkeley. He is

always to be found on the side of progress and development, whether along educational or municipal development, ready with time, means or influence to advance the welfare of the general community.

CHRISTIAN RUSS.

The history of the Russ family, of whom the California emigrant was Christian Russ, before the days of statehood, presents interesting and decidedly uncommon features, and is an admirable practical illustration of the axiom that in union there is strength, for father and sons worked together for a half century in the accumulation of a competence which placed them among the foremost men of San Francisco and the surrounding country. The immediate ancestors of Christian Russ were respected and patriotic Poles, who, forced from their country by political oppression, had settled in Germany. There Christian Russ was born early in the nineteenth century, and after a common school education learned the trade of silversmith. He was married in his native land, after which, in 1832, he immigrated to New York City. There he was very successful in business and accumulated a fortune of \$45,000, only to be robbed of the entire amount and reduced almost to want. With the absolute necessity of starting life anew, Mr. Russ decided to immigrate to California, doing so on the advice of his warm friend, Captain Sutter, who had written to him of the attractions of this then little known country. Accordingly Mr. Russ and his three sons, Adolphus, Charles and Augustus, enlisted in Colonel Stevenson's regiment of New York volunteers, and arranged for the comfort of his wife and youngest son and daughter on the voyage in the famous ship *Loo Choo*, which left New York on the 26th of September, 1846. The journey was made in safety and on March 27, 1847, Mr. Russ sought the office of the alcalde of San Francisco with the immediate intention of securing several building lots, and after securing the information necessary on the subject consummated a purchase

for three lots at \$17 each, which price included the cost of deed and its recording. On this site now stands the well-known Russ house, afterward the monument of the industry and energy which characterized Mr. Russ' career during his years of residence in this city.

With the help of his eldest son, Mr. Russ constructed a temporary house from the timbers of a dismantled ship at a point now known as Pine and Montgomery streets, and there first established his home. The following year a more substantial structure was erected in its place, and here was opened San Francisco's original watch repairing and silversmith's shop. Mr. Russ was the first artisan to work California's gold into jewelry and soon became widely known as an expert on the fineness and character of the virgin metal. The profits of the business rapidly increased and were invested in real estate and improvements. As the physical aspects of San Francisco changed, Mr. Russ found himself a very wealthy man. He erected a more suitable dwelling house, built the American hotel and afterward the Russ house, besides many buildings designed for residential and mercantile purposes. The prosperity which attached itself to Mr. Russ immediately after his arrival in California and until his death in 1857, was due mainly to his inherent qualities of perseverance and sound judgment; his policy, as he became more wealthy, of constantly adding to his holdings of real estate and improving them, was one that could not fail to bring him a substantial increase in his prosperity. In all the busy periods of his life he never failed to impress upon his sons the value of unity of purpose and of action, and through his precepts the energies of his sons as well as his own were combined in one common effort for advancement.

Of these sons, the eldest, Adolphus G., and the youngest, Henry B., were noted examples of their father's precepts. Adolphus G. Russ was born in Germany January 10, 1826, and being the eldest of the family, ably proved himself a help to his father in all his later enterprises, and materially assisted him in the accumulation of his large wealth. He was always a popular man with his fellow-citizens. He inherited his fa-

ther's sterling qualities and love of benevolence, and was very active in the early days of San Francisco's growth. In every movement tending to redound to the welfare of the city, he has always taken a prominent part. In 1864 Mr. Russ was made captain of the state militia and proved an excellent soldier. In 1868, during the incumbency of Governor Haight, he was elected to the legislature and served one term. The fire department, now one of the finest in the country, was originally organized in 1850 through the efforts of Mr. Russ, who was an active member of the Old Empire company, of which David C. Broderick was the serviceable foreman. For ten years Mr. Russ served as a director of the German Benevolent Society and was largely responsible for the widening of the field of its usefulness. He is a member of the Pioneer Society and perhaps there is no living man more familiar with its records. November 30, 1851, Mr. Russ was united in marriage with Miss Frances Simon, and they have five children now living. As Mr. Russ approaches the evening of life, it must prove the source of the liveliest satisfaction to him to look back and realize the part he and his family have enacted in the creation of this wonderful city by the sea. He has been a friend to historians of the pioneer days and has never hesitated to assist any creditable effort in this line.

The youngest son, Henry B. Russ, was born September 25, 1840, at Mt. Hope, on the Hudson river, in the state of New York. Brought to California in childhood, he was enrolled among the first pupils of the first public school in San Francisco and was taught by several of the famous educators of those times. His education was completed in the University of the Pacific at San Jose, of which a Mr. McClay, a competent instructor, was the president. Mr. Russ began his mature life as an engraver, but forsook that artistic occupation to enter the wholesale house of Mebius, Duesenberg & Co. The senior member of the firm had married Mr. Russ' only sister and was one of the leading merchants on the Pacific coast. At the expiration of seven years Mr. Russ retired from the firm and in 1865 was married to Miss Hammersmith, a native of Indi-

ana, after which he formed a partnership with J. E. Hammersmith, his brother-in-law, and the two opened a mercantile establishment in the Russ house. The firm passed out of business in 1868, immediately following the earthquake, and the former partners, with their families, went abroad, remaining in Europe for five years. During his stay on the continent Mr. Russ traveled extensively. He visited the Vienna Exposition, where he studied exhaustively famous art galleries and scenic attractions of note and interest. On his return to San Francisco he became interested in the practical management of his father's estate. In 1881 he was elected a supervisor for the tenth ward on the Republican ticket, and in 1890 declined the nomination for auditor. Mr. Russ followed closely in the footsteps of his father in many respects, manifesting an interest in his home city that resulted in the upbuilding and development of many important enterprises. In his younger days he was quite an athlete and his name is honorably associated with the foundation and growth of the famous Olympic Club of San Francisco. He held every position in the gift of the club, from that of president to treasurer, including that also of director. It was Mr. Russ who made it possible for the club to purchase the lot and erect its present magnificent quarters on Post street. On the eve of his departure for Europe in 1869 the club presented him with a life membership and a diamond-studded gold badge, and wished him bon voyage by giving a magnificent ball in his honor. It is only a just encomium to say, that up to the time of his death, March 20, 1906, Mr. Russ held a high place among the representative citizens of this section of California, having in addition to his many engrossing business interests been one of the most liberal supporters of the German Benevolent Society, the Art Union and any number of philanthropic causes, and he had endeared himself to thousands of persons by private and noteworthy acts of charity.

The fourth son of Christian Russ, Frederick Russ by name and a resident of Claremont, was born on a farm in Hudson county, N. J., December 13, 1837. As he was less than ten years of age when the family came to the west, he re-



J. Williams

ceived his education after locating in California. Much of his education, however, has been gained through his extensive travels, which have taken him to almost every country in the world, he having spent twelve years abroad, the greater part of which time was spent in Europe. By his marriage, which was solemnized in Oakland, two sons were born, Frederick G. and Ralph A., both of whom are married and each has a son. Frederick G. resides in Oakland, where he is engaged in the real estate business, and Ralph A. is an expert concrete contractor, residing in San Francisco. During the Spanish-American war he served as a member of the Seventh Regiment California Infantry, under Captain Geary.

JOSEPH LEWIS WILLCUTT.

Joseph Lewis Willcutt, one of the early pioneers of California and a prominent figure for years in its most substantial upbuilding and development, was born July 9, 1829, in Boston, Mass., a descendant of Puritan stock, who settled in the Bay state during colonial days. His parents, Levi and Sarah (Beal) Willcutt, were both natives of Cohasset, Mass., the father born January 24, 1797, and the mother March 6, 1799. The father went to Boston about 1812, where, after learning his trade, he carried on business for thirty-five years or more as a housewright and shipjoiner, his death occurring December 21, 1861. The mother, who died in Boston, May 11, 1862, was a descendant of John Beale (as the name was originally spelled), who, with his family, came from the Parish of Hingham, England, in the ship *Diligent*, and arrived in Boston August 10, 1638. His wife was a sister of Rev. Peter Hobart, the first minister of Hingham, Mass., and the author of the *Hobart Journal*. Mr. and Mrs. Willcutt had two other sons, George Beal, who died in 1858, and Levi Lincoln, a resident of Brookline, Mass. The latter, in 1853, with two associates, established the New England Roofing Company for the manufacture

of felt roofing materials, a new and heretofore undeveloped industry, which afterward attained to large proportions throughout this country. Later he incorporated the New England Felt Roofing Works, with which he has been connected for fifty years—twenty years as treasurer and thirty years as President of the Company.

Inheriting the sterling traits of character which distinguished those of his name during the colonial and Revolutionary period of our country, Joseph L. Willcutt early sought the development of the talents wherewith nature had blessed him, and although he loved study to a degree, yet he left school at the age of fourteen, resolved to begin his lifework and with a creditable ambition to make a name for himself. With this end in view he not alone began work, but continued his studies and by reading and experience gave himself the thorough command of the many branches which have contributed to his success during the passing years. He early acquired a taste for mechanical arts, and about his father's work and under his tuition he gained a considerable insight into mechanical appliances, which has proven of great value to him in many ways in connection with his railroad experience. His first independent work was in a shoe and leather warehouse in Boston, and after being engaged thus for four years he accepted a better position with a manufacturing company.

He severed his connection with this firm in 1852 in order to come to California, then the Mecca for all ambitious dreamers, and took passage on the steamer *George Law*, afterward called the *Prometheus* and lost under that name; crossed the Isthmus by rail from Aspinwall as far as the railroad was then completed, then by small boat up the Chagres river to Gorgoua, and from that point by mules to Panama, whence he took passage on the old steamer *California*, the pioneer steamer to round Cape Horn in 1849. On the *California* were many returning Californians, among them Charles R. Story, Hall McAllister, William Burling, Commodore Sloat of Monterey fame, as well as others, all now deceased. The trip was without incident until the steamer had nearly reached its destination, when off the island of Anacapa it met with an accident to the machin-

ery and put into San Pedro under sail, where many of the passengers, among them Mr. Willcutt, went ashore and visited Los Angeles. This was then a far different place from the famous southern city of the present day, being, in fact, a village of the old Mexican type with its few adobe houses. A report of the steamer's mishap having been sent to San Francisco by pony messenger, relief was sent down and the steamer was brought to San Francisco in tow of the English steamer Unicorn, then owned by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, in command of Captain Lappidge, arriving on the 7th of May, 1852.

It was not long after Mr. Willcutt's arrival that he secured employment with the old-established firm of Flint, Peabody & Co., who in addition to being engaged in a commission business were agents for Glidden & Williams' line of clipper ships, which sailed on regular dates from Boston. He remained with that firm in a confidential capacity until the close of 1860, when he formed a business copartnership under the firm name of Cox, Willcutt & Co., and engaged in the hide and leather business, attending to the interests of the firm in the eastern cities for some two years.

In 1865 the office of Secretary of the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad Company was offered him, which road, then but just completed, extended between these two cities, and formed the first link in the chain of the present Southern Pacific Railroad. Mr. Willcutt accepted this position and withdrew from the mercantile pursuits which had occupied his attention up to that time. His well-known business experience was of great value to the company at this time; financial troubles overshadowed them and business skill was required by the officers of the company in every department. He continued as Secretary of this Company until its consolidation with the Southern Pacific Railroad Company in 1870, when he was elected Secretary of the new corporation. Shortly after he was elected a Director of the Company, and these two offices he still holds, as also the same offices in several affiliated Companies subsequently organized.

In addition to these engrossing interests, he has also been identified with the street railroad

system of San Francisco, having been connected with the Market-Street Railroad through all its changes after it ceased to be operated as a steam road. He was elected Secretary of that Company in 1866, which position he held until April, 1900. He was also a Director and the Manager of the road during most of the period of his connection with it, and later, in addition to his other duties, was appointed General Manager of the several street railroads later acquired by the Southern Pacific corporation, some five or six in number, and which are now the property of the United Railroads of San Francisco.

The growth of San Francisco and of the street railroad business is vividly illustrated by the fact that when he first became connected with the Market-street road, half a dozen ordinary street cars were sufficient to convey the passengers traveling over that route, whereas now some four hundred and fifty large electric cars are run upon the various lines of the United Railroads. Also, when the San Francisco and San Jose Railroad was completed but two trains were run daily between San Francisco and San Jose, while now the Southern Pacific is operating about twenty-five trains each way between these points, the running time of which has been reduced from two hours and a half in 1864 to one hour and ten to twenty minutes at the present time.

Mr. Willcutt was happily married in 1855, his wife passing away with the close of the year 1902. He has three children, two sons and one daughter. The eldest son, George B. Willcutt, a graduate of the state university in the class of 1879, was engaged in metallurgical work for some years, but later entered the street railway business, having been secretary of the United Railroads of San Francisco since its organization and also holding a similar office earlier with the Market-Street Railroad Company. The younger son, Harry V. Willcutt, a graduate of the Commercial High School of San Francisco, has also been engaged with the same corporations in responsible positions for many years past. Mr. Willcutt's daughter was married in 1886 to Frank L. Parker, a prominent man in railroad circles, having been connected with the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe from 1878 to 1883, when he went

to the City of Mexico at the opening of the Mexican Central Railroad, as its general freight and passenger agent, where he remained for two years. He then went to Chicago and became assistant general manager of the Erie Dispatch (fast freight line). In 1891 he was appointed general traffic manager of the Great Northern Railroad, which position he resigned in 1893 to join his brother in a manufacturing business in Worcester, Mass., in which city he died in 1895. Mr. Willcutt has two grandsons, both students in the University of California, one, Harry H. Parker, studying to become an electrical engineer, and the other, George H. Willcutt, pursuing the study of medicine. He also has one granddaughter, Besie E. Willcutt, who is about to commence her educational career.

Mr. Willcutt is distinctly a pioneer and very interesting are his reminiscences of the conditions under which they labored in the early days. When he first arrived in San Francisco everything was in the most primitive state possible, the facilities for traveling the streets being most meager. The northern part of the city was of adobe soil and the southern part sand, while east of Montgomery street, where passable for teams the streets were planked. Some of the streets, however, could be used only by pedestrians, as the walks consisted of a row of driven piles upon which would be placed a stringer and upon this a walk constructed by nailing crosswise board or plank four or five feet long. As there was no rail or protection of any kind to these narrow walks and persons were continually passing and repassing and the boards would occasionally become loose and drop overboard, it made it very dangerous to travel on dark and foggy nights, yet an accident was rarely heard of, so accustomed had the people become to be on their guard and learn to jump the missing plank with precision. This was the only way of passing on Battery street, between Sacramento and Pacific streets, up to the time of the construction of the custom house in 1854, the appearance of which at the time of the laying of the foundation of the building was that it was being erected in the water. Front street from Broadway south as far as occupied was at that time planked and so

furnished a good roadway for teams to and from the water front, there being but limited wharf accommodations at that time. The most difficult and unsatisfactory roads at all times were the adobe, hard and uneven in summer until well worn, and sticky and gummy in the rainy season. At one time when flour and tobacco had been shipped in such quantities to San Francisco that they were a drug on the market, the original packages were used for making sidewalks and street crossings in the adobe soil, in the vicinity of Montgomery and Jackson streets. Mr. Willcutt mentions as a familiar sight in the early days that he has seen wagons stuck in the adobe soil up to their hubs during the winter rains, and there they were allowed to remain until the dry season permitted their being dug out and removed, the drivers feeling themselves in luck to get their horses out without expending more than their value.

Mission street (then called Happy Valley) was first opened up and built upon from about First to Third streets, and also Second, from Market to Folsom streets, yet Market street opposite Montgomery and beyond was only a sand heap, and as early as 1852 squatter troubles commenced in this vicinity. Mr. Willcutt was at that time boarding on Mission street, just below Second, and on his way home evenings had been accustomed to take a trail through the then unoccupied block facing Sutter, Montgomery and Market streets. When he reached this point one evening he found it fenced with a top rail only, so he slipped under it and had made but little advance when two men sprang upon him with guns aimed at him. He was quickly informed that he was trespassing and told to get out as fast as he could, which order he reluctantly obeyed, getting new bearings by following along the new fence, the only light on Montgomery street at that time being at the corner of California street.

With a growing demand for a road for good driving, a franchise was obtained for a plank road on Mission street, which in due time was constructed, the toll gate being placed at Third street, then considered quite out of town, and on Mission street many attractive houses were after-

ward built. Three or four years later anywhere beyond Eighth street was called the Mission, which was then considered about as far away from the business section of San Francisco as San Jose now is, and a person who dared to live as far away from his work as the Mission district would be likely to be asked if he went home every night. The "Red Bus" line was then running out Mission street to Sixteenth (then Center) street, the fare being ten cents on week days and twenty-five cents on Sundays.

Pertinent to the subject of street widening, which was much discussed in regard to Montgomery street after the great fire, which practically destroyed all the buildings upon that street, it may be interesting to many to know that such an important street and great thoroughfare as Kearny street now is, was originally laid out and occupied at only half its present width. The jewelers and largest dry goods stores were located on Montgomery street, while the smaller stores of all kinds occupied Kearny street and the streets leading to Montgomery. The City Fathers of those days, however, saw that with the natural growth of business, Kearny street would soon require greater facilities for handling the business of a growing city, and in the early '60s decided upon the widening of the street, which they took early steps to accomplish. The City was among the first property owners to act in the matter and moved back the fence of Portsmouth square, thus permitting the abandoned portion of the square to be used as a public street. Gradually other property owners on the west side of the street followed in the improvement, until block after block presented the sight of new stores on the present line of the street. During the time this change was being made it was a singular sight to see some of the old stores remaining in the middle of the new street and doing business, while to their rear were modern buildings of a permanent character.

The arrival of steamers in the early times can never be forgotten, so fraught were they with importance and interest in the lives of the first settlers. The approaching arrival of steamers, as well as vessels of every character, were signaled from Point Lobos to Tele-

graph Hill, where there was a signal station, a variety of signals having been adopted for the purpose of identifying the character of the vessel arriving. These were closely watched about the time a Panama steamer was due and when the steamer signals were displayed it was soon noised about and business to considerable extent was suspended in many of the stores and offices. Those who could leave their business went to the mail dock to learn the news and see whether they had friends on board the arriving steamer. Others who had not heard from home for a long time started direct for the postoffice, questioning in their minds how long the general delivery line would be when they reached there, and whether they would be fortunate enough to receive a letter, and much pleasure as well as excitement was often shown in such anticipation.

The departure of steamers was of a different character, though partaking of the nature of a partial holiday to many, owing to the previous few days having been more or less a strain upon them. The day previous to the sailing of the steamer was called "steamer day." On this day first came the collection of bills due, as, in protection of their reputation, remittances had to go forward by the morrow's steamer for goods sold by the commission merchants. If monies due the merchant were not paid on the promised steamer day, he had to resort to his private purse or arrange with his banker for the deficit. Accounts of sales then had to be made up and exchange bought, which was followed by the writing of letters, and as these matters could not be closed until evening, the correspondence and mailing of letters would frequently run well through the night.

As to shipments received by sailing vessels in the early days, they consisted of everything from a box of candles to a large street car, as well as many of the early pilot boats, which were brought on ships' decks; nearly everything eaten, everything worn and everything used in any way were among the shipments received during the pioneer occupation of California. The street cars were at first shipped in sections,—sides, ends, roof and floor,—owing to the ship's hatchway being small; but as newer ships were built, they were pro-

vided with large hatchways which would permit taking a car between decks and this enabled the builders to afterwards ship cars whole. On the decks of the many ships fitted up by Mr. Willcutt's father in 1849 and earlier were small structures for the stabling of horses en route, usually about a half dozen to a ship, and a number of portable houses for residences were carried between decks. Up to the time of the late fire a number of these houses brought out thus could be recognized in the vicinity of Mission and First streets, and were then apparently still in good condition. The first ships arriving were of the old style, and many of them never left the harbor through the desertion of their crews and otherwise, but were used as storeships and for other purposes, many being occupied as living places for several years by men employed on the water-front, while the "Prison-brig" preceded "Broadway Jail." The ships arriving later were new and of the clipper type. In 1853 and 1854 an immense amount of goods arrived which carried the prices down very low, the house of Flint, Peabody & Co. alone having had fifty-two vessels consigned to them in the year 1853.

Often vessels entered the harbor in groups of a dozen or more; reaching the Farallones they would be detained by fog or calm and there remain until the fog cleared or a slant of wind would spring up and bring them all in together. Then there was a scramble for wharf accommodations, as with the vessels then at the wharves a part of the ships had to await their turn for a berth until the others were discharged.

The water supply of San Francisco was another important matter in the early times. Water for the shipping came from Sausalito, water boats being regularly engaged in the business. Residences received their supplies from water carts, the requisite number of pails being delivered every day to families as agreed upon. The water carts were supplied from artesian wells which were bored from time to time about the city. San Francisco had a large number of cisterns constructed in different localities which were filled for fire purposes, and it was said that the maintenance of a number of such cisterns about Mr. John Center's property at the Mission

was the means of saving his many buildings from the conflagration of 1906.

Mr. Willcutt has been distinctly a citizen, taking the keenest interest in all matters of public import, although in no sense has he ever been a politician. During the citizens' movement following the disbandment of the vigilance committee, he was sent as representative with William C. Ralston, to voice the views of the citizens of the eleventh ward in convention, but this was rather a spontaneous demand for pure officials than an ordinary political movement. Upon his return to San Francisco from the East, in 1863, he joined the Home Guard, a military organization, the formation of which was demanded by the conditions existing at that time, and which was composed of the principal merchants and many professional men of that city. They supplied themselves with Enfield rifles and served until the close of the Civil war, their services being required on many occasions.

When asked what the general feeling was in regard to the organization of the vigilance committee, Mr. Willcutt, who was well acquainted with and had close business relations with many members of that organization, stated that the formation of the committee was considered a necessity in order to rid the community of objectionable men, owing to the lax methods of the courts in the punishment of criminals, and the number of bad characters about town that managed to avoid arrest for crimes. Those under arrest who had been guilty of murder were taken from the jail by the committee and, after a trial, hanged, and other criminals were banished from the state, all of which met with the hearty approval of the people. He relates the experience of a member of the first committee who said to him that when it was decided that a few executions would be necessary, he was delegated to procure a suitable rope and have it ready on call. He purchased one and took it to his room on Kearny street, and when on the evening of the tenth of June, 1851, the bell of Monumental Engine House rang out the signal, he threw the rope over his shoulder and hastened for Portsmouth Square, not knowing what kind of a reception he would

be met with. Two blocks had not been covered before a crowd had gathered and was accompanying him with shouts of approval as they saw the rope and surmised from the continued signals of the bell what use it was to be put to, and within a few hours the hanging of Jenkins had taken place on the west side of the plaza, or Portsmouth Square. This action of the Committee was followed by the hanging of Stuart and others, and as it became known that it was their intention to rid the city of all desperate characters, many became frightened and fled to places of safety. The city having thus been practically cleared of criminals, the committee ceased active operations, it being understood that certain of them would maintain a watch over municipal affairs, and should occasion require would call the committee together again.

This did occur in May, 1856, when the community was aroused and excited over the shooting of James King of William of the *Evening Bulletin* by James P. Casey, in revenge for an article published in that paper reflecting upon his character. Casey was at once taken to a police station, where it was soon seen that it was not a safe place to keep him, as the crowd upon the streets was fast increasing and shouts of "Hang him!" were heard from all sides. The officers at once decided to remove him to a place of greater safety, and the county jail being the only one of any security, he was taken there without the knowledge of the crowd and placed in charge of the sheriffs' officers. Mr. King lived but six days after being shot. In the meantime the vigilance committee had reorganized and formed about three thousand armed men into companies, and after many conferences with the governor of the state and the municipal authorities, had peaceably removed from the county jail to the committee rooms Casey and one Charles Cora, who had murdered United States Marshal Richardson. The execution of these two men was witnessed by Mr. Willcutt. They were each placed on a platform extending from the second story front windows of the committee rooms, a few windows apart. Casey was dressed in an ordinary suit, and addressing those before him in an earnest way claimed that

he was not a murderer, that his faults were because of his early education, and dwelt upon the effect his death would have upon his poor mother. Commencing in a firm voice, it finally gave way, and from his gestures, continued repetitions and wild actions, it was generally believed he was working for time, in the belief that his life would be spared at the last moment, through the interference of the United States authorities, rumors to that effect having been current at the time, in event of the committee attempting any executions. During the time Casey was talking, Cora stood apparently unconcerned and as straight as an arrow, dressed in a full dress suit, with pinioned arms, and when asked if he had anything to say, merely shook his head. The hangmen's nooses were then placed around their necks, caps drawn over their faces, and at a signal the ropes supporting the platform were cut upon the roof of the building, and the two men were dropped into eternity, the bodies swinging around for some time with the untwisting of the new ropes.

Mr. Willcutt mentions as well a second hanging he also witnessed a few weeks later. Nearing the committee's rooms he found that gallows had been erected on a vacant lot, on the opposite side of the street, to which two men were soon brought, the armed committee forming lines of enclosure. There was a decided difference in the actions of these two men, one named Hetherington and the other Brace. Hetherington had killed a man in some business dispute and desired to explain how it occurred, and while so engaged, Brace, who was a very profane man and much younger, kept interfering and making profane remarks. As there was a hangman and an assistant, the latter, finding that he could not quiet Brace in any other way, stepped behind him and gagged him with a handkerchief until Hetherington had completed his remarks, when, as Brace had nothing but curses to offer, the ropes were adjusted about their necks, the platform bolts drawn and the two men launched out of the world.

Referring to the stabbing of Officer Hopkins of the Vigilance Committee by Judge Terry, he said he witnessed the surrender of Terry to the

Vigilance Committee and saw him safely landed at the Committee rooms.

Explaining how the armed committee formed, he said that upon an alarm being sounded, a rush was made by the members for "Fort Gunny-bag," when guns were handed out and the members directed where to go. In this case it was to form a hollow square on Clay, Kearny, Jackson and Dupont streets, and as the men reached that locality they readily found their respective companies. When officers were sent to arrest Terry, he took refuge in an armory of one of the State military companies on Dupont street, between Washington and Jackson streets, and when a sufficient number of the committee had arrived he was notified that the armory was surrounded by armed men and given ten minutes to surrender under the threat that if he did not the armory would be broken into and he would be captured. He then decided to surrender and was taken to the rooms of the Vigilance Committee.

When asked if he had seen any deaths by shooting in the early days, Mr. Willcutt said the only instance was that of a once noted character known as "Billy Mulligan," who wound up his career by getting on a spree and committing some offense for which officers went to arrest him. He was at the Globe Hotel, southwest corner of Dupont and Clay streets, and when the officers entered the building to go to his room he ran out into the hall, and with pistol in hand shot down the stairway, wounding one of the officers, and retreating to his room threatened to kill any one that entered. This report was made to the chief of police, who stationed some officers at the windows of the building diagonally opposite, armed with rifles and with instructions to shoot Mulligan on sight. Mr. Willcutt, being in the vicinity at the time, and hearing of the trouble, went to the locality and soon saw Mulligan approach one of the windows and look out, when crack went a rifle, and Mulligan fell dead from a shot in his forehead. So prominent was he with the fire lads, that his body lay "in state" at one of the engine houses until the funeral services were held.

As to violent deaths in the early days, he said there were many caused by duels, which

were frequent from 1851 until 1854, the custom continuing less frequently, however, until 1859. Of these many duels none was more noted or excited more interest than the fatal meeting in 1859 between David C. Broderick and David S. Terry, one a United States Senator and the other Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of this State, the cause of the quarrel between them arising from a speech made by Terry, who belonged to the Lecompton wing of Democracy, in which he called Broderick an arch-traitor; this was resented by Broderick, who belonged to the Douglas wing, and he thereupon cast reflections upon Terry's honesty. A meeting having been arranged by the friends of the respective parties (Broderick feeling that a duel could not be avoided with honor), all were at the appointed place at the time agreed upon, and the principals took their positions. The weapons used were pistols with fine hair-triggers, and after having answered "ready" and call "one" announced, Broderick's pistol was accidentally discharged before he brought it to a level, the bullet striking the ground two-thirds the distance between himself and Terry. Notwithstanding this Terry took deliberate aim and shot Broderick in the breast, and fearing the shot would not prove fatal it was said that he stood erect with an enquiring look as though waiting a demand from his seconds for another shot. Broderick lived three days after being shot, and his death was considered a public calamity. The funeral services were held on a Sunday afternoon in Portsmouth square, an immense concourse having assembled on the plaza and surrounding streets, with the knowledge that Col. E. D. Baker was to deliver the funeral oration. Mr. Willcutt says that the clear and distinct voice of Colonel Baker was at its best and that the worthy tribute he paid to his dead friend will never be forgotten by those who heard him—closing the oration with the following beautiful sentiments: "But the last words must be spoken, and the imperious mandate of Death must be fulfilled. Oh, brave heart, we must bear thee to thy rest; thus surrounded by tens of thousands we leave thee to the equal grave;" then following with a few lines of poetry, in his magnetic

voice, he feelingly emphasized the final words, "Good friend! True heart! Hail and farewell!"

The services of Mr. Willcutt in the upbuilding of San Francisco from the days of its infancy cannot be expressed in words; the evidence is in existence in many different ways. That he occupies a foremost position among the citizens of both San Francisco and Oakland (to which city he removed to make his home in 1875) is an evidence of the value of those services, the character of the man and his worth as a citizen.

He was never permanently connected with any church. His parents having settled in Boston, the family attended the old Park Street Congregational church, one of the noted landmarks of that city at the present time. After the arrival in San Francisco in 1860 of that patriotic, eloquent and noted Divine, Rev. Thomas Starr King, Mr. Willcutt became attracted by his interesting discourses, and with his family attended the Unitarian Church for many years.

Mr. Willcutt, along with a host of early pioneers, felt keenly the great disaster of 1906, resulting in the destruction of the magnificent city which he had seen gradually arise from the ashes of the fire of May, 1851, but knowing the pluck and will of the inhabitants of the great cosmopolitan city of the Pacific coast, and the facilities for rebuilding which did not exist in the early days, he predicts the rapid reconstruction of the destroyed city, grander and more substantial than before.

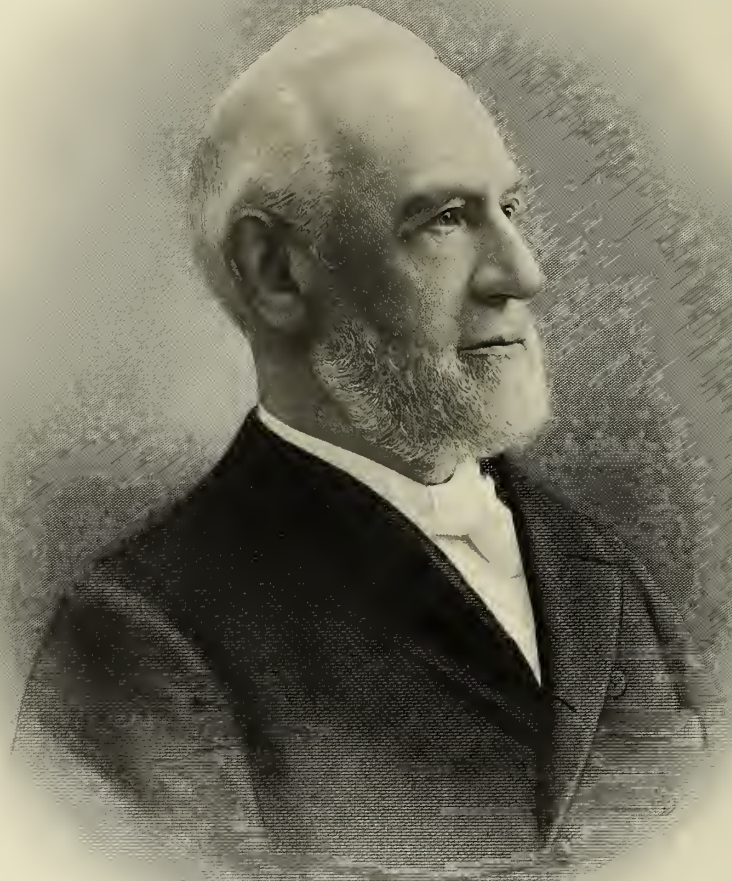
He is now approaching the twilight hours of life, when rest and recreation will be his due because of the early activities of his manhood years; it has been said of him, and truly, that he can look back without regret to the past years and the road over which he has traveled thus far, for he has brought to bear in his daily life those high principles of honor, honesty and uprightness which were a part of his inheritance from a Puritan ancestry, dealing out to all men the justice which he expected and demanded, ever tempering justice with mercy and practicing a consideration which is not commonly found among men whose lives have been so replete with important undertakings.

He is charitably inclined, holding a ready and helping hand to those less fortunate than himself. Genial and kindly in temperament, he has won a host of friends among the older as well as the younger generation, all appreciating the sterling traits of character which have distinguished his career both in public and private life.

FREDERICK T. AND NANCY JOSEPHINE HOUGHTON.

Both of the names which head this brief review are those of California pioneers, long residents of the state and during the many years of citizenship most potent factors in the development of resources and upbuilding of public interests. Mr. Houghton, who is now prominent in mining circles, was born in Massachusetts April 15, 1825, and there received a common school education, besides which he attended the Manual Labor Training School at Worcester. In manhood he went to Florida and lived there three years, and then came to California, this being in famous '49. After his arrival in the state he followed mining for a time, after which he came to San Francisco and engaged as a wholesale merchant in the willowware business. The home of Mr. Houghton and his wife was located in Oakland, on the block bounded by Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets, Washington and Clay, which was owned by Mrs. Houghton's mother, and where she set out the first locust trees planted in Oakland. A considerable portion of their time has been passed in Mariposa county, in Hornitos township, where Mr. Houghton owns two quartz mines.

In Oakland, in 1859, Mr. Houghton married Nancy Josephine Moore, who was born in St. Louis, Mo., April 19, 1844, a daughter of John T. and Mary (Hickman) Moore, both natives of Pennsylvania. The father, a descendant of Scotch ancestry, was a pioneer of California in 1852, coming via the Isthmus of Panama in quest of fortune. He engaged in mining for some time in Nevada, being one of the discoverers of the Bodie mine, while he also became interested later in the New Almaden mine in Santa Clara. His



Isaac L. Regua

home was in San Francisco for some years, and he was there a member of the vigilance committee and in many other ways sought the establishment and maintenance of law and order. While in Esmeralda county, Nev., he served as justice of the peace. His death occurred in Placerville, near which he had established his home, being then sixty-five years of age; his wife survived to the age of seventy-eight years. Four daughters came to California: Mrs. Elizabeth C. Roff, formerly of Pomona, Cal., and who died at the age of seventy-five years; Martha E. Scott, deceased; Mary M. Hayes, residing in Pomona; and Nancy Josephine Houghton. The last-named came to California at the age of ten years to join her parents, and here received her education through an attendance of the public schools of San Francisco and also the Mrs. Blake Seminary of Oakland, after which she met and married Mr. Houghton. They became the parents of twelve children, namely: Mary Elizabeth, widow of Daniel P. Clark, residing with her three children, John P., Josephine and Nina, on Eighteenth street, in East Oakland; Nannie Moore, wife of Louis Peterson, of Catheys valley, Mariposa county, and mother of three children, Louis A., Margaret Josephine and Helen May; Frederick Samuel, a railroad man of Bakersfield, who has four children, Clayton Frederick, Irene, Arnold and Hattie; Lincoln Moore, a resident of Oakland; Martha W., wife of J. B. Appling, on Twenty-fifth street, near Broadway, in Oakland, with two living children, Naomi and Ruth; Edith M. Ivy, who has one daughter, Gladys, and resides in Oakland; John Grant, a resident of Bakersfield, Cal.; Helen M., deceased, and twin of Florence B., wife of William Wallace Coltrin, of Calistoga, who has two children, Arnold and Martha; William S., who lives in Oakland and has one son, William McDonald; Daniel Arnold, deceased; and Lillian M., at home. All the children but Mrs. Appling were born in California, she being born in Massachusetts.

Mr. and Mrs. Houghton have been associated for many years with the social life of Oakland, in which they have both taken a prominent part. He is a Mason, having been made a member in

Live Oak Lodge in 1859 and afterward became a charter member of Alcatraz Lodge, and before any chapter of the Eastern Star was instituted in Oakland, both Mr. and Mrs. Houghton had conferred upon them in 1860, by J. W. Whicker, the degree which admitted them to membership, and later Mrs. Houghton was instrumental in forming Centennial Chapter, now known as Unity Chapter, of which she was the first matron. She is now demitted. She is not associated with other fraternal societies, although her father was a prominent Odd Fellow, the oldest in the state and in fact in the United States, and in Humboldt county was a factor in the organization of Arcata Lodge. In religion Mr. Houghton is a Spiritualist and his wife was a member of the Presbyterian Church until after the demise of Rev. Dr. Hamilton.

ISAAC LAWRENCE REQUA.

Among the early pioneers whose lives have left a definite impress on the history of the state none is more worthy of mention than the late Isaac Lawrence Requa. He came of a long line of ancestry, and part of his inheritance was those sterling qualities of mind and heart which gave him the courage to succeed in his life work, and the intelligence to carve out a future worth while for himself and for those dear to him. Mr. Requa's ancestors were Huguenots, who fled from France to England and thence to America, settling in New York state in 1689.

Isaac L. Requa was born in Tarrytown, on the Hudson, November 28, 1828, his father being Jacob Requa and his mother Eliza Lawrence. The Lawrences of Westchester county descended from three brothers who immigrated to the colony of New Amsterdam in 1641. They had previously left England for a settlement in Holland. Lawrence is a favorite family name in the Requa family, and Mr. Requa's grandson bears the honored name of Lawrence Requa. Isaac L. Requa lived up fully to the traditions

of his family. A sentiment has been passed on to later generations, reading:

“To all who bear the honored name of Requa,
 ‘Only the actions of the just
 Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.’”

The Revolutionary roll of honor is of absorbing interest, and its history is identified with the stirring events which brought freedom to our great nation.

Isaac Lawrence Requa obtained his early education in the district schools of Tarrytown, going later to the Newman Academy, situated on the spot where the Requa forebears captured Major Andre. At the age of eighteen he went to New York City, and was one of the brave young men to answer the call of the far west. His ancestors before him, knowing no fear, had crossed the seas in frail barks, and he felt the call stirring in him also, and answered California's call. The “days of forty-nine” saw him in a sailing vessel, bound around the Horn for California, one of the most upright, one of the bravest and most courageous of those pioneers who laid the foundation of the Golden State. The history of the days of forty-nine is well known to later Californians. They were days of excitement, days of adventure, days of charm. Men lived strenuous lives, full of danger; they were crude lives, along primitive lines, but they brought out character, and tested men's nerves and hearts as did no other days of this historic time. Isaac Requa fearlessly pushed his way from the first, and even from the sailing days of the Atlantic and Pacific men respected him, and many were proud in those primitive days, when all were equal, to call him their friend. It is a fascinating chapter of life that one might read in those early fifties. It tells a story of a life of hardship, of toil, of privation, but it tells a story, too, of splendid effort, of success won by intelligent work and superb endurance.

Early in the fifties Mr. Requa determined to devote his energies to mining, and in 1861 he went to Virginia City, and on the famous Comstock lode he found the beginnings of the great fortune which rewarded his years of work. But it was not the fortune which so profoundly in-

fluenced his life. In 1863, in San Francisco, he married Sarah J. Mower, to whom he was most devotedly attached. Their life for the long span of years they spent together was an exceedingly happy one. Mrs. Requa presided over an ideal home, and Mr. Requa remained the lover husband, whose devotion to his wife, a devotion that was truly returned, brightened one of the most beautiful homes in the land. In the rude mining district of Nevada they established their first little home, and though it was on primitive lines, in all Nevada there could be found no happier little home. Mrs. Requa was an ideal home keeper—homekeeping was always her great gift—and they were both proud of their little home, and happy in it always. As fortune smiled upon them and their mining interests grew greater, Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Requa came to California and selected a site for their future home on the beautiful hills of Piedmont, and here “Highlands,” the historic home of the Requas, was built. Beautiful grounds have been developed around it and the house has been a landmark all these years. It has been one of the most beautiful country homes on the coast, a home in which Mr. Requa found ideal happiness, and over which Mrs. Requa presided with much dignity, and with the genuine kindness which meant much to her friends and relatives, for in all their prosperity the Requas never forgot old friends. The latchstring was always out for friends, old and new. And as wealth grew apace it meant much to others, for the Requas, happy in each other and in their beautiful home relations, developed a rare sympathy for others. They were unspoiled in the midst of all that fortune showered upon them. Mrs. Requa was always foremost in every work of charity, and her name is historic in the annals of Pacific coast history. One sees her charitable efforts beginning in the early history of Nevada, in the founding of the little church at Gold Hill, and later, in Oakland, in the Old Ladies' Home, and in the Fabiola Hospital. Their records show days of unselfish devotion and of generous contributions to needy causes. Of the individuals who have been helped, their history is written only in the grateful annals of human hearts. Perhaps no

woman in California has the executive ability of Mrs. Requa, managing as she does, and giving personal supervision to one of the largest estates in California. The same fine executive ability, joined to great human sympathy, found a typical expression in the magnificent work accomplished for the soldiers in the Spanish-American war. Thousands of soldiers as they arrived in San Francisco, exhausted from the long overland journey, were fed and clothed at the ferry building, and saved from serious illness. Through Mrs. Requa's splendid efforts the Convalescents Home for sick soldiers returning from the Philippines was established, and many a family was comforted and assisted in war time by the generous help of both Mr. and Mrs. Requa. In all her philanthropies Mrs. Requa had always the sympathetic assistance of her husband, his approval and appreciation of her work, and she, in turn, has been the inspiration for much that has made him a power in the social and business world.

"Highlands" has stood for the highest ideals in family life; human interest has centered about it, and its social prestige has remained undimmed. With such an environment it was natural that Mr. Requa, strong of mind and true of heart, should have developed successful business interests along many different lines. He was for years interested in most important mining properties on the Comstock lode; he was for years superintendent of the famous Cholar-Potosi mine, and superintendent of the Gould and Curry mine; he had for many years little to do with mining stocks, but he believed heartily in all legitimate mining, developing mines rather than stock speculations.

In the political world also Mr. Requa was a power, having given much time and thought to the management of public affairs in Nevada. He worked consistently for the success of the Republican party, in whose principles he thoroughly believed. In Nevada he received the nomination of the Republican party for the senate, but was obliged to decline on account of business engagements. He was for many years chairman of the Republican state central committee, and contributed liberally to his party, both of his

time and means. For a number of years he was a member of the governor's military staff of Nevada, holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was interested in the big railroad undertaking of the Huntington-Stanford-Crocker combine. For fourteen years he was president of the Central Pacific Company and was also a director in other Huntington lines during the life time of the late Collis P. Huntington. For several years Mr. Requa was president of the Oakland Bank of Savings, and responsible in many ways for its present stability. He was also a member of the Masonic fraternity, of Knight Templar degree.

Few lives have been fuller of well ordered activities than have those of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac L. Requa. They have been true as steel to their friends, kind and generous to all about them, unspoiled by Fortune's gifts, great of heart, looking out on the world of wide horizons. And when the day came that Mr. Requa answered the great call a beautiful life went out, a life full of purpose, that had stood always for the best things our world may know. At Highlands Mrs. Requa bravely carries on the work left for her to do, and the two children, Mark L. Requa and Amy Requa Long, bid fair to represent in highest measure the ideals passed to them by their much loved father.

Mark L. Requa married Miss Florence Her- rick, and has three promising children, and one of the most representative homes about the bay. Though a comparatively young man he has achieved great financial success, and is the type of America's forceful young men of which our nation is so justly proud. Amy Requa became the wife of Gen. Oscar Fitzalen Long, the latter widely known in military circles, a brave soldier, and a man of wide sympathies and sterling character. They have two charming daughters, Amy and Sally Long. Mrs. Long is a young matron of fine intellectual development, a splendid musician, and she represents in high measure the characteristics that are expected from the only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Isaac Requa.

It was the pioneers of "the days of forty-nine" who laid the foundation of California's pros-



Geo. E. Jenkins

In Oakland, in September, 1855, Mr. Morse was united in marriage with Miss Virginia E. Heslep, a native of Illinois, who accompanied her parents to California in childhood. They became the parents of seven children, but of this number only two are now living, Emma, the wife of Mathew de la Montanya, and Anna, the wife of C. F. MacMullen, both of Oakland. A son, George B., died at the age of forty years, leaving three children. Mrs. Morse passed away in 1907. In 1872 Mr. Morse erected a beautiful residence at the corner of Hanover and Newton avenues, his property at that time consisting of a ranch of eleven acres. He has always taken a great interest in mines and mining, and at the present writing has large interests in Nevada, California and Oregon, with which he became associated in 1882. In 1861 he became associated with the Oakland Guards, of which he was captain for about ten years, and afterwards he was appointed to the staff of the Major-General of California with the commission of lieutenant-colonel. While serving as provost marshal he had many thrilling experiences, both during the enrollment and prior to the draft made during the war. Since coming to Oakland he has been deeply interested in the city's upbuilding, and has contributed liberally toward all its public improvements. In every sense of the word he has proven himself a loyal, patriotic and earnest citizen, and is justly entitled to a place among the representative pioneers of the bay section of California.

GEORGE CLEMENT PERKINS.

A record of the life of George C. Perkins, United States senator and former governor of California, is in some respects a chapter in the history of the rise and progress of California. It is now (1908) a little more than a half century since he first cast his lot with the inhabitants of California, and, by reason of his identification with the development of its various resources during the constructive period of the

state, and his intimate association with its most vital interests from the early history of its statehood, he has been regarded as one of its representative citizens, whose experience in the affairs of the state and in the numberless enterprises with which he has had to do, entitles his opinion on questions of general public interests to thoughtful consideration.

Mr. Perkins' earliest recollections take him back to the seaport town of Kennebunkport, Me., where he was born August 23, 1839. Of English descent, his ancestry can be traced back to the days when Sir Ferdinand Georges received from James II a patent to the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels and was appointed governor-general of New England. Among the earliest settlers of Maine, the forefathers were men of powerful physique, well fitted to withstand the rigor which was but an incident in the lives of those early settlers, who, without exception, lived beyond the scriptural allotment of three score and ten years. His father, Clement Perkins, engaged as a sailor and officer of vessels trading with the West Indies, and along the coast of New England. He owned several small tracts of land, but such was the impoverished condition of the soil that it was only by the use of seaweed and other fertilizers that a fair crop could be obtained. While Mr. Perkins points with pride to his paternal ancestry, his antecedents on the maternal side are no less distinguished, his mother, formerly Lucinda Fairfield, being a relative of Governor Fairfield, and, also, Governor King, the first governor of Maine after its separation from Massachusetts.

Mr. Perkins recalls his early boyhood training as one of the most rigid, and, in some respects, cheerless experiences of his life. Before and after school, which he attended three months out of the twelve, he worked on the home farm or that of his uncle Stephen, and the remainder of the year was spent in a similar manner. The duties, which were irksome in themselves, were made more so from the fact that they had no bearing whatever upon the chief ambition of his life, namely, to become captain of a vessel. With this idea ever in his mind, he devoured whatever information he could find in the line of mathe-

matics, geography and navigation, and when only thirteen years of age applied for a position as cabin boy on the new ship *Lizzie Thompson*, about to sail for New Orleans. Meeting with refusal on account of his youth, he secreted himself on the ship, and, after leaving port, on being discovered, was made a cabin boy. If his young dreams of the sailor's life had been devoid of hardship, his disappointment must have been great, for perils and hardships were the rule rather than the exception during the first four years of his experience. He made seven voyages between New Orleans, other ports in the United States and Europe. If his experiences could be recounted they would read like a romance. During one of his voyages on the ship *Luna* he fell in with an old sailor who had recently returned from California, and it was largely through the persuasions of his shipmate that he determined to seek his fortune in the Golden state. Looking back over the years that have intervened he recalls the thrilling experiences while rounding Cape Horn on the clipper ship *Galatea*, and among his cherished possessions is a painting of the old ship on which the voyage was made.

In common with thousands of others, Mr. Perkins was attracted to the mines by the reports of fabulous wealth which his predecessors had secured. He remained in San Francisco only long enough to earn the money to provide himself with the necessary equipment to proceed to the interior. Working his passage to Sacramento, he walked from there to Butte and Sierra counties, carrying his blankets and provisions on his back. An experience of several months at placer mining in Butte, Plumas and Sierra counties, lessened his mining ardor considerably, but nevertheless he went to the Fraser river, excitement in that region then being at its height. Still unsuccessful, and with funds exhausted, he wisely decided to give up mining entirely and once more made his way to Sacramento, working his passage on a steamboat. From the latter city he walked to the mining camp of Ophir, now Oroville, Butte county, where for a time he drove a mule team and later worked as porter in a store. Frugal habits and the exercise of rigid

economy at last resulted in the accumulation of \$800, which, in addition to \$1,200 borrowed from friends and acquaintances, was used in the purchase of a ferry at Long's bar. On selling out a short time afterward he realized a profit of \$1,000. Later he accepted a clerkship with the firm for which he had worked at a salary of \$60 per month, and it was not long before he started into business in a small way on his own account. Ambitious for still greater progress, he erected a flour mill, and, through strict attention to business, liberal and fair dealing, gradually increased his operations until his trade in general merchandise, produce and provisions amounted to \$500,000 annually. When it is remembered that he at this time was little more than twenty years of age, it leaves no room for doubt that he possessed indomitable spirit and that his early successes were but the foreshadowing of a more prosperous career.

Besides interesting himself to some extent in lumbering and mining, raising and selling live stock, at Chico, in 1873, in connection with N. D. Rideout and others, he established the Bank of Butte County, becoming a director, in which capacity he has continued to the present time. Later, an association was formed with the firm of Goodall & Nelson, the name becoming Goodall, Nelson & Perkins, this in time becoming incorporated as the Goodall, Nelson & Perkins Steamship Company, and finally becoming merged into the Pacific Coast Steamship Company. From a nucleus of two or three small steam vessels, they added to their capacity as increasing business demanded, until twenty-one steamers under their name plied the coast from Sitka, Alaska, to Mexico. Mr. Perkins was also largely interested in a railroad which extended from Cuffey's Cove to the redwood timberlands of Mendocino county, besides being president of the Pacific Coast Railway, whose course ran through Santa Barbara and San Luis Obispo counties, terminating at Port Harford. The interests of the corporation known as Starr & Co., operating flour mills at Vallejo and Port Costa, were greatly augmented by the business experience and conservative judgment of Mr. Perkins, who was one of the directors, holding the same

office in the California State Bank at Sacramento, the First National Bank of San Francisco, the latter ranking among the strongest financial institutions on the Pacific coast. Mr. Perkins is an active member of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco, the California State Board of Trade and other commercial organizations. He was president two terms of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Art Association, and he has been a trustee of the Academy of Sciences since 1880. He is also a member of the principal social and literary clubs in San Francisco, Oakland and in Washington, D. C.

While Mr. Perkins has been a successful merchant, farmer, miner and sailor, it is in the capacity of the "servant of the people," a title which he is proud to bear, that he has won his most lasting laurels. His political career may be said to date from 1860, at which time he cast his first vote, this being for Abraham Lincoln for president of the United States. On the ticket of the Republican party in a very strong Democratic district, he was elected to the state senate in 1869 for the senatorial district of Butte county, serving in the sessions of 1869-70 and 1871-72. This service was followed in 1873 by his election as a member of the same body to fill the unexpired term of Senator David Boucher, who had died in September, 1872, the latter's district covering Butte, Plumas and Lassen counties. His record in the state senate was creditable to the state of California, as well as to himself. The encomiums of praise which arose as the result of his faithful public service came alike from Democratic and Republican sources, all agreeing that his liberal ideas, business-like methods and independent thinking, wherein was found no trace of self-seeking, made him an ideal public servant.

One of the greatest honors which can fall to an American citizen is to preside over the affairs of a sovereign state as its chief executive. This honor came to Mr. Perkins in 1879, when he was elected governor of California, having a plurality of more than twenty-two thousand votes over each of his opponents, a record unparalleled in the history of California politics. In his inaugural address his remarks were first

directed toward agricultural and mining industries, but a later and no less important topic was mentioned when the prison-labor question was under consideration. Under the old constitution the contracting for state prison labor was to cease January 1, 1882, but through the recommendation and efforts of Mr. Perkins was established one of the most important industries carried on in any penal institution in the state, namely, the great jute bag manufacturing industry at San Quentin. During his career as chief executive of the state he saw many measures spring up and bear rich and wholesome fruit, but in none of them did he take more pride than in the fact that during his administration the state prisons had become practically self-supporting. The jute mill established at San Quentin and the granite quarry at Folsom were successful, and the grain sack manufactured at San Quentin was superior to those imported. During his administration many public buildings were erected, among them being the normal schools at San Jose and Los Angeles, besides additions to the State University, the insane asylums at Stockton and Napa, and the institutions for the care of the deaf and dumb and blind at Berkeley. If there was any cause for doubt as to the policy pursued by Mr. Perkins during his administration, time and subsequent events in the history of the state have demonstrated that the many new questions to be considered by the adoption of a new constitution (which went into effect in 1880), with its many radical changes were successfully piloted over a rough sea beset with many dangers to the ship of state. In 1886 he was one of the Republican candidates for United States senator, and although he received a large vote, the choice fell to Leland Stanford. In the first year of Mr. Stanford's second term Mr. Perkins was appointed (July 24, 1893) to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the former, taking his seat in the United States senate on the eighth day of August in the same year. In January, 1895, he was elected by the state legislature on the first ballot to fill the unexpired term, discharging his duties for nearly two years before he became a regular candidate for the ensuing long term of senator. In the fall of 1896, as a

candidate, he received endorsement from Republican county conventions comprising a majority of the senatorial and assembly districts of the state, and in January, 1897, was re-elected by the legislature on the first ballot. A re-election followed in 1903, his popularity being tested by receiving every vote of the Republican members of the legislature, while his election was made unanimous upon a motion from a Democratic member. At the time of his election, both in 1897 and in 1903, he was absent from the state, attending to congressional duties in Washington, D. C. Senator Perkins is chairman of the committee on Civil Service and Retrenchment, chairman of the sub-committee on Fortifications and Coast Defense, and high in rank on the following important committees: General Appropriations, Agriculture and Forestry, Commerce, Fisheries, Forest Reservations and the Protection of Game, and he is ranking member of the committee on Naval Affairs.

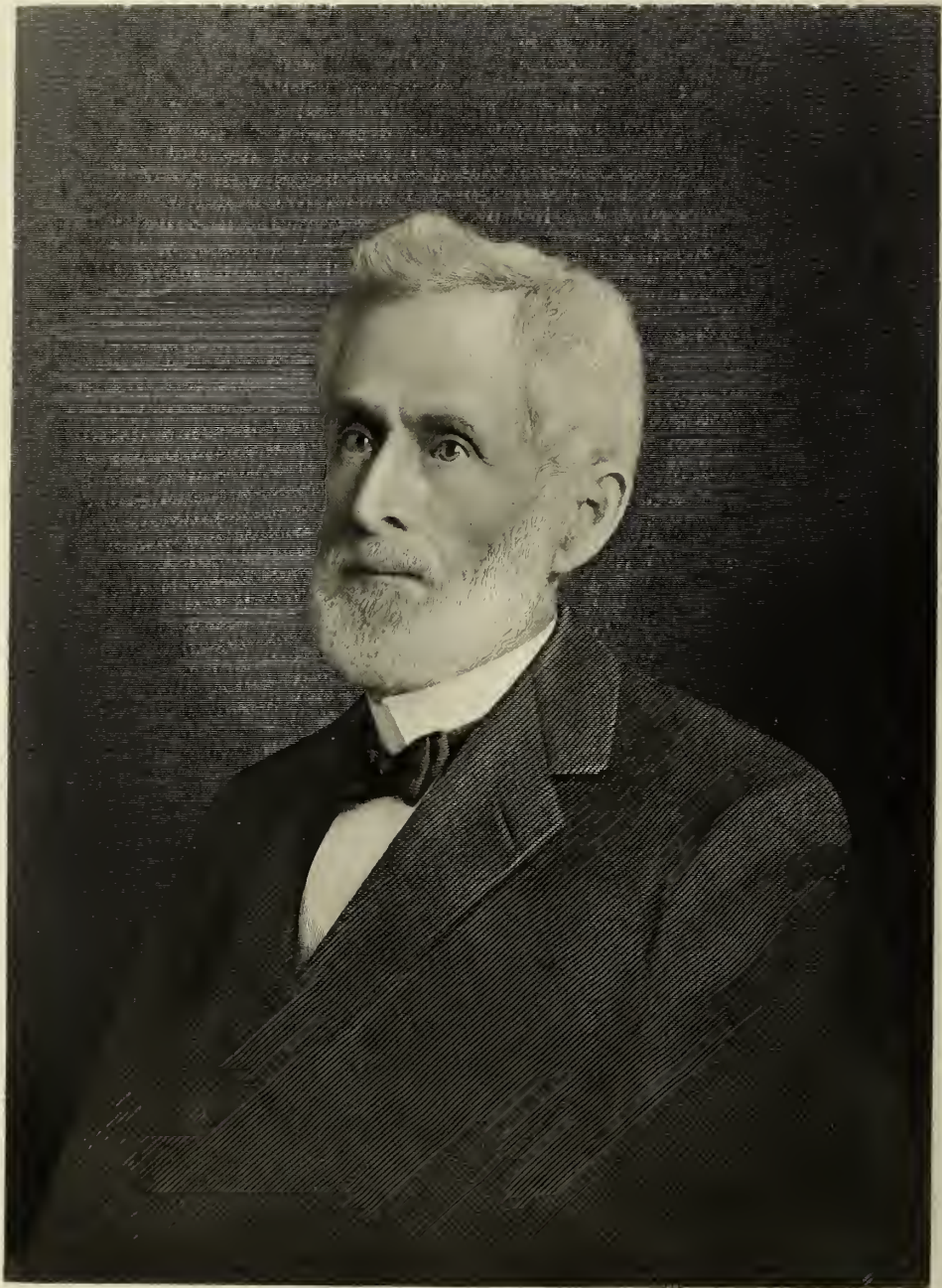
If one characteristic more than another is prominent in the makeup of Senator Perkins it is the altruistic spirit which he shows in whatever he undertakes to do. Many there are to-day who can rise up and call him blessed for the words of encouragement and good cheer, to say nothing of financial assistance, which have been bestowed at the critical moment, when hope had fled and life seemed not worth the living. People of wealth were aroused from their inertia by his stirring lectures in behalf of the churches and benevolent institutions during the course of his official career, and in his private life the cause of charity and philanthropy have in him one of their staunchest allies. He has been president of the Boys and Girls' Aid Society of San Francisco since 1882, in which he is an enthusiastic worker in retrieving young boys and girls from lives of crime and degradation toward which they have taken the first step. During its existence the society has found homes for more than 7,000 neglected, abused, or homeless boys, ninety-five per cent of whom are now good citizens. Other benevolent interests with which he is identified include the Ladies' Relief Society of Oakland, kindergarten schools, boards of Masonic relief, the Old Ladies' Home, the Young Men's

Christian Associations and the Seamen's Bethels, toward all of which he contributes freely of his means, and, what is better still, bestows his personal labor unstintingly. Mr. Perkins contributes to churches of all denominations, and is a believer in a thoroughly practical religion, that practices the Golden Rule as well as preaches it.

During his term as governor he pardoned and commuted the sentences of more prisoners than any other governor of the state, but in no instance did he act until he had personally interviewed the prisoner, and had learned the story of his life and investigated the facts in the case which resulted in his conviction. If convinced that the ends of justice had been subserved by the punishment the prisoner had received, and, if released, he would live a good life, he did not hesitate to grant executive clemency. That he did not abuse the great power which for the time was vested in him, is evidenced by the fact that only one of the many who received executive clemency at his hands was ever returned to prison charged with a penal offense, and he stated to the judge before whom he was tried, that he would plead guilty to the charge under an assumed name if he would not let Governor Perkins know that he was the man whose sentence he had commuted, and who had promised him he would in the future live an honest life, stating that this he had done for eight years and would have continued until the end had it not been for bad associates and strong drink.

In Oroville, Cal., in 1864, Mr. Perkins was united in marriage with Miss Ruth A. Parker, a native of Cork, and the daughter of an English officer in the excise service. Four daughters and three sons blessed the union of Mr. and Mrs. Perkins.

It was while living in Oroville that Mr. Perkins united with the Masonic order. In the blue lodge he served in nearly all the offices from junior deacon to master, later was elected to some of the highest offices of the grand lodge of the state and was chosen most worshipful grand master of the grand lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of California. While the grand conclave of 1883 was in session he was elected grand commander of the Grand Commandery of Knights



J. T. Dille

Templar of the state of California. He was also elected junior grand warden of the Grand Encampment, Knights Templar of the United States. He is also a member of the military order of the Loyal Legion of the United States (California Commandery), his election being a recognition of services rendered during the war.

The home of Mr. Perkins is located at Vernon Heights, in Oakland, where he is surrounded by all that comfort can suggest, tempered with a characteristic simplicity. Those who know him best, the representatives of the younger generation as well as those who, like him, have spent many years in useful operations in California, freely accord him a place among the public-spirited and kind hearted citizens of the state; and in him they find a man whose support of all worthy movements calculated to enhance the commercial, industrial and social standing of the commonwealth comes from entirely unselfish motives. That he is one of the public-spirited citizens of the Pacific coast is a fitting tribute to his indefatigable industry and perseverance. These characteristics have made his life what it has been—reflecting credit upon himself, and a source of inspiration to those young men of the present generation whose only hope of reward may be found in doing what lies before them in the line of duty, with a firm determination to adhere to a policy of integrity, application and perseverance.

JEFFERSON T. DILLE.

A citizen of prominence and a successful business man, Jefferson T. Dille has been a resident of California for almost forty years, and during this time has succeeded in building up for himself a substantial competence and at the same time has established himself in a position of respect among the citizens of the Pacific coast. Mr. Dille is descended from a family originally French, the emigrating ancestor locating in London, England, and later generations sought a home in America. Mr. Dille's father, Jacob S.,

was born in Belmont county, Ohio, while the mother was born in Center county, Pa. The family located in Cleveland, Ohio, when that now prosperous city was a small village surrounded by the thick forests of the northwest territory. The elder man engaged throughout his entire active life as a farmer and acquired substantial means.

Jefferson T. Dille was born in Cleveland, Ohio, December 20, 1831, and in its common and high schools received a substantial education. Upon the completion of his education he learned the trade of carpenter, after which he worked as a journeyman for some years in his native city. From Cleveland he went to St. Louis, Mo., and was there employed on a Mississippi steamboat plying between St. Louis and St. Paul, in the capacity of steamboat carpenter, retaining this position from 1856 to 1858. Upon leaving the employ of this company he went to New Orleans and there worked at his trade for a time, then returned to Cleveland and followed the same occupation. This he later gave up to engage in the real estate business, the rapid advance in the value of realty bringing him large returns for the time he devoted his attention to this work. In March, 1869, Mr. Dille first came to California by the Isthmus of Panama, remaining for a time in San Francisco. Soon after his arrival he located in Oakland, where he has since made his home, engaging actively in the real estate and building business and personally investing heavily in Oakland property, thus manifesting his faith in the future of the city. That his faith was fully justified was evidenced by the fact that in the summer of 1907 he sold several of his properties for many times the original price of the land. He also owns other and improved property in Berkeley and Oakland, which brings him a comfortable income.

Mr. Dille was married in Cleveland, Ohio, April 28, 1858, to Miss Mary Francisco, a native of New York, and daughter of Henry Francisco. They became the parents of the following children: George and Sadie, deceased; Clinton F., of Los Angeles; Arthur M., of Tucson, Ariz.; Alice M., wife of E. A. Steininger of Palo Alto; and Helen, at home. The last-mentioned is a native of Oakland, while the other children

were born in Cleveland, Ohio. In politics Mr. Dille is a staunch advocate of Republican principles, although personally he has never cared for official recognition. He is now in his seventy-seventh year, enjoying good health, retaining his faculties, and manifesting the keenest interest on all questions of contemporary interest and keeping thoroughly in touch with current events. He has had much leisure during his life-time, which he has spent in deep reading and study, his favorite subjects being history and philosophy. He is a man of unusual independence in both thought and action. He has been successful in his business affairs and in this has retained his self respect and the respect and esteem of those with whom he has come in contact, his integrity being absolutely unquestioned.

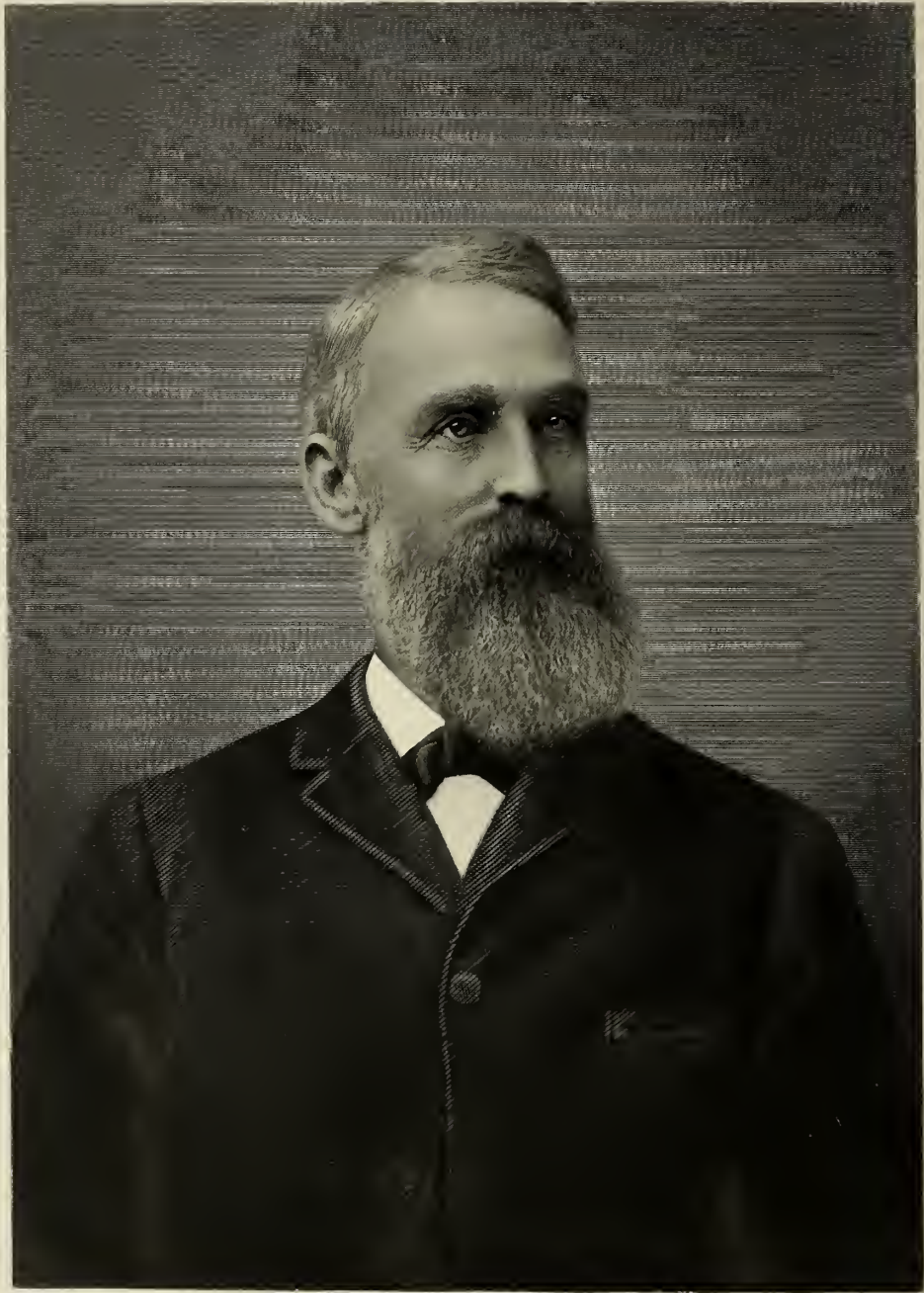
FRANK W. BILGER.

The work of Frank W. Bilger is making a strong impress upon the trend of events in Oakland, and as a citizen of worth and ability, energy and enterprise, he is entitled to a place among her representative men. Mr. Bilger is a native of the Pacific Coast country, his birth having occurred in Oregon in 1868. Six years later he was brought to California by his parents, and in the public schools of Alameda county he received his preliminary education, after which he entered the University of California and graduated from the department of pharmacy in 1889. Although educated for this line of work he remained in it only a comparatively short time until he engaged in his present business, which presented to him an interest and attraction which can be explained by the fact that his paternal grandfather operated sandstone quarries in Germany years ago, and was well known there by the vast amount of public construction work that he did in certain sections of the empire. Mr. Bilger is associated with two companies in this line of work, The Oakland Paving Company and the Blake & Bilger Company, being secretary and

treasurer and one of the main owners of both, and an important factor in the large amount of work they have done for public and private individuals. With truth he may be called the pioneer road builder of Oakland and vicinity, and in the early days was associated with such men as C. H. T. Palmer (the man who drafted the good-roads bill known as the Vrooman act), Charles T. Blake, Moses H. Eastman, Charles D. Bates and others, all of whom are now deceased, the business now being carried on by younger men. Mr. Bilger has given his attention almost wholly to the development of good roads, and as the years pass we find him relinquishing other interests to a great extent to center his mind on one of the most important topics to the people of California.

Mr. Bilger is interested in the formation of, and friendly to the movement to organize, a city and county government which shall do away with the present dual form of government. All public movements that have for their end the betterment of conditions in general and the development of the state's resources, and especially clean business legislation, find in him an ardent supporter. He is president of the Harbor Bank and was the second president of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, while politically he has proven an important factor in Republican affairs, serving as chairman of the Republican city central committee and seeking the advancement of the principles he endorses. Fraternally he is a prominent Mason, belonging to Live Oak Lodge No. 61, F. & A. M., Oakland Chapter No. 36; R. A. M., Oakland Commandery No. 11, K. T., and Islam Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., while he is also a member of the Woodmen of the World, the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, the Nile Club, the Deutscher Club, and member and vice-president of the Athenian Club.

By his marriage with Miss Carrie Siebe, Mr. Bilger united his fortunes with another prominent family of California, three brothers, George, John D. and Frederick C., all being prominent in public affairs in San Francisco, the first named, father of Mrs. Bilger, being in the custom house, the second brother assessor of San Francisco for six years, and the last one a police commissioner



Geo. H. Post.

for many years. Mr. and Mrs. Bilger became the parents of the following children: Anson S., Marion A., William F. and Frank W., Jr. In 1893 Mr. Bilger was a member of the board of trustees of San Leandro and an upbuilder of the town. He was very prominent both individually and as a member of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce in the relief work following the San Francisco disaster, winning high encomiums both for his consideration and kindness and the judgment with which the work was managed. Mr. Bilger expects to continue in street construction work as his life vocation, devoting his time to the improvement of the highways and keeping abreast of the latest methods in use, and with the ability and energy already demonstrated he cannot fail to continue the success already begun, and at the same time that he is thus engaged establish for himself, through the proper use of his talents as a citizen, a high place among the representative men of the bay cities of California.

GEORGE H. VOSE.

Among the prominent pioneer citizens and upbuilders of this great western statehood, mention is made of the late George H. Vose of Oakland. He was born in Augusta, Me., March 19, 1829. He traced his lineage to some of the most renowned men in United States history, being a second cousin of James A. Garfield, related to Gen. Edwin Vose Sumner, and third cousin of Chief Justice Fuller. He inherited the qualities of the eastern colonist, for his ancestry on American soil antedates the Revolutionary war. Robert Vose, the immigrant of the family, came from England in 1634, located in Massachusetts, and became a prominent factor in the development of the colony. The first church in Milton, Mass., was erected on land donated by him for that purpose, and he assisted materially in other ways toward the general upbuilding of the country. Down to the present generation there have been at least two of the Vose family serving in

each war of the United States, beginning in colonial days with King Philip's war, and ending with the Spanish-American.

Mr. Vose graduated from Bowdoin College at the age of twenty years, in a class that counted such men as United States Senators Frye and Lodge of Maine, and Gen. O. O. Howard. Mr. Vose had a brother, R. C. Vose, who was captain of the First California Cavalry during the Civil war. His father was R. C. Vose, who was adjutant-general of the state of Maine. He died in 1842, when the son was thirteen years of age.

In 1849, immediately after leaving college, Mr. Vose came to California by way of Cape Horn. That year was one of great excitement, engendered by the tales of fabulous fortunes made in the California gold mines; but Mr. Vose did not seek the Eldorado—he saw the opportunity for rich agricultural development rather than the precarious business of mining. In consequence he turned his attention to tilling the soil. He made his home in Oakland and at once took up his vocation. Ten years later he went to Sacramento and there managed a large transfer and teaming business for some years. While in that city he served as captain of the Home Guard, the first military organization in California. Returning to Oakland he remained for five years, then went to San Lorenzo and once more took up ranching, following this until his permanent retirement from business activity, at which time he again located in Oakland and lived quietly in the enjoyment of the fruits of his early labors, until his death, February 22, 1908. He ran the first dairy in Alameda county, was one of the first three men to raise tomatoes in this state on a large scale (that product being then practically unknown) and was one of the first asparagus growers, having land adapted for that vegetable, as the San Lorenzo creek, running through the center of his ranch, overflowed and inundated and renewed that ground. He shipped annually into the San Francisco and Oakland markets thousands of sacks of potatoes, which were known for their fine quality as the "Vose" potato, and found ready market at advanced prices.

Mr. Vose was a man who looked upon the bright side of life, and when he failed in any un-

dertaking it only gave him renewed vigor to persevere and conquer. He was a quiet, reserved, polished gentleman, always ready to aid those less fortunate than himself. He never sought any prominence in public life, though his influence was always exerted for the right. He was a man who counted his friends by the score and in his business dealings he was fair and never took undue advantage of another.

The marriage of Mr. Vose united him with Sarah H. La Rose, of French Huguenot stock, a daughter of Laceis and Sarah J. La Rose. Mrs. Vose boasted of a fine ancestry, being a descendant of those who came to America to escape religious persecution. To Mr. and Mrs. Vose seven children were born, six of whom are living, viz.: Mrs. Mary V. Baker, Rufus C., Mrs. Bertha La Rose Hanford, George H. Vose, Jr., a twin, and Frank B., and Charles Stanford. All are now in Oakland, where they were reared and educated. Mr. Vose was eligible to membership in the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, a society founded by General Washington for the officers of the Revolution, and to be handed down to their eldest sons in direct line of descent. This is one of the most exclusive organizations in our country. Many relics of pioneer days, as well as heirlooms, were left by the father, and some are now in the possession of George H. Vose, Jr., including a colonial clock.

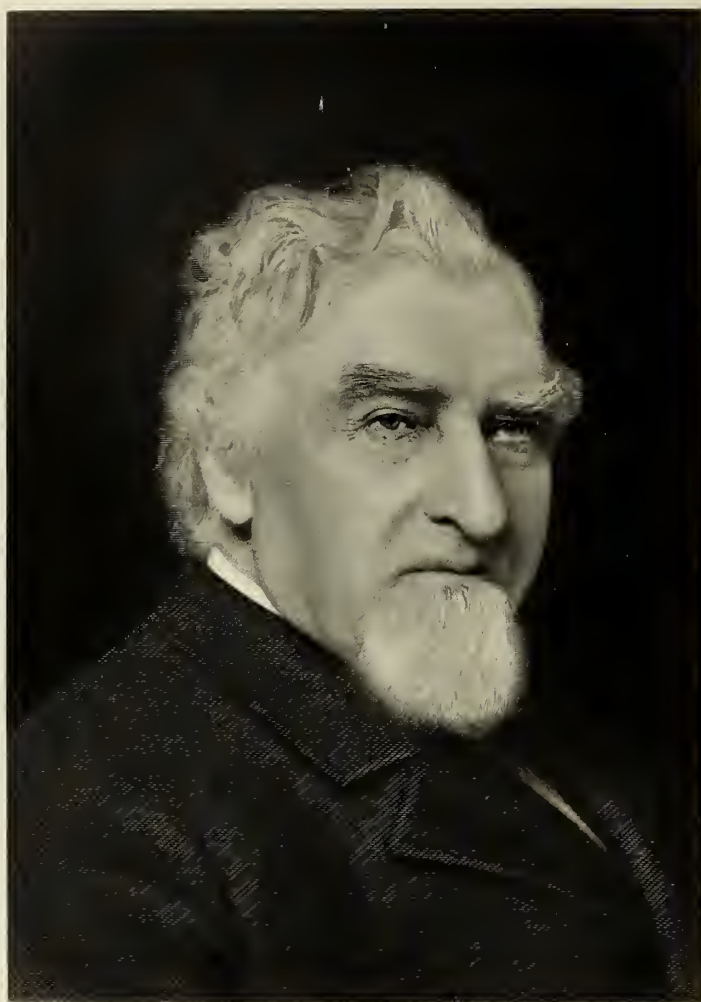
George H. Vose, Jr., was born in San Lorenzo August 23, 1869, and there received his early education, after which he attended Heald's Business College of San Francisco and was graduated in 1887. He remained at home assisting with ranching until attaining the age of twenty years, when the family became permanently located in Oakland. His first independent work in life was in the employ of Tillman & Bendel, a grocery firm in San Francisco. He remained with them for one year, then enlisted in the volunteers for service in the Spanish-American war, passing eighteen months in the Philippine islands as a soldier in the Eighth California Regiment. Returning to Oakland at the close of the war, he established a real estate enterprise in the city, which since that time has

occupied his attention. He has been very successful and his work has proven an important factor in the development of the city's best interests. He is president of the Standard Warehouse Company of Oakland, a concern which he organized, and through his personal influence and that of his company, he has secured for Oakland her first bonded warehouse at Fifth and Poplar streets, which obviates the necessity of the merchants going to San Francisco as they have formerly been doing. He is prominent in various social, fraternal and civic societies, among them being Sons of the American Revolution, Junior Order of the United American Mechanics and Chamber of Commerce. He also is connected with the banking interests of Oakland as a stockholder. He is always to be found on the side of right and order and the advancement of the best interests of the community.

Through his marriage with Miss Helen I. De la Montanya, Mr. Vose has allied his fortunes with those of another old and prominent family of our country (see biography of Mr. De la Montanya). She is a member of the Daughters of the Revolution and a woman of culture and refinement. Mr. and Mrs. Vose are the parents of one son, George Howe Vose, the third to bear the name in California.

PHILIP M. CAREY.

Personal qualifications of a superior order combined with thorough training for his profession have made the name of Philip M. Carey well known in legal circles, and as deputy district attorney of Alameda county he is thoroughly fulfilling the duties of the position to which he was appointed in April, 1907. A native Californian, he was born in Merced, November 11, 1879, of Irish parentage. He passed the days of his boyhood and youth in Mariposa and Madera counties, attending the grammar school of Madera; later he entered the Oakland high school. In the latter institution he prepared to enter the State



Peter Thomson

University of California, from which, in May, 1904, he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Laws.

The later years of his student life Mr. Carey had spent in preparation for the legal profession, and on December 19, 1905, his efforts were rewarded by his admission to the bar before the appellate court of the First District of San Francisco. Soon afterward he entered the office of H. H. Johnson, town attorney of Berkeley, who, it may here be mentioned, was killed in an automobile accident in England in 1907. In April, 1907, Mr. Carey was appointed deputy district attorney of Alameda county by Hon. Everett J. Brown, in which position he has proven himself an efficient officer.

In his political leanings Mr. Carey is a pronounced Republican and for some time served as a member of the Republican City Central Committee of Berkeley. Fraternally he holds membership in Berkeley Lodge No. 1002, B. P. O. E., also in Berkeley Parlor No. 210, N. S. G. W. Personally Mr. Carey is a man of genial disposition, broad in his outlook on life, and one whom it is a pleasure to meet on all occasions.

PETER THOMSON.

Peter Thomson was born at Milnathort, Kinross-shire, Scotland, November 25, 1824, the youngest of a family of six sons and two daughters of Peter and Catherine (Beveridge) Thomson, who came from a sturdy and devout ancestry, the father being a well-to-do farmer. Losing his mother in early youth, Peter Thomson left school at the age of thirteen years and was apprenticed by his father to learn the mercantile business with prominent drapery firms in Edinburgh, London and Dublin. In the spring of 1845 he started for the United States, coming to New York City, where he made a short stay with friends, as he was on his way to enter into partnership with his brother, John Thomson, in Detroit, Mich., who had begun in the grocery busi-

ness there some years previously. Not taking kindly after a six months' trial to this new line of duty, he returned to New York City, where he accepted a clerkship in a prominent dry goods house to see how he would like New York as a place of business. He returned to Edinburgh early in 1847, and commenced business with his brother, Thomas Thomson, at No. 135 Princes street, and both being industrious and attentive to their work, soon built up a flourishing trade. In 1852 they dissolved partnership, as his brother declined to come to San Francisco and repeat the Edinburgh success in business.

August 18, 1852, in New York City, Mr. Thomson was married to Miss Sarah Maria Fay. In October of the same year they proceeded by the Isthmus of Panama with a party of fifteen relatives and friends to San Francisco, arriving a few days after the great fire which devastated Sacramento. He took a clerkship for a few months in a prominent French dry goods house in San Francisco, until the arrival of the shipment of goods around Cape Horn from Edinburgh, Scotland, with which he commenced business on Sacramento street. The following year he changed the business to that of men's furnishing goods only, which was the first of its kind here, becoming in time one of the leading merchants of the kind, carrying on a large trade on the Pacific coast, where he became favorably known as an importer of foreign and domestic men's furnishing goods. In 1867 he retired from business because of asthma, from which he was a great sufferer thirty-five years prior to his death. During his business career he invested in realty in San Francisco and Oakland, also in mining interests in Nevada, Mexico and California. Early in 1853 he had a picturesque home built on Union, between Taylor and Jones streets, being the second to choose that location with its unrivaled magnificent marine view of the San Francisco bay and charming surroundings. In the spring of 1863 he invested in Oakland realty for a home at Telegraph avenue and Thirty-sixth street, had seven acres laid out in driveways and walks, planted with ornamental trees and shrubbery, and later on built a handsome home surrounded by extensive lawns and flowers, which

was afterward sold to Mr. Reagan of "Silver King" fame, whose widow disposed of it to the state of California, and which is now occupied by the adult blind as a home.

After retiring from business Mr. Thomson invested largely in Oakland realty, taking an active interest in improving his holdings. He aided in organizing the St. Andrew's Benevolent Societies in San Francisco and Oakland, being first treasurer of the San Francisco society, and president of the Oakland society for some time, after which he was made honorary president. He came from a musically inclined family and was a good flute player, playing only for home entertainments, however. With other progressive men he helped to organize the California Hosiery Company of Oakland, being its president and a director for years. The company carried on an extensive business in its day throughout the Pacific slope and territories, as far east as Chicago, and only ceased operations when the Interstate Commerce bill took effect which destroyed its business beyond California on account of excessive freight rates. The goods manufactured by the mill were well and favorably known, and the mills gave employment to a large number of willing and deserving workers. Mr. Thomson believed in good, economical, honest government, and with that belief allowed himself to become a candidate for councilman from his ward. He was nominated and elected by both parties, Republican and Democratic, for the term 1881 and 1882. He voted to dismiss the famous water front suit, owing to the useless expenditure of public funds, by the advice of his attorneys, this suit already having cost the city a large amount of money. He was a staunch Republican in politics. For thirteen years he was an active member of the board of trustees of the Mountain View Cemetery Association of Oakland, and in that capacity gave his time and sound judgment in the administration of the affairs of the association, and by his affable and courteous manner in discharge of duties assigned him, won the esteem of his fellow associates. He was a man of sterling character, honest through his entire career, true, conscientious, kind, generous and charitable, of broad Christian principles, quiet,

unassuming and of a refined taste and well informed. He had traveled extensively in Europe and the United States with his family, to whom he was devotedly attached. He was a member of Calvary Presbyterian church in San Francisco while residing there, and later on was a member of the First Presbyterian church in Oakland. He was never a member of any secret organization. He passed to his reward in Oakland August 9, 1901, and was interred in Mountain View Cemetery.

Mr. Thomson was survived by his devoted wife and three children, Lucy Fay, William Edward and David Peter, a daughter, Catherine Beveridge, having died in childhood. William E. Thomson was for years with Dunham-Carrigan Company, San Francisco hardware, iron and steel importers and dealers, and was later associated with his father in business, while David P. Thomson is adjusting superintendent of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, N. Y., having been connected with that company for more than eighteen years. Mrs. Thomson in maidenhood was Sarah Maria Fay, and came from distinguished New England and Virginia ancestry. She was the youngest of five daughters of Edward and Priscilla (Price) Fay, and was born at Albany, N. Y., and with her sisters was educated at Rutgers' Academy at that place. Her father was a manufacturer of firearms at Albany, his active career being cut off at the age of forty-one years by cholera. Her mother accompanied her daughter and son-in-law to California and died of typhoid fever shortly after her arrival in Sacramento, during the great flood which soon followed the fire. Her remains were taken out of a second story window and conveyed by rowboat during a terrible storm to the cemetery. Mrs. Thomson was a noble, gentle, refined Christian woman of high ideals and principles, generous and charitable; of domestic tastes, a staunch believer in the Bible, which was her constant companion through the many years of her useful life. With her husband she was a member of Calvary Presbyterian church while in San Francisco, and was later identified with the First Presbyterian church in

Oakland. She died May 5, 1903, and is buried beside her life companion in Mountain View Cemetery.

ENOCH HOMER PARDEE, M. D.

Remembered as one of the upbuilding citizens of Oakland is Enoch Homer Pardee, who came as a pioneer to the state of California and passed the best years of his manhood in the professional and municipal life of this city. He was a native of the city of Rochester, N. Y., born April 1, 1829; his father was the descendant of French Huguenot stock, the emigrating ancestor being George (or Georges) Pardee, who landed in the Connecticut colony in 1715. Some of the early members of the family spelled the name Pardie and others wrote it Pardy, the family genealogist giving the explanation that the original form was Pardieu. In the Revolutionary war the Pardees gave valiant service, no less than twenty-nine of them serving in the ranks of the Connecticut volunteers. During the era of westward expansion which followed close upon the achievement of independence, representatives of the family migrated to New York and Ohio, and the name is now common in several of the western states.

Enoch H. Pardee was taken by his parents to Michigan when about seven years old, and there he received his rudimentary education. When fifteen years old he was seized with a disease of the eyes known as Egyptian ophthalmia, and after consulting the chief medical skill of the principal eastern cities he was finally cured by Dr. Bigelow, of Detroit. After recovering his sight he entered upon a course of study with Dr. Bigelow, and obtained the secret of his treatment, after which he entered Ann Arbor University, in Michigan, and completed a regular course of lectures in medicine. In 1849 he came to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama, stopped at San Diego for a short time, and on the 6th of January, 1850, arrived in San Francisco. He went at once to Marysville, but instead of working in the mines he acted as auctioneer and was

paid an "ounce" a day for his services. Later he engaged in mining and was very successful, and also found employment at his profession upon the breaking out of cholera, although the dread disease also attached him. About February, 1851, he returned to San Francisco with a capital of from \$12,000 to \$15,000, and after some indecision decided to open an office in San Francisco and begin the practice of his profession. He established his office in Brenham place, on the Plaza, and there practiced medicine until burned out, when he moved to No. 737 Clay street, where he continued to treat patients successfully for twenty years. Ill health after a time caused him to confine his practice altogether to diseases of the eye and ear, in which he met with more than usual success. In the meantime, in 1865, he had returned east and graduated from Rush Medical College in Chicago, having left his business in charge of a son of Dr. Bigelow. After an absence of two years he returned to San Francisco and continued his work.

Dr. Pardee first visited Oakland in 1852, when he hunted quail and rabbits, and finally made this place his home in 1867. He became prominent in public affairs and after holding various positions of trust and responsibility was elected a member of the city council in 1869, re-elected in 1870, 1871, 1872, and in 1876 was placed in the honorable position of mayor of the city. He was always an ardent Republican in politics, having attended the very first meeting of that party organized in San Francisco. In Oakland he was from the first a leading man in the councils of his party, and was elected to the state legislature as joint assemblyman with Mr. Crane, in 1872, serving with credit to himself and satisfaction to his constituents. There was no more popular member in the house to which he belonged, his genial manners and fund of anecdote, as well as his practical ability, having made him a general favorite. Several important local measures were passed through his exertions, and he received an ovation from his fellow citizens on his return home. In addition to his political and professional labors the doctor also engaged in a liberal dealing in mining stocks, and was uniformly successful.

The marriage of Dr. Pardee occurred in 1855.

and united him with a young lady of his own name, she, too, being a descendant of the original Pardee family in America. They became the parents of one son, George C. Pardee, who followed in the footsteps of his father to the mayoralty of the city of Oakland, and was afterward honored with the governorship of the state of California. For complete details concerning his life refer to the following sketch. Dr. Pardee, the elder, passed away September 24, 1896, after such a life of usefulness as endeared him to the entire population of the city and section, his name going down in the annals of the state as that of an upbuilder in the pioneer days of California.

HON. GEORGE C. PARDEE.

An encomium upon the life and services of Hon. George C. Pardee is not needed in a volume presenting the representative citizens of Oakland, and indeed of the state of California, both of the past and present, for wherever the name is known it is honored as that of one of the forceful men of the younger generation who has made the accomplishment of his efforts the bulwark of our western statehood. The double honor of being the son of a pioneer and a native son of California belongs to Dr. Pardee, for his father, the first Dr. Pardee of California fame, gave the strength of his manhood's prime toward the upbuilding and development of the state. For complete details concerning his life and the ancestry of the Pardee family refer to his personal biography.

George C. Pardee was born in San Francisco, July 25, 1857, and received his primary education in the old City College, and later attended McClure's Academy and the college school of Oakland, whither his parents removed in 1867. Subsequently he took a three years' course in the Oakland high school, after which he became a student in the University of California, first entering the fifth class, which was then, and for

some time afterward, maintained as a useful adjunct to the new institution of learning. His regular university course was taken during the years 1875 to 1879. The class which has given the state a governor, a justice of the supreme court, a professor in the university and other more or less distinguished citizens, was much more numerous than any that had entered up to that time, and it was some years before any other of equal numbers followed it. Its members felt very proud when they graduated sixty-eight out of one hundred and fifty-nine who entered. It was a class which carried everything before it from the outset, for the seniors, juniors and sophomores were so much weaker in numbers that it was hardly worth while for them to attempt to withstand '79. In those days baseball was the principal athletic sport of the university, and in this young Pardee excelled, retaining to the present day a fondness for the game. Charter day and class day were then celebrated with as much spirit as they are to-day, and in all of these diversions from the regular line of work he was ever found ready to take a part. Professional study in Europe was one of the objects which he had long had in mind, and after two years of preliminary work in Cooper College he went to Germany and entered the University of Leipzig, from which he was graduated after three years. And not alone was this beneficial from a professional standpoint, but it served to give him a broader view of the world, a more complete understanding of human nature, and in diverse ways fitted him for the important positions he was afterward called upon to fill.

Returning to his home in 1885, Dr. Pardee began the practice of his profession in San Francisco and Oakland, married and established a home. It was not over two years, however, before he found himself interested in the political life of the community, manifesting the ability which was his both by inheritance and training in his association with municipal affairs. In a short time he became a member of the Oakland city board of health and made a strenuous campaign for purification of the water supply. A popular demand was thus created that he should be a councilman, and in this capacity he in no



William, W. Crane, Jr.

wise lost the high regard in which he had come to be held. The highest office in the gift of the municipality was next his, and he entered upon the duties of mayor under discouraging labor conditions, which, however, he managed to surmount with credit to himself and satisfaction to those who had entrusted him with the city's affairs, and upon again retiring to private life carried with him the increased regard of the public. This was manifested in 1898 when he was chosen candidate for the office of governor of California, and although defeated at the election that followed, so favorable was the impression he had made upon the party politicians that success was assured four years later. His term of office is now ended and he has again retired to private life, and to his credit it can again be said that he has carried with him the sincere admiration and regard of those who advocated his public service, and indeed of those who opposed him, both realizing the stanch integrity which characterized all his dealings, whether in public or private life.

WILLIAM WATRUS CRANE.

As a pioneer of the state of California and one of its most stanch upbuilders, William Watrus Crane is remembered among the early residents of Oakland, and his name placed among the citizens who wrought this western commonwealth. Mr. Crane was a native of New York City, and was born September 16, 1831; his parents were William W. and Nancy (McAlpin) Crane, the mother being a descendant of the Campbells of Argyle, Scotland, where her own birth occurred. She was the recipient of a fine education, learning under the instruction of her father, who was a literary critic of great ability. She, too, became a writer in womanhood.

William Watrus Crane received his education in the public schools of New York City, after which he attended Columbia College and took up the study of law. Admitted to the bar in his native state, he remained there until 1854, when he emigrated to California and here began the practice of his profession. He rose to a high

position among the citizens of the state, and in 1862 was elected to the state senate, where he did effective work for his constituency; he was offered the nomination for the governorship of the state on several different occasions, but because of physical indisposition declined the honor. He also declined the offer of a judgeship which was thrice made him, preferring his general practice. A man of honest purpose and consistency, of sterling traits of character which won him many friends, and of an undoubted ability in his line of work, it is not a matter of surprise that he won a prominent place in the citizenship of the state. Added to his other work he was a writer of considerable ability, both of prose and verse, at one time compiling his poems for publication, in the course of which they were destroyed. This had been a labor entirely for his own pleasure and that of his friends and not for pecuniary profit, as was the greater part of his writings, which were very prolific. He was socially inclined, and for years was a member of both the Bohemian and the University Clubs, in which he took an active part. His death occurred July 31, 1883.

In 1874 Mr. Crane had built his beautiful home at the corner of Tenth and Market streets, in Oakland, and here his widow still resides. She was before marriage Miss Hannah Austin, a daughter of David and Nancy (Burton) Austin. She was orphaned at an early age and alone she came to California by way of the Isthmus of Panama in 1852. In November, 1856, in San Francisco, she became the wife of Mr. Crane. By this union were born three children, of whom two died in infancy, the remaining daughter, Mary Nancy, marrying H. P. Hussey, and becoming the mother of two children, Evelyn and Austin Crane. Mrs. Crane is one of the pioneer women of Oakland and is widely known and highly honored throughout this section of the state.

JOHN CALVIN GAMBLE.

On a farm in Allegheny county, Pa., John C. Gamble was born October 4, 1829, a son of John and Martha (Marks) Gamble, both parents na-

tives of County Antrim, Ireland. Through his mother, who was in maidenhood Jean Gilmour, the father could trace his descent to the Crawford and Lindsey families of Scotland, and through them to Sir Robert Bruce. In 1797, when eighteen years of age, John Gamble immigrated to America on the brig Sally, landing at Charleston, S. C., after a six-weeks voyage. On coming ashore at the wharf he saw Gen. Francis Marion of Revolutionary fame. After a stay of a year in South Carolina he went to Newburgh, N. Y., where he engaged in merchandising. Here in 1800 he cast his maiden vote, which was in favor of Thomas Jefferson, for whom he always felt the greatest admiration, and throughout his life he continued staunch in his adherence to Democratic principles. His last ballot was cast for James Buchanan. From Newburgh he went to Pittsburg, Pa., and engaged in farming until 1812, when he enlisted as a volunteer soldier under the command of Gen. William Henry Harrison. He was with him throughout his extended campaign and took part in all of the battles fought under that general, including those of the Thames and Tippecanoe. Gen. Lewis Cass was then a colonel in the same command. With an honorable discharge at the close of the war he returned to Pittsburg, was there married, and again took up farm life. There all of his children were born.

In 1840, with their family, the parents went west, locating at Connersville, Ind., where they engaged in stock-raising and farming, and it was while they were living there that the wife and mother passed away. In November, 1853, the father took his family to Warren county, Ill., and settled near Monmouth. A fine school had been established here and this John C. Gamble attended until he associated himself with an older brother in the grain and mercantile business in the town of Kirkwood. There the death of the father occurred in March, 1859, at the age of eighty-three years. The Civil war came on and found John C. Gamble ready to respond to his country's call for able-bodied men, and he assisted in raising a company of volunteers for the army. In July, 1862, he enlisted in Company C, Eighty-third Regiment Illinois Infantry, under

command of Col. A. C. Harding, and was made first lieutenant at its organization. Immediately afterward the regiment was ordered to Tennessee and stationed at Fort Donelson until 1863. He commanded his company in the battle of Fort Donelson, February 3, 1863, during the attack of the Confederate forces under Major-General Wheeler. Following this victory the command was ordered to Clarksville, Tenn., and it was while there, by special order from General Thomas, that three companies of the Eighty-third Regiment were mounted, armed and equipped as cavalry. Lieutenant Gamble commanded this battalion for nearly two years.

On July 29, 1864, while his regiment was at Clarksville, Tenn., with a detachment of fifteen men Lieutenant Gamble started with a band of two hundred head of beef cattle, to be delivered to the captain of commissaries at Nashville for the use of the army. The next day, July 30, a guerrilla band, known as McNary's, suddenly rushed out of the woods and into the road with drawn revolvers, capturing Lieutenant Gamble and four others who were in the rear of the drove of cattle. Scarcely making a stop the guerrilla party hurried their victims into the woods, all carrying their revolvers in hand, ready to fire if any effort were made by their prisoners to escape. They soon turned into a by-road leading to the Cumberland river and there they robbed the men of their money and valuables, took the horses they had been riding and forced their victims to mount the horses they had used. All of the rest of the day they traveled, Lieutenant Gamble guarded on each side by an armed guerrilla, the prisoners not being permitted to speak to any one. In the evening they came to a little open space in the woods, and here they were ordered to dismount and stand up in line to be "paroled." They obeyed. Lieutenant Gamble noted that there was a low bush in front of where he stood. One of the band said, "We have but one way of paroling." At that instant came the command of "fire" from their line, followed by a scream of "murder" by the prisoners. Lieutenant Gamble sprang through the guerrilla line amid a volley of bullets. Reaching a thick growth of bushes and small trees he was soon out

of sight of his pursuers, though the balls from their revolvers flew around him thickly as he ran. The growing gloom of the woods aided to conceal him from their view. Once he fell as he descended a hill, and he imagined the beating of his heart was the sound of horses hoofs approaching. On he went until complete darkness came. With an hour's rest beside a fallen tree he continued his flight, though the woods being heavy and dark he made poor headway. At daybreak he found himself on the bank of Barton's creek, that flows into the Cumberland river. A negro boy on horseback came whistling along the road. He halted in a scared way when Lieutenant Gamble inquired of him if Union people lived in the house just in sight. "Yes, Massa Batson lives dar; he's a good Union man." Some of the family came out to meet the lieutenant when he reached the place, invited him into the house to a good breakfast, heard his story and gave him some needed clothing. The guerrilla party had taken his uniform and given him in exchange their old clothes. This was Sunday morning, and all day he remained in the barn, being afraid the guerrilla band might come to the house. In the evening he got some blankets and went to the near-by woods, and that night he slept on the ground. During the same night Mr. Batson rode to Clarksville, carrying the news of the capture of the men and Lieutenant Gamble's escape, to the post. On the afternoon of the next day (Monday) twenty soldiers, headed by Lieutenant Clark, came, bringing a horse and clothing for Lieutenant Gamble, and they all started at once for the spot where the shooting of the men had taken place. On arriving there they found the dead bodies of the four prisoners that had stood in line with Lieutenant Gamble. Nothing was now left to do but to arrange for their hasty burial. Mr. Waller, a man living two miles from this place, was seen and he promised to undertake the work immediately and report at Clarksville. Lieutenants Gamble and Clark with the twenty men now returned to Clarksville, arriving there August 2. The news of the capture had spread and several hundred people had gathered there to meet them

and to see the man who had escaped from McNary's guerrilla band.

Three days afterward Mr. Waller reported at the post that he had accomplished the work of burying the dead. About this time the men who had been along with the cattle returned to Clarksville. They had kept on their way to Nashville with the drove and delivered it safely to the captain of commissaries there, seeing nothing more of the guerrilla band.

In a month more General Rousseau sent an order to the commanding offices at Clarksville for all the forces they could spare to meet General Wheeler, then advancing on Nashville. Lieutenant Gamble with his battalion was sent, joining the main command under General Rousseau. They followed Wheeler's army through Tennessee and drove them across the Tennessee river at Tuscumbia, Ala. Along the way several battles were fought, among them that of Franklin, Tenn. This accomplished, Lieutenant Gamble and his battalion were ordered back to Clarksville. On arriving there it was learned that during their absence, two of the guerrilla band that had shot the four men had themselves been captured at Cumberland Furnace, seven miles from the scene of the murder, by the Home Guards, and executed, and that all of the remainder of the band had been overtaken in the woods on the Cumberland river and captured by a captain of cavalry with his company from Hopkinsville, Ky. The band had with them two prisoners, Dr. Johnson and his negro boy, whom they were about to execute. They had forced the doctor to put on part of the uniform they had taken from Lieutenant Gamble and were mocking him by calling him "lieutenant." The captain set the doctor and his servant free and took the band to Hopkinsville, where the commander of the post ordered them to be taken to the woods nearby and executed. The order was carried out.

Six months after Lieutenant Gamble's return to Clarksville, with a detachment of his men he was sent as an escort with a surveying party whose route took them to the ground where the guerrilla band had shot the four men and the scene of his own escape. A soldier of the party there found a bullet embedded in an oak tree

which stood twenty feet back of the spot where Lieutenant Gamble had stood in line with the other prisoners, and in direct range with his head. He could locate the spot where he had stood by the low bush he had noted in front of him that day. The bullet was secured and it is still in his possession. The account of his capture by the guerrilla band and his subsequent escape was published in the *Service Magazine* and in the *Louisville Journal* when it occurred. Col. Arthur A. Smith presented Lieutenant Gamble with a brace of revolvers for meritorious conduct and bravery.

In July, 1865, at the close of the war, Lieutenant Gamble's regiment was ordered to Nashville, Tenn., where they were mustered out of service. He then returned to Kirkwood, Ill., and again engaged in mercantile pursuits until November, 1869, when he set out for California, his destination being the Santa Clara valley. Settling in Gilroy, he there established a merchandising business, later engaging in mercantile pursuits in Santa Rosa and in Humboldt county.

In 1894 Lieutenant Gamble was appointed by President Cleveland as registrar of the land office at Eureka, Cal., a position which he filled for nearly five years. Upon leaving it he engaged in buying and selling redwood timber land in Humboldt and Del Norte counties, a business in which he is still interested. In politics he has been a life-long Democrat and he is now a supporter of Hon. W. J. Bryan. He has been active in politics and has represented his party in many conventions, both congressional and state. He is a member of Appomattox Post, G. A. R., of Oakland.

In Pennsylvania, July 1, 1868, John C. Gamble was married to Miss Eleanor Wilson, a native of that state. Of this union three children were born, of whom the eldest, a daughter, died in early infancy. The other children, Marian Stewart and Gertrude Edith, reside at the family home in Oakland. The former is a graduate of the University of California, class of 1908. Mrs. Gamble is the daughter of Rev. Job and Eliza Frew Wilson. Her father was born in Enniskillen, Ireland, and was a direct descendant of

Hugh Wilson, a native of England and a color-bearer in Oliver Cromwell's army. He went with the English forces to Ireland in 1649. When the war in that country was ended he received a grant of land at Enniskillen from Sir John Young, his wife's father, and with his wife and five sons settled there. This home has been in the possession of his descendants down to the present day. Her father immigrated to America about 1823. On the maternal side her great-grandfather, John Frew, with his wife, Rachel (Glover) Frew, immigrated to America from Ireland in 1776 and settled in Maryland, where Thomas Frew, her grandfather, was born February 14, 1781. Later his parents, with their family, removed to Pittsburg, Pa., and settled permanently. Thomas Frew was an enlisted volunteer soldier in the war of 1812. In 1806 he married Rachel Lindsey, who was born at Carlisle, Pa., April 15, 1787, the daughter of Jacob and Rachel (Garwood) Lindsey, and whose great-grandfather, John Lindsey, immigrated to America from Glasgow, Scotland, before the Revolutionary war, joining a Quaker colony in Carlisle, Pa. There for generations his descendants adhered to the faith of the Society of Friends.

JOHN WARREN VAN COURT.

October 26, 1898, occurred the death of one of the early pioneers of California—John Warren Van Court,—whose fortunes had lain in the state since his young manhood days. He was a native of the state of New York, born in New York City August 28, 1826, and reared in old Camptown, or what is now Irvington-on-the-Hudson. He received his education through an attendance of the public schools, after which he learned the trade of shoemaker. His brother, Daniel Willett Van Court, having come to California, he was persuaded to do so in 1852, and went to work for his brother, who had established a planing and flour mill on the corner of Ecker and Stevenson streets. After remaining



E. A. Heron

there one year he returned to his home in New York, spending a short time there, when with another brother he again started to California, this time by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Their passage was taken on the old ship Tennessee, and it was during this voyage that it was wrecked, and upon their escaping to land Mr. Van Court kindled the fire with which to warm the women and children who escaped to shore from the wreck.

John W. Van Court engaged in farming and dairying in Santa Clara county upon his safe arrival in California, upon land purchased on a squatter's title. In common with forty-six other farmers, however, he finally lost the land because of defective title. Thereafter he went to the mountains and located on a cattle ranch on the San Gregorio creek, just back of Spanishtown, San Mateo county. There the floods killed his horses and cattle. A few months afterward Mr. Van Court came to San Francisco and engaged in the grocery business on the corner of Octavia and Hayes streets, continuing there for about five years and then selling out and engaging as foreman of the stockfitting department of Kast Brothers shoe establishment. Four years later he engaged in the Capitol mills, then under the name of Deming Palmer Milling Company, remaining in this connection for about seventeen years. He then went to Vacaville, and leasing a fruit ranch, engaged in fruit raising for about three years. He then returned to Oakland (where his family had lived since March 4, 1882), and here lived in retirement until his death. He was a man of ability and energy, known and respected for his integrity of character, and always found a place in which to give his support to the formation and maintenance of law and order, which cause he espoused during the trying times of the Vigilance Committee days in San Francisco. Although a staunch Democrat politically he voted for Abraham Lincoln, for he was a consistent patriot, a Union Democrat.

In Newark, N. J., November 20, 1850, John W. Van Court was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth Ann Lines, who landed in California Thanksgiving Day 1855, from the ship Golden Age. Of the children born to them we mention

the following: Mary Elizabeth Van Court died at the age of sixteen months, before they left the east; Eugene Salter Van Court is represented elsewhere in this volume; Dewitt Carroll Van Court, instructor for seventeen years in the Olympic Club of San Francisco, now resides in Los Angeles; he married Ella Whipple and has one son, Carroll O. Van Court; Nettie May Van Court became the wife of John M. Polk, and their son, Eugene D., died May 3, 1908. After Mr. Polk's death she became the wife of William B. Smith, of Oakland. Mrs. Van Court still survives and makes her home with her son, Eugene S., at No. 1356 Harrison street.

ERNEST A. HERON.

The West and Youth have always proven a harmonious combination, for opportunities have abounded here and ambition has sought them with determined purpose, and many are the records of success which have come to the young man of energy, ability and steadfastness of purpose. Such an one is Ernest A. Heron, president of the Oakland Traction Company and the San Francisco, Oakland & San Jose Consolidated Railway of Oakland, besides being identified with numerous other organizations which have proven factors in the development of this section of California.

Mr. Heron came to California at the age of twenty-one years, having been born in Galena, Jo Daviess county, Ill., in January, 1852; his education was received through the medium of the public and high schools, as well as a private institution.

In 1873 he came to California, and in 1875 became secretary to E. C. Sessions, banker and real estate operator. In 1876 he was one of the organizers of the Highland Park and Fruitvale Railroad, and the following year, in 1877, he established an extensive real estate business in which he was active for twenty-five years.

In 1889 he was one of the organizers and pres-

ident of the Piedmont Cable Railroad, which was absorbed by the present Oakland Traction System, of which he has served continuously as president since its organization in 1895. He is identified as one of the organizers and president of the San Francisco, Oakland & San Jose Consolidated Railway, known as the Key Route. He is vice-president of The Realty Syndicate, which was organized in 1895.

In 1892 Mr. Heron was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth M. Dudley, of Stockton, Cal., and daughter of William L. Dudley, a prominent lawyer of that place. They have two sons, William Dudley and Ernest Alva, Jr. Mr. Heron is prominently connected with the Masonic fraternity, being a member of the local lodge, Oakland Chapter No. 36, R. A. M., and Oakland Commandery No. 11, K. T.

JOHN SHUEY.

The Shuey family trace their ancestry to the French Huguenots. That the proverbial three brothers came to America in the Mayflower cannot be claimed by posterity, but it is a fact that in the eighteenth century three families by that name were found in America, one in Massachusetts, another in Pennsylvania, and a third in Virginia, a prolific family numbering two thousand in the United States in 1876.

John Shuey belongs to the Pennsylvania branch, and was the first one by that name to find his way to California, in 1847. His father, Martin Shuey, and mother, Margaret Shubert Shuey, of Dutch descent, moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1804, when it was a mere village of thirty-five houses. Martin Shuey fought in the war of 1812. Beginning his career as captain, he was by successive promotions made brigadier general in 1818. He was stationed at Forts Brown, Winchester, Laramie, St. Mary's and Jennings during his army life. He was a large framed man, six feet in height, upright in his moral as well as in his physical bearing. He had

a deeply religious nature, which was manifest every day in the week as well as Sunday, inflexible and unyielding if vital principles were involved, equally uncompromising with himself as with others. While a commandant in the army he found himself becoming addicted to the use of tobacco and alcoholic stimulants. Recognizing this early, he said to himself, "Here I am placed over these men, to *control them, and cannot rule my own spirit.*"

Promptly and for the rest of his life he stopped their use. The same indomitable spirit actuated him when he followed his son to California in 1859, across the plains in a prairie schooner, after he was seventy-four years of age. Still more forcibly was his strength of character shown in the resoluteness with which he threw off the morphine habit, contracted late in his eighties, while suffering from severe neuralgia of the heart. When he realized that the pain had really disappeared and only the longing for the morphine for the sake of its intoxicating effects remained, he stopped it, without a murmur, and only those who saw the firmly set jaw, the tears streaming down his cheeks, knew the strength of the battle waged. He died of pneumonia in Fruitvale, at the home of his son, John, at ninety years of age, in full possession of his mental faculties to the last. If posterity could choose its ancestry could it make a better choice?

John Shuey was the eldest of ten children, and the first of four brothers and one sister to make their home in California. He was married to Lucinda Stow in 1834 and they made their home in Adams county, Ill. In his early manhood he began to dread the cold of the winters of the middle west, this fact, together with the inherited pioneer spirit, probably doing much to cause him to press forward to the Pacific shore, to a milder climate. His wife had emigrated when a child from Massachusetts to Ohio, and shared his ambition, but her growing family made it difficult for her to accompany him on such a long and perilous journey, therefore he set out without his family in 1847, crossing the Rocky mountains, taking the old Lewis and Clark route through Oregon, thence to California. The mildness of the climate and beauty of the country

exceeded his highest expectations, and he returned to Illinois resolved to make his home in the marvelous country as soon as he could dispose of his possessions in Illinois, but his wife hesitated; a country without schools and churches, whose inhabitants were principally uncivilized Indians, seemed hardly the place to bring up a family.

After the discovery of gold John Shuey again made the trip overland in 1850, taking the more direct route which passed Salt Lake and Donner Lake to San Francisco. On this second trip he personally helped to build a public school-house, on Rincon Hill, the first one in the state. He made much of this fact on his return to his family knowing that one of the greatest objections of his wife had been overcome, and his dream of an established home in California was certainly near its fulfillment. His perseverance conquered. Means of transportation had been made much easier by the railroad built from Aspinwall to Panama. Therefore, he with his family, early in 1856, started down the Mississippi river, crossed the Gulf of Mexico, thence to Panama. They were detained there nine days on account of a serious accident on the Panama Railroad. From there they took passage on the steamer *Golden Age*, with fourteen hundred passengers, for San Francisco. They arrived at their destination at a time when San Francisco was passing through an experience similar in its moral ravages to that of 1908. Imagine the shock of the passengers as they landed on hearing that two men, Corey and Casey, at that very hour were being hanged. The stillness of the city was oppressive, suggesting the presence of death, or approaching calamity. But they were assured that all would be well, for a vigilance committee of law-abiding citizens had taken the reins of government from corrupt and desperate public officials, and would uphold the law at any cost. Confidence speedily took the place of dismay, and order prevailed.

John Shuey, being a farmer, sought a farm, or ranch as it was called in those days, and found one in Moraga valley, Contra Costa county, that suited him. He remained on it but a short time however. On account of an unjust title which Carpentier claimed, he refused to pay twice for

the property and removed to Fruitvale, Alameda county.

His wife at this time wished to make their home in Oakland, its forest of liveoaks and carpet of baby-blue eyes, ferns and butter cups, seemed a paradise, but her husband said, "It will never do to subject growing boys to the temptations that come from great wealth and a place with so many natural resources will be a great city before many years and we cannot run the risk of ruining our boys." With the same strong, true principles of his father, he placed the welfare of his children above great wealth. His civic duties and privileges were as sacred to him as those of his family. He never failed to cast his vote at every election, municipal, state or national, and was by turns a Whig, Abolitionist and Republican. He took a keen interest in acquainting himself with the character of the candidates, and was frequently obliged to sacrifice his party to his principles.

While his religious nature was strong, he could not honestly endorse the creed of his father, the close communion Baptist in which he had been brought up, but joined the Presbyterian and accepted with heartiness the views of the liberal and independent Presbyterian, Rev. Mr. Hamilton.

One of the pleasantest recollections of his life in California, which he loved to recall, were the hours spent on the "bar" waiting for the tide to rise, as the ferry boat plying between Oakland and San Francisco made its trip once a day. Starr King, the patriot, was the inspiration of the hour, holding his fellow-passengers spellbound as he talked earnestly and fervently on burning questions in those days of the Civil war.

John Shuey's brother, Robert, in his eighty-eighth year is the only surviving member of his generation. He lives in East Oakland. John Shuey died in 1875 at sixty-four years of age, a victim of the "great white plague." The sunny climate of California and the roving out door life checked its ravages, but did not give him resistance to overcome the disease. He and his wife had ten children, and mothered and fathered two, taking them in early childhood and keeping them until they married: Josephus, their eldest son, died in his infancy; Virgil, the next child,

just as he was about to take his degree in medicine was accidentally killed while hunting; Sophronia E., wife of J. H. Putnam, lives in Washington; Homer Stow Shuey lives in Berkeley, Cal.; Margeret M., wife of C. R. Stetson, in Oakland; Marcus Martin, in Sacramento, Cal.; Sarah I. and Mary A., wife of A. J. Young, Danville, Cal., are twins; and John Winfield, of Fresno county, and Henry Webster, of San Luis Obispo county, are twins. Shuey avenue, one of the streets of Fruitvale, passes through the old homestead, where John Shuey lived the last twenty-five years of his life.

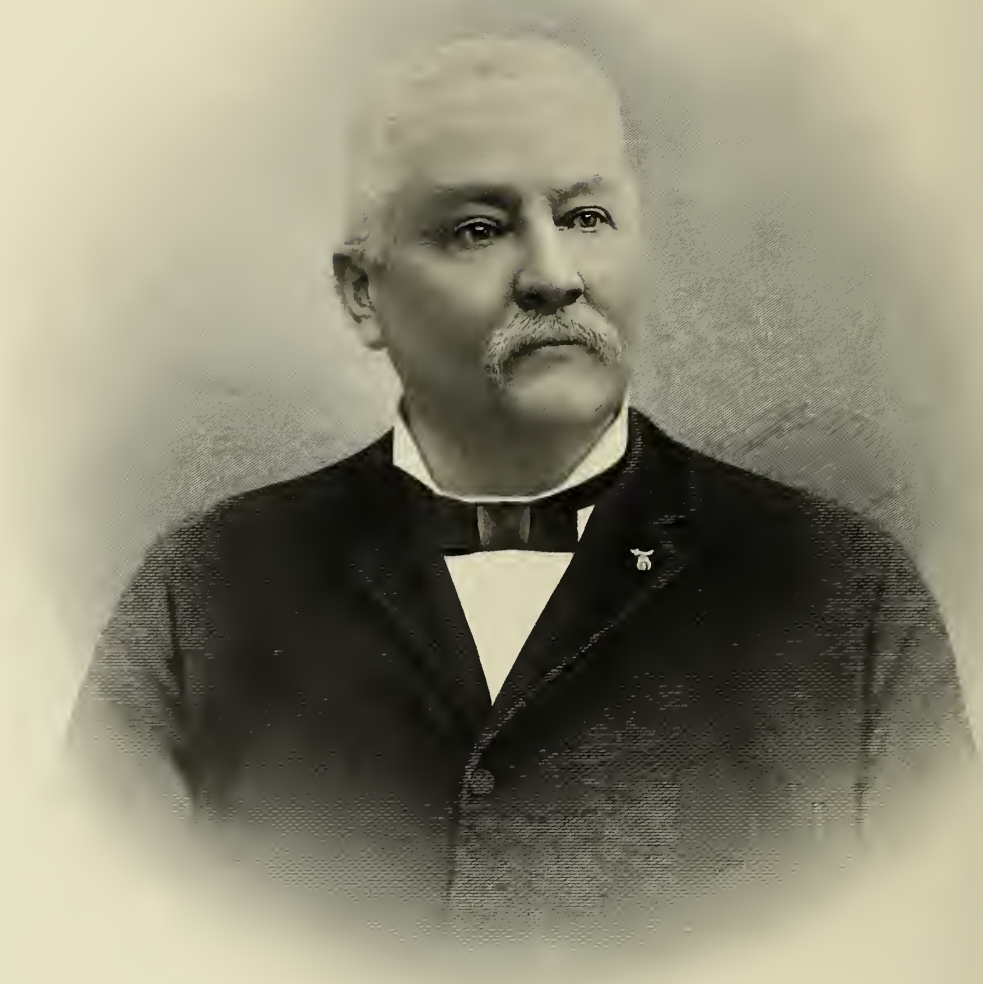
When Mrs. Shuey's children and grand-children met at the reading of her will, Judge Stephen G. Nye said it was the most remarkable family he had ever dealt with, as legal executor. By some mischance the original will had been lost and the duplicate had no standing before the law, but with one accord and eagerly the will was legalized by the signatures of the heirs, without a single dissenting voice. After the death of John Shuey, his wife lived with their daughter Dr. Sarah I. Shuey. Dr. Shuey had earned her education by teaching. Not satisfied with the then meager training of the State Normal school she entered the State University at Berkeley, giving six years to the academic and medical course. After her graduation she found herself \$1,500 in debt. This did not trouble her. She had good friends, her family was well known, and the faculty of the University were interested in her success. In four years she was out of debt. At this time her mother's death occurred and broke up her pleasant home. Having sufficient funds she went to Europe, resolved to spend half her time in work and half in play, and to remain as long as her money lasted, which to her surprise was nearly two and a half years. Her studies were in Dresden in a hospital under the direction of Herr Gehemirath Winkel, and at the Zürich University, and the hospitals of Paris. Her playtime was in sight-seeing in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and England. On her return, through friends in southern California, she became deeply impressed with the great need of a home-like shelter for the strangers who were flocking there for health. She consequently built

a large, roomy, sunny home beautifully located near the Sierra Madre Villa in the foothills near Pasadena. It proved to be what many weary invalids needed. It offered rest, good food, plenty of sunshine and fresh air, the best of kind, intelligent care, and pleasant surroundings, both in the house, the orange groves and vineyards and the beautiful San Gabriel valley below.

The people in the country welcomed Dr. Shuey and she soon had a busy practice among them. It proved too great for her strength, however, and after a severe illness she returned to Oakland to her life-long friend, Dr. C. Annette Buekel, where she has since remained. Dr. Shuey's aim has always been to consider the true interests of her patients. In order to do this successfully she felt that she must not only understand the influences in their own home, but the causes of danger in all the unsanitary conditions that affect the public health. Hence she has been an enthusiastic worker on the City Board of Health, the Associated Charities, in the Home Club Milk Commission for pure healthy milk, and in the cause of the Juvenile Court as treasurer of the Probation Committee and as physician to philanthropic societies. With such broad views her own character has naturally grown nobler and stronger and her sisters and brothers in the profession recognize her as a power for good, a worthy example of the "beloved physician," by which younger members of the profession can profit.

JESSE LAMEREAUX WETMORE.

Jesse Lamereaux Wetmore, a pioneer of '49, was born in St. John, New Brunswick, October 31, 1821, a son of J. L. and Phoebe (Clark) Wetmore, the father a descendant of the Wetmores of England who can trace their ancestry back to the twelfth century, and the mother a descendant of Anna Van Cott, of Holland birth. They were both of a long-lived race, an uncle and aunt having celebrated their seventieth wedding anniversary. Jesse L. Wetmore received his



Joseph G. Hunt

education in the common schools in his native place, after which he engaged as a farmer until taking up the work of contracting and building. After marrying in New Brunswick in 1843 Matilda H. Hammer, of German extraction, he lived one year in Boston, then went to Portland, Me., and there engaged as a builder. A spirit of unrest brought him to California, and with others who came at the same time he embarked for the journey, crossing the Isthmus. After a safe voyage he landed in San Francisco, there followed his business for one year and then returned home. After a brief visit he again went to California and engaged in business in San Francisco for a time, then removed to Oakland when it was only a small village and built his home on Clay between Tenth and Eleventh streets. In 1861 he went to Chili, South America, and engaged with Harry Meigs in railroad contracting, building the road between Santiago and Valparaiso, which occupied about four years. He then engaged in the guano business in Bolivia for about two years, and from that time until 1873 was in Peru engaged in building the railroad over the Andes mountains. In all of these undertakings he was associated with Mr. Meigs. During the time Mr. Wetmore was in Bolivia the failure of a French bank precipitated his financial ruin, losing him a half million and throwing him a million dollars in debt. In 1873 he returned to California and in Oakland engaged in the real estate business and was very successful, acquiring considerable means again before his death, which occurred January 1, 1902. His wife died May 5, 1901, both passing away in the home where they celebrated their golden wedding. They had six children, all of whom are living. Edward Louis, an assayer, is married and resides in Tucson, Ariz.; Charles A. is in the wine business in Livermore, Cal., and is also married; Blanche Isabel is the widow of Dr. Sherman; Clarence J. is in the wine business in Oakland, also married; Ida Matilda resides in Piedmont; and Anna Louise resides on the old home place. Mr. Wetmore was a member of the Episcopal Church and thoroughly liberal in all his dealings with the public, and in politics was a staunch advocate of Republican principles. Of a genial tem-

perament and interesting personal characteristics, and suave diplomacy, he was a general favorite wherever known, and held a place high in the esteem of the citizens of Oakland, toward whose upbuilding no man was more prominent and helpful.

GEN. JOSEPH G. WALL.

Among the men to whom California owes a debt of gratitude for his contribution toward her wonderful development, rapid progress and present prosperity, mention belongs to the late Gen. Joseph G. Wall. During his residence of over half a century in the state, first in Crescent City, Del Norte county, and later in Alameda, he became identified with the establishment of various beneficial enterprises, which not only contributed to his own financial well being, but proved an invaluable stimulus to the business life of both places. He was recognized as a man of unquestioned integrity, straightforward and honest in all of his transactions, and as one of the most successful and competent business men of his time. A native of Ireland, he was born in the city of Dublin, in July, 1827, and made that city his home until fourteen years of age.

At this early age J. G. Wall began to follow the venturesome life of the sailor, at first sailing from British ports on the Atlantic ocean, and later following this calling on the Pacific. At the time of the wreck of the General Warren he was returning from a visit to Oregon City, and on account of his experience as a sailor he was selected by Captain Flavel as one of the crew of the boat to seek relief. As an outcome of the trying ordeal through which they passed a strong friendship sprang up between the "pilot king," as Captain Flavel was called, and Captain Wall, and every year thereafter until the death of Captain Flavel they would meet and recount the stirring experiences which brought them together, Captain Wall going to Captain Flavel's home in Oregon one year, and the following year Captain Flavel would visit his friend in California. At

the time of the wreck of the Brother Jonathan, General Wall rendered valuable assistance to the few survivors and also took an active part in searching for bodies of the unfortunate victims. As his title would suggest General Wall was also prominent in military affairs, having served in the militia companies of the Sixth Brigade in Del Norte, Humboldt, Klamath and Mendocino counties for fourteen years.

Upon locating in Crescent City in 1852, General Wall was very favorably impressed with the future prospects of the little town, and as an evidence of his faith he embarked in a number of enterprises and invested considerable capital in real estate. Besides establishing a mercantile business he engaged in the sheep and cattle business, in both of which endeavors he succeeded beyond his fondest expectations. In addition to the interests just mentioned he acted as agent for Wells, Fargo & Co. for about thirty years, but at the end of this time withdrew from all other interests to concentrate his efforts in his lumber business, which in the meantime he had established. In this as in all previous undertakings he was eminently successful, in fact, he was conceded to be one of the most successful lumber dealers in that section of the country, owning extensive mills for the manufacture of lumber and shingles. The firm of Hobbs, Wall & Co., of which he was a member, constructed a \$40,000 bridge across Smith river, connecting the city of that name with Crescent City, and thus securing easy access to a large tract of redwood timber which General Wall owned at Smith River. The firm of Hobbs, Wall & Co. is one of the oldest lumber enterprises in the state, being as well known as are many of the coasting vessels which they have constructed, among which may be mentioned the schooners J. G. Wall, Mary D. Pomeroy and Ocean Pearl. General Wall also built the steamers Crescent City and the two Del Nortes, naming them after the city and county in which he then resided. He also owned one of the largest wharves on the coast.

From the foregoing enumeration it would appear that General Wall's entire time and attention were consumed in looking after his private interests, but this was not so, for he was keenly

alive to matters of public import and was especially interested in political matters. Of later years, however, he withdrew to some extent from public and business life, and prior to his removal to Alameda had disposed of a large portion of his interests. After locating in this city in 1887 he made large investments in real estate and also erected the residence now occupied by the family, which is considered one of the finest residences in Alameda.

The marriage of General Wall in 1855 united him with Miss Margaret Magruder, who was born in Springfield, Ill., and came with her parents to Oregon in 1844. Seven children were born of the marriage of General Wall and his wife, named in the order of their birth as follows: Mary A., wife of Captain Richard Bradley; Joseph A., who resides in the northern part of the state; and Edward M., Richard R. T., Jessie, Margaret J. and Carlton Hobbs. Fraternal General Wall was well known, especially in Masonry, for he was a member of all branches of the order. His death in Alameda December 31, 1900, was the occasion of general mourning, for he was a man beloved by all who knew him, and in his passing not only has Alameda lost a valuable citizen, but the state has lost one of her sturdy up-builders.

PHILIP MELANCTHON FISHER.

One of the most successful educators in the state of California, Philip Melancthon Fisher has been acting as principal of the Polytechnic high school of Oakland since its organization in June, 1896, having by many years of experience established his reputation in Alameda county. Inheriting his traits of character as well as his unusual ability, Mr. Fisher was born in Berlin, Somerset county, Pa., June 1, 1852, a son of John H. and Anna (Gilbert) Fisher; both parents were born in Germany near Marburg, and in their young married life came to America in 1834, and located on a farm in the vicinity of Berlin. There eight sons and three daughters

were born to them, and of this number eight fitted themselves to become teachers. The paternal great-grandfather had taught school in Germany for forty years. Two sons, Frank and Will, graduates of Gettysburg College and Theological Seminary, are now doctors of divinity in the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania; Harry W., for nine years superintendent of schools of Bedford county, Pa., is now, and has been for more than thirty years, at the head of the Seventeenth ward schools in Pittsburg; John G. was clerk of the county commissioners of Bedford county for a dozen years, and was editor of the *Bedford Gazette* for a long period; Tobial S. served for three years as a volunteer during the Civil war, has been justice of the peace and is now a pensioner on account of wounds, capture and imprisonment; Emma J. lost her life in the missionary service in Liberia, Africa; Philip M. was educated in the public schools of Berlin and in private schools and began teaching in his fifteenth year, becoming principal of the Meyersdale school in Pennsylvania at the age of eighteen, and acquiring prominence as a speaker for local option during that winter. Teaching in the winter seasons, he learned the trade of plasterer during the summers. In 1873 he entered Mount Union College, Ohio, at which he was graduated with the degree of Ph. B. in the summer of 1876, and was at once elected principal of the school in his native town.

It will thus be seen that Philip M. Fisher was fitted both by nature and training to follow this profession, and the June following his arrival in Oakland, May 4, 1877, found him successfully passing the teacher's examination, after which he began teaching in the Sunol district school, of Alameda county. He continued in that position for the period of three years, when he was chosen principal of the Irvington school. Two years later (1882) he was elected county superintendent of schools, and re-elected in 1886. During his incumbency he thoroughly organized the schools of the interior in a graded system and increased greatly their efficiency and popularity. During this same period he led in the movement for the display of the flag on the school-grounds. From 1891 to 1896 Mr. Fisher was the editor and

publisher of the *Pacific Educational Journal*, the official organ of the school department of the state. During this period he was secretary of the committee on education of the state senate for two terms, and secretary of the committee on county and township government one session. Throughout these same years he was called upon as a lecturer at teachers' institutes in nearly every county of the state. In 1891 he was the author of the Union District High School bill, which became a law, largely through his efforts. This measure was so popular and its enactment so timely that it caused an unprecedented increase in the number of high schools established in the state. In the Republican state convention of 1894 he was a leading candidate for the office of superintendent of public instruction and only failed because of geographical distribution of offices. In the summer of 1896 he was tendered the principalship of what is now the Polytechnic high school of Oakland, which position he still fills. Mr. Fisher has taken an active part in local and state associations of teachers, leading in the organization of the teachers' club of Alameda county, and is persistent in his advocacy of high standards, tenure and annuity. In the state association he has been a member of the educational council for fifteen years, and has also been a member of the County Board of Education for eighteen years.

The marriage of Mr. Fisher occurred in Mission San Jose, Cal., January 3, 1884, and united him with Miss Anna C. Lanmeister. Born of this union are four children: Nelda B., a senior of the University of California (1908); Philip M., Jr., a junior in the Polytechnic high school; and Margery and Charles W., in the grammar schools. Mrs. Fisher was born in San Francisco, September 5, 1858, a daughter of John A. and Frederica (Haussler) Lanmeister, both of German nativity. Mr. Lanmeister was a pioneer miller of the Pacific coast and a member of the vigilantes of San Francisco in the '50s. The family were well known in the early days of San Francisco, and a nephew, Charles, was sheriff of San Francisco county, a member of the Board of Railroad Commissioners, and is at this writing president of the Merchants' Exchange of San

Francisco. Mrs. Fisher was the efficient deputy county superintendent during the greater part of her husband's incumbency of the office. Her large acquaintance, familiarity with early California history, her charm of manner, and quick intuition have been recognized as of great assistance to her husband in his career.

Mr. Fisher has always stood for the principle that a teacher should take an active interest in politics,—the politics that looks to the promotion of civic pride and good government. He has, therefore, frequently been a member of conventions in city, county and state, having been particularly active on behalf of ex-Governor Pardee. He has also found time to ally himself with various fraternal organizations, being prominently identified with the Ancient Order of United Workmen; was secretary and master of his lodge, and was for three years orator at the annual picnic of the order in the eastern part of the county. He is also a Mason, being a member of Alameda Lodge No. 167, F. & A. M., and has occupied offices in the same, and also in Live Oak Lodge No. 68. Mr. Fisher has been public spirited to a degree, taking a most active interest in all matters of public import. He is successful in his work of teacher, not alone through intellectual qualities and education, but through qualities of heart which win him the respect of his pupils and make him countless friends among the parents, thus establishing for him a position among the representative citizens of California.

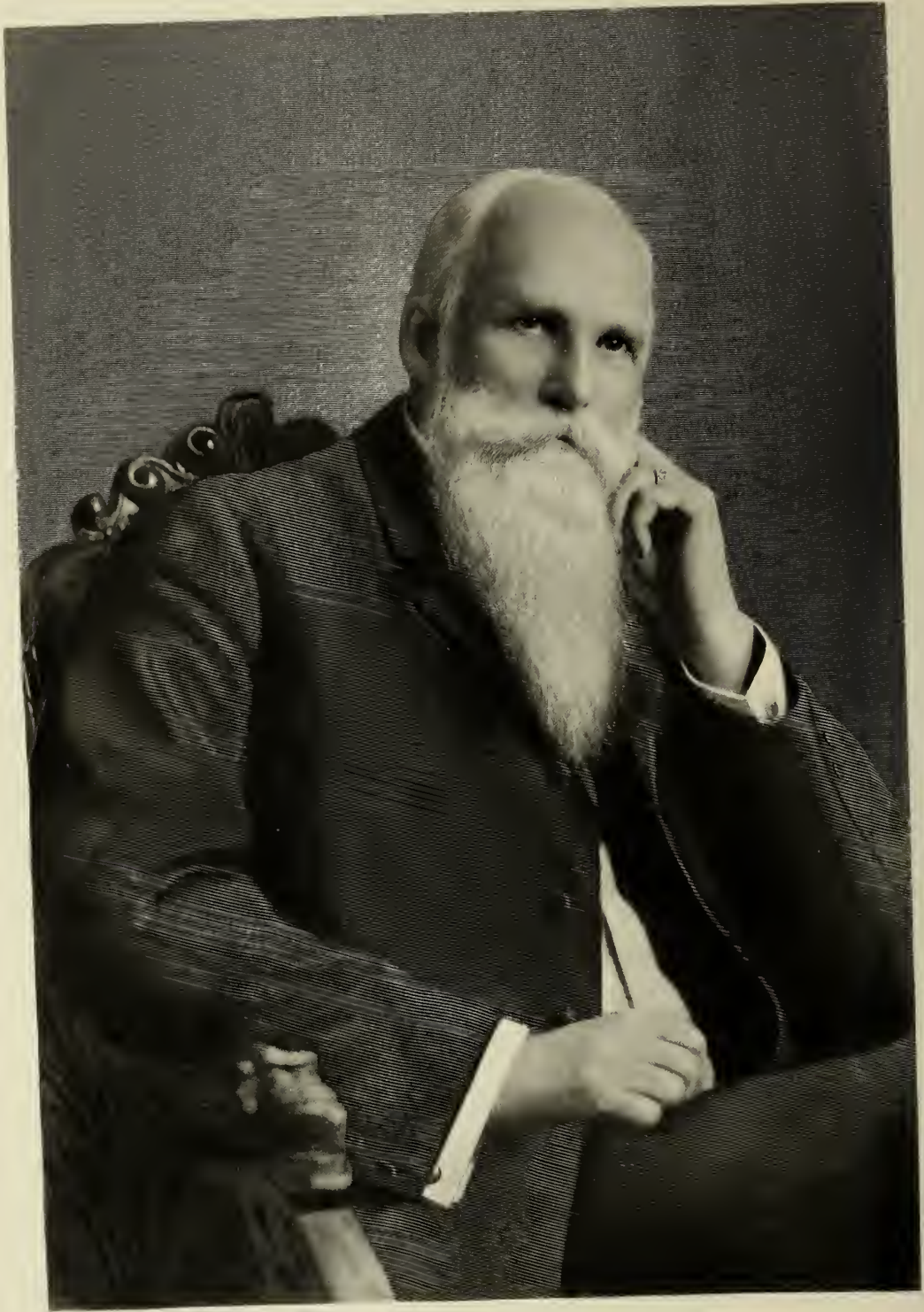
BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER.

There is in the whole world no higher field of usefulness than that of educational activity and those who are giving their lives to the training of the young are of all others the most helpful factors in the development of the race. California has gained a wide reputation for its thoroughness in educational work, and this high standing is due to its talented educators, one of whom is Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the Univer-

sity of California. He was born in Randolph, Mass., July 15, 1854, the son of Benjamin and Mary E. Ide Wheeler. In June, 1881, he married Amey Webb, of Providence, R. I. He studied at Colby Academy, New London, N. H., and at Thornton Academy, Saco, Me. In 1875 he received the degree of A. B. and in 1878 that of A. M. from Brown University, delivering the classical oration at commencement, and being elected to Phi Beta Kappa. After teaching in the Providence high school and serving as a tutor in Brown University, he went to Germany. After four years of study of classical philology at Berlin, Leipzig, Jena and Heidelberg he received the degree of Ph. D., *summa cum laude*, from Heidelberg. He spent a year at Harvard University as instructor in German, and in 1886 was called to Cornell University as professor of comparative philology. In 1888 his chair was made that of Greek and comparative philology. In 1895-96 he was professor of the Greek language and literature in the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, Greece, and while there he aided in the first excavations of the site of ancient Corinth, serving as one of the judges at the finish for the track sports at the first modern revival of the Olympian Games. July 18, 1899, he became president of the University of California.

President Wheeler received the honorary degree of LL. D. from Princeton University at the Sesqui-centenary of 1896, from Brown University and Harvard University in 1900, from Yale University at the Bi-centenary in 1901, and from Johns Hopkins University at its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1901. He is a corresponding member of the Kaiserlich Archäologisches Institut, and a member of the American Philological Society, the American Oriental Society, the American Social Science Association and the Archeological Institute of America.

Among his published writings are the Greek Noun Accent (his doctoral thesis, Strassburg, 1885); Analogy and the Scope of its Influence in Language (1887); Introduction to the Study of the History of Language (with H. A. Strong and W. S. Logeman, 1890); Dionysos and Immortality, 1899 (the Ingersoll Lecture at Har-



Francis J. Fluno, M.D., C.S.D.

vard University); The Organization of Higher Education in the United States, 1896; and Life of Alexander the Great, 1900. As associate editor he was in charge of the Department of Comparative Philology and Linguistics in Johnson's Universal Cyclopaedia (1892-95), and of the same department in the Macmillan Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology. He has been a frequent contributor to various magazines and journals.

FRANCIS J. FLUNO.

A man of international reputation, F. J. Fluno, M. D., C. S. D., of Oakland, was born on a farm in Otsego county, N. Y., September 15, 1845, a son of Isaac and Jane (Smith) Fluno, both of whom also were born in that state. There the father followed agricultural pursuits until he removed to Wisconsin, where he again engaged in his chosen vocation. After a long and useful life, both parents passed away in that state.

Francis J. Fluno received his early education in the common schools of Wisconsin, which then were in a primitive condition. He completed at the University in Madison. During the Civil war he enlisted for service in the Union army, serving as a volunteer in the Forty-first Wisconsin Regiment, until the discharge of the regiment. He began the study of medicine at the Homeopathic school in Iowa City, Iowa, became a practitioner, and later entered the Homeopathic Medical College at Chicago. After completing the course he took up the practice of his profession in Chicago.

In 1885 he began the perusal of "Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures," by Mary Baker G. Eddy, the book then being in its thirteenth edition. This new teaching greatly interested and impressed him and ultimately he found he could no longer administer drugs to the sick. In this same year he entered the Massachusetts Metaphysical College under Mrs. Eddy's instructions, and two years later he completed the normal course. He came to the Pacific coast and

located in Oakland. Since that time he has been engaged as teacher and healer of Christian Science. He was largely instrumental in the building of the Christian Science church in Oakland, which is one of the finest edifices of its kind on the Pacific coast.

In 1898 Dr. Fluno was appointed to the board of lectureship of the mother church in Boston, Mass., and has lectured throughout the United States, in Canada, Australia and the Orient, and at various times his writings and lectures have appeared in periodicals and pamphlet form.

Dr. Fluno has been a resident of Oakland since 1888, and has sought to advance the general interests of the community, purchasing valuable real estate, and being keenly alive to the needs of the state, supporting those measures that have had for their object the general upbuilding of the city, county and state. He holds a high position among the followers of the Christian Science Society, and enjoys the esteem and confidence of his fellow townsmen.

The doctor was united in marriage May 11, 1881, with Ella V. Jennings of Wisconsin. She is a daughter of Nathan L. and Deborah (Wilson) Jennings, pioneers in Wisconsin. They are the parents of four children, viz.: Eleanor L., wife of George H. S. Haly, of Oakland; Vincent J., Lillian E., and Mary U., at home.

SARGENT SHAW MORTON.

For many years a business man of San Francisco, Sargent Shaw Morton was one of the prominent upbuilders of the interests of that city and a citizen who gave his best efforts toward furthering plans advanced for the development of internal affairs. He was for many years, and until 1906, receiver of public moneys and disbursing agent in the United States Land Office in San Francisco. He resides in Alameda, where he is numbered among the progressive and enterprising citizens. Mr. Morton is a native of Maine, his birth having occurred in Standish, Cumber-

land county, December 3, 1833. His father, David Morton, was a native of Gorham, Me., and a soldier in the war of 1812; his paternal grandfather served in the Revolutionary war for the seven years of its duration, participating in many important engagements, among them, the battle of Long Island, where General Sullivan was taken prisoner. He was sick in a hospital when it was attacked by the British; he crawled out and hid under a haystack until the raid was over, then came out and met a man and asked to be directed to Washington's camp. The stranger did this and also gave him \$10 to assist him in rejoining the army. He was also in the expedition under General Montgomery, that went through Maine to Quebec, and where, after the death of the commander and wounding of General Arnold, the remnants of the army retreated up the St. Lawrence river. At the close of the service he received \$1 and a drink of New England rum for his seven years' service, while his son, a soldier in the war of 1812, was given a pension. Mr. Morton's mother was before marriage Salome Shaw, and her oldest brother's name she bestowed upon her son.

Sargent Shaw Morton was reared in his native state, remaining at home only until fourteen years old, when he found employment on a farm in the neighborhood. When he was sixteen years old he went to Boston, Mass., and in the vicinity of the city engaged in blasting for several months, then worked at teaming for two years. In 1852 he was drawn to the western coast by the golden attractions of California, taking passage on the steamer Cherokee, commanded by Captain Herdon, who was afterward lost at sea in the steamship Central America. He visited Havana at the time of the filibustering, and then took passage on the Eldorado, a steamer bound for the Isthmus. The passengers went up the Chagres river to Cruces, and from there Mr. Morton went to Gorgona. Because of the lack of funds he started to walk to Panama, put up at the Halfway house in the mountains, and in the morning resumed his journey and arrived bareheaded and barefooted in the city of Panama. His hat had been stolen and his shoes worn out; he succeeded in purchasing a hat and a pair of slippers, as his belongings

had been sent by a mule-train ahead of him. He found there were two steamers bound for San Francisco, the California that evening at six o'clock, and the Golden Gate in a few days. He decided to catch the former, but a storm came up and carried the rowboat in which he was being taken to the ship five miles beyond, and when they managed to return to the California it was after dark. The journey was one of extreme trial and peril—Panama fever being prevalent on the steamer and where they stopped for something to eat, and cholera breaking out on board. Twenty-eight persons died on the journey to San Francisco and were buried at sea. Mr. Morton was accompanied on the journey by his brother, who was taken with the cholera morbus; he cared for him several nights but being worn out fell asleep and when he awakened, found his brother gone. Someone told him he had been thrown overboard, but he discovered a few minutes later that he was alive and getting well, which relieved him very much. He also met on the journey a friend of his father's, who knew the son because of the family resemblance; this man died with the cholera and was buried at San Diego.

On the 28th of July, 1852, Mr. Morton arrived in San Francisco. He had expected to meet another brother in that city and not finding him on the wharf asked a hackman where he was, naming him. The latter said he would tell him if in turn Mr. Morton would tell him who was nominated for president. He told him Scott and Pierce. The exchange of information was made and Mr. Morton went in search of his brother, and neither of them knew the other when they met, having been separated for eight years. Mr. Morton then found employment in digging a foundation for a church in San Francisco on California street, then did teaming for a couple of months. Deciding to try his luck in the mines of the state, he went to Stockton and there hired a three-horse team and with twenty others started for Angel's Camp in Calaveras county. He was on the road for three days in one of the heavy rains of the season and during the three weeks he stayed in the camp it continued to rain. Disgusted with the conditions, he returned to

Stockton and thence took passage on a boat back to San Francisco, where he secured employment as a driver of a team at \$6 per day. With a partner he then went to Mountain View, Santa Clara county, and there established a hotel and began ranching. They raised about six thousand bushels of grain but because of an over-supply of crops that year went deeply in debt. Dissolving partnership, Mr. Morton returned to San Francisco, with \$20 where he had started with \$700. He then went to teaming as foreman for his brother and followed this until 1854. One day he met two old friends who were on their way to catch a boat bound for the east via Nicaragua. He decided to go with them and hastily mounting a saddled horse near them he rode home for another suit of clothes and returned just in time to catch the steamer. In General Walker's camp he was offered \$100 a month and after the close of the war one hundred and sixty acres of land. But none of the three wished to enlist, so after spending the night there they resumed their journey. He arrived without mishap in New England and there he remained until 1856.

Again locating in San Francisco, he engaged in buying scrap iron for the Pacific Roller Mills, with whom he remained employed for the period of four months. He then engaged as foreman for his brothers in the teaming business and six years later, with John Ruggles for partner, he purchased the draying business. When Blaine was nominated for the presidency he again went east as an alternate delegate to the Chicago convention. He was ill for a time on his arrival and when he recovered he gave his seat to his nephew and being ordered east by his physician set out with the intention of seeing Blaine, having met Logan in Chicago. However, they passed on the road and he never met the great man he so much admired. For about thirty years Mr. Morton remained in the draying business in San Francisco, then sold out and became a candidate for the office of supervisor and was elected on the Republican ticket. This was in 1886 and from that time to the present he has remained actively identified with the political life of the community. He occupied the position of receiver of pub-

lic moneys and disbursing agent in the United States Land Office until the fire of April 18, 1906. He was one of the organizers of the Business Men's Club of San Francisco, and in many ways was active in the upbuilding and development of the city's interests.

Mr. Morton has been twice married, the first ceremony being performed in 1855 and uniting him with Harriet Abbott, a native of Worcester, Mass., who left him three children: Belle, who married Frank Butterfield, and died in Oakland; Frank Herbert, engaged for seventeen years with the water company of San Francisco and then in a hotel which was burned in the great fire of 1906; and Hattie, Mrs. Rogers, of Alameda. Mr. Morton was again married January 16, 1901, to Caroline Matilda Morel, a daughter of Eugene and Rozena (Vogel) Morel; she was born in Algiers, Africa, whence they emigrated to North Carolina, and thence in 1876 to Napa county, California. Mr. Morton has been one of the most conservative and successful business men of this part of California, and has won a financial success for himself and at the same time contributed liberally to the general welfare. He is held in high esteem by all who know him, appreciated both for his public spirit and the personal character which has won him many friends.

DAVID DAY HARRIS.

Interesting reminiscences of the "days of old and the days of gold" form a part of the evening of the years of David Day Harris, one of the forty-niners and during all the years a helpful, practical and successful citizen of California. Mr. Harris is the descendant of one of the old New England families, and was born in Chesterfield, N. H., March 10, 1823, a son of John and Lony (Fletcher) Harris. He attended first a public school and later an academy, putting aside his studies at the age of fourteen years to engage as a clerk in a store. Until the discovery of gold in California he remained in this work

in his native state. At that time he outfitted with others for the trip across the plains, which though perilous to a degree, was passed in safety because of the countless number of people making the trip at that time.

Upon his arrival in the state Mr. Harris went first to Shingle Springs, near Placerville, and there he saw the gold in its native state for the first time. After a time he and his party decided to go to Coloma, where they took up claims and began prospecting. Discovering what they thought would prove a profitable venture, they secured a rocker on credit from a man who made them and went to work. By Saturday night they had taken out sufficient gold to meet all obligations made through the week. They did not remain in this location long, however, because of the glowing reports of other spots where gold was to be found in even greater quantities, and shortly afterward they found themselves on the American river. They located a bar and set their rocker and for a time took out from \$35 to \$40 per day. When they had worked that out they began to look for winter quarters, deciding not to go to Feather river because it was so far north they were likely to be snowed in if they undertook mining at that time of year. For a short time they were located at Mokelumne Hill, where they took out about \$20 per day, but this also was quickly worked out. Leaving their gold dust with a merchant by the name of M. F. McKinney, they then prospected until spring, when the party broke up. At that time Mr. Harris went into partnership with J. H. Updegraff, a farmer, who had been one of those who crossed the plains in his party, and who during the years of association proved himself a friend worthy the name. They embarked in the hay business for a time, cutting the wild grass and taking it to Sacramento, where they sold it for high prices during the next winter. In the spring they decided to establish a mercantile business, and accordingly Mr. Harris went out on horseback to find a suitable location. He rode for four days through continuous wild oats, and finally found a store which he bought and then sent word to send on the goods, as he had found a place. At

this time they had taken a third man into partnership with them.

In the spring of 1851 there were reports of shortage of provisions for the immigrants who were then crossing the plains to California, and Mr. Harris and his partners loaded a pack train and sent it out to meet the incoming settlers. Much of their pay had to be taken in stock, but this was afterward sold at a good figure. Subsequently Mr. Harris and his partners were burned out and in the fall of 1851 they went to Sacramento and opened up a business. In 1852 they lost all of their goods by the big flood that came upon that city. Mr. Harris then spent a part of 1853 and 1854 in San Francisco, and in 1855 went to Oroville, where he invested his means in various enterprises, principally in mining interests, and also purchased property and erected buildings, one of which is now the Union hotel. In 1864 he was in the employ of General Bidwell, remaining for two years, then became bookkeeper for George F. Jones, one of the large merchants of the place, and finally became a partner in the business buying the stock with a Mr. Sanderson. In 1876 he died and Mr. Harris conducted the enterprise for a few months, and then sold out. During these years he had also interested himself in other matters; with "Uncle Ben Bliven" he engaged in the raising of stock and the growing of large tracts of wheat. He also had invested heavily in Cherokee Flats, which after great expense and many discouragements became a great gold producer, one bar of metal cast being worth \$73,000, one of the most valuable in the world.

Having accumulated a competence, in 1880 Mr. Harris came to San Francisco and decided to make this city his home. In 1888 he erected his present residence at No. 2160 Vallejo street, and here he is spending the twilight of his days in peace and plenty, renewing his youth with the younger generation and proving always an entertaining and interesting companion. He was married in 1857 to Miss Augusta Elliot, a native of Bath, Me. They have one daughter, Olive Eveleth, who is the wife of George W. Brooks, secretary and superintendent of the California Insurance Company of San Francisco, and



F. Warner

they are the parents of four daughters, Loraine, Madeline, Eveleth and Frances. Mr. Harris is a member of the Unitarian Church and a liberal contributor to its charities. In memory of the early days in California he belongs to the Society of California Pioneers and is foremost in his efforts to keep intact everything that recalls that time in which a statehood was built, and men's lives and characters were given to this cause.

FRANKLIN WARNER.

Remembered as a helpful pioneer of California and especially of the city of Oakland, is the late Franklin Warner, an early educator of the state and later an important factor in the realty activity of this city. He was born September 16, 1818, in Pittsford, Vt., the descendant of an old New England family prominent in colonial history during the Revolutionary war. He received his education in the primitive schools in the vicinity of his home, and attended Middlebury College and at Castleton for a time, after which, at the age of twenty years, he left home and started out in the world on his own responsibility. Studious and industrious by nature, he had acquired a good education despite adverse conditions, and upon leaving home he engaged in teaching in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Mississippi. During his residence in the latter state, upon the breaking out of the Mexican war, he enlisted for service and participated in that struggle. To the Mexican veteran it was but a step into California, which was brought so forcibly to their minds during that struggle, and after receiving his honorable discharge Mr. Warner came on to the Pacific coast. He went to the mining sections of the country and spent some time engaged as a miner, but not meeting with the success desired he gave it up. Coming to Oakland he remained here for a time, then began teaching school. In 1854 and '55 and the spring of 1856 he taught in the first public school in Oakland, and from 1856 to 1860

he taught in the Durant Collegiate school. In 1860 he again returned to the public schools. Upon the inception of the founding of the University of California he devoted months to advocating the necessity of such an institution as the Durant Collegiate school, which was the foundation of our present university; he spent four years teaching in the above school, all of his work being of the highest standard and for the uplifting of the young people.

In 1856 Mr. Warner was married to Miss Sarah Hinds Walker, the daughter of Barzillai and Nancy French (Hinds) Walker. In 1853 Miss Walker came to California with some friends from Taunton, Mass., crossing the Isthmus. She was born in Boston and was educated in Warren Ladies Seminary, in Rhode Island. She taught school first at the age of fifteen years and continued teaching from that time until coming to California. Here she continued her pedagogical work, being the third teacher in the Oakland schools.

In 1857 Mr. Warner purchased land between Twenty-eighth and Thirtieth streets and Linden and San Pablo avenues, called the Warner tract. After subdividing the land he erected many houses in the hope of inducing a class of home-seekers to settle here. His first residence was between Second and Third streets on Brush. Later Mr. Warner decided to engage in the real estate business in Oakland, first disposing of his own property, and this he found so profitable that he continued so occupied up to the time of his death, which occurred January 14, 1901. Mr. Warner had been a Mason of many years standing, and was a charter member of Live Oak Lodge No. 61, F. & A. M., of Oakland. Mrs. Warner is affiliated with the Presbyterian Church.

WILLIAM CHAUNCEY BARTLETT.

The passing away of William C. Bartlett on Sunday afternoon, December 8, 1907, marked the close of a long and honorable career in both

ministerial and journalistic fields, as well as the loss of one of California's pioneers and one of Oakland's old-time residents, he having made his home here for forty years. A descendant of English ancestry, he was born in Haddam, Conn., December 30, 1818, the son of William Bartlett, who was also a native of that state, born in East Guilford, and there he followed farming for a livelihood. In early youth William Bartlett, Jr., experienced all the advantages and disadvantages of New England training on a farm, and as he had higher ambitions in life he chafed under the restrictions which held him in bondage. Hence it was that while still a young man, in 1850, he removed to what was at that time considered the west, locating in Dayton, Ohio. Previous to this, while on the home farm, he had exhausted every means for obtaining an education, studying at night by the light of the pine knots on the hearth, when the day's work was over. After locating in Ohio he studied for the ministry under the Rev. Dr. Boynton, a noted Congregational minister, and later took up the study of law, receiving his degree of A. B. from an Ohio college, and that of LL. D. was conferred on him after he came to California by a Maryland college. During the early '50s he was associated in the practice of law with some of the most prominent men of that time, among whom were Salmon P. Chase, Alonzo Taft and other of Ohio's prominent free-soilers.

It was during this period in his career, in March, 1850, that Mr. Bartlett formed domestic ties by his marriage with Amelia M. Rounds, who like himself was of New England parentage, her birth occurring in Massachusetts. In 1860, on account of the ill-health of his wife, Mr. Bartlett came to California. Intimation has previously been made to his inclination toward the ministry, and upon coming to the west Mr. Bartlett yielded to his religious impulses and for several years filled a pulpit in a Congregational Church in Nevada City. Still later he held the pastorate of the Congregational Church at Grass Valley, and from there went to Santa Cruz, where for six years he worked with indefatigable zeal in the cause of Christ and humanity. On account of an injury to his knee, however, he

was obliged to relinquish this position, as its duties required considerable activity, owing to the fact that it was in the midst of a mission field. Going to San Francisco, he filled a pulpit in that city for a time, and it was while there, in 1867, that he became associated with the *Evening Bulletin* as literary editor, remaining on the staff of that journal for over a quarter of a century. During this time many of his articles on art and literature appeared in the columns of this well-known paper. When the *Bulletin* changed hands Dr. Bartlett resigned from the staff and became associated with the *Oakland Tribune* as an editorial writer. Throughout his life he had been a friend of education and in all of his writings he advocated the need of a university, and indeed much credit is due him for the establishment of the University at Berkeley, he being one of the number chosen to select the site. Upon the establishment of the Forestry Department of the United States government Dr. Bartlett was chosen to fill a responsible position with that department, one which he was enabled to fill creditably for many years by reason of his extraordinary physical energy. Just before resigning his position he rode forty miles a day on horseback over mountain trails in the performance of his duties.

Besides the editorial work mentioned Dr. Bartlett was the managing editor of the *Overland Monthly* at the beginning of its career, and he also published a volume of essays on outdoor subjects, entitled "A Breeze from the Woods" for private circulation, which was a rare treat to those who were privileged to read it. For many years he served as chairman of the board of trustees of the Institute for the Education of the Deaf and Blind at Berkeley, and also as chairman of the board of trustees of Mills College.

It was about the year 1871 that Dr. Bartlett became identified with Oakland, and in the residence which he then purchased his death occurred. His was one of the first residences in that section at the time, the country round about being an open field. He was a member of the board of Freeholders that framed the Oakland charter and took an active part in its proceedings. In February, 1873, at the suggestion of

President Gilman of the State University, he helped to organize the Berkeley Club, and of its charter members only two are now living, President Gilman and Rev. Dr. McLean. Politically he was a Republican, though always reserved in his opinions, and cast his vote for the man best suited for the position. His qualifications as a public speaker made his services in great demand, many of his addresses being of a literary character, a line in which he was especially qualified. It was while he was a teacher in the east that he met the lady that was to become his wife, she being one of his pupils. She passed away in California in 1904, at the age of seventy-seven years. Three children were born of the marriage of Dr. Bartlett and his wife, but the only one now living is Albert Lee, who was born in Massachusetts.

HENRY P. DALTON.

One man who has made political history in California in its relation to methods and principles of government is Henry P. Dalton, the assessor of Alameda county. Here and there are public officials in municipal, county and state governments who acquire wide reputation by the manner in which they stamp their individualities on their official careers, by the boldness and strength of character they display, by their conceptions of their official powers and of their official duties to the people, and by the loyalty they display to those conceptions. The assessor comes closer to the interests of the people in his direct official capacity than any other official, for it is he who apportions the financial burdens of government, and upon his honesty and competency and upon his conceptions of right and justice, depend the apportionment of those burdens.

Mr. Dalton has shown how much an assessor can do to correct the habitual injustices of property assessment. His ideas and plan of procedure have been discussed in every newspaper in California. They are without precedent, and

what he has done is unparalleled in the history of assessments. His ideas and what he has accomplished cannot be described in detail here, but, in brief, he has achieved brilliant success, after long battling, in his plan of lowering assessments on residence and other property producing no income and assessing corporate and other property according to income produced by it. Rich corporations were made to pay taxes on the basis of their income and resources and they stoutly resisted this new but wholly just plan of assessing property; but the courts fully sustained Assessor Dalton in making his assessment roll look so unlike those of his predecessors.

The man who achieved this important and wide-reaching victory is a native son of California yet in the prime of young manhood. He was born in Tuolumne county, but has lived in Oakland for about thirty years. Here he was educated and here as a young man he began his business career with his father by entering the firm of Henry Dalton and Sons Company, manufacturers of agricultural machinery. After a few years of this business experience he took an active interest in public affairs in the community in which he was widely known, and in 1893 he was elected a member of the city council from the first ward.

His success as a public official was instant and continued. The innate qualities which have given him distinction and success at once appeared at the front. He displayed marked executive ability, which stamped him as a leader, and his aggressive and unrelenting stand against every form of municipal wrong and undue corporate influences, and his loyalty to the best public interests, at once gave him fame and popularity. He gained not only popularity, but general confidence and esteem, for with his bold and uncompromising policy against whatever he believed to be wrong he united good judgment and complete fair-mindedness. The popularity with the masses of the people which he gained thus in one short year is shown by the fact that when in 1894 he went into the field as an independent candidate for county assessor he was elected by an overwhelming majority.



Sarah W. Deming

beth, a student of Miss Head's School for Girls; and Delphina, a student in the Berkeley high school. Mr. Ferrier is a staunch advocate of Republican principles, but has never sought official recognition, all honors of this nature having been proffered him. In fraternal relations he is a member of Durant Lodge No. 268, F. & A. M.; Berkeley Chapter, R. A. M.; a life member of Oakland Commandery No. 11, K. T.; Islam Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., and is also a member of Oakland Lodge No. 171, B. P. O. E. Mr. Ferrier is esteemed alike for his personal characteristics and the manner in which he has performed his duties as a loyal and patriotic citizen, and in all the communities where he has made his home he has enjoyed a respected position among the representative men.

piled the Worcester dictionary. She was a contributor to the "Herald of Freedom," published in Concord, N. H., and also the anti-slavery organ, "The Liberator," published by William Lloyd Garrison, of whom she was a personal friend, as well as Henry C. Wright, of anti-slavery fame. She had five brothers, all of whom were ministers in the Congregational church, and literary men. The eldest brother, who was pastor of the Tabernacle church, Salem, Mass., was one of the founders of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and its first secretary. In 1794, when sixty-three years of age, John Fox, Sr., applied for a pension and was granted \$8 per month. In March, 1818, he was dropped from the rolls, as he was found to have too much property, then valued at \$461.90. In August, 1823, he applied for reinstatement, but was not restored to the rolls until 1829. He died in 1841 and his wife in 1850. John Fox, Jr., was a soldier in and a pensioner of the war of 1812, serving in the Thirty-fourth regiment, United States Infantry, under Capt. Daniel Crossman. He was born in Groton, N. H., and died in California at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Deming, at the age of seventy-seven years. He is the only veteran of the war of 1812 that lies buried in Mountain View Cemetery.

MRS. SARAH WORCESTER DEMING.

Prominent among the pioneer women of California is Mrs. Sarah Worcester Deming, a resident of Oakland for many years and one of its most esteemed inhabitants. She is a descendant of two prominent families of New England, born in Hardwick, Vt., November 17, 1832, a daughter of John Fox, and granddaughter of John Fox, Sr., descendants of the family of Lord Charles Fox of England, an associate of William Pitt in the House of Lords. John Fox, Sr., was a Revolutionary soldier, enlisted from Dracut, Mass., in 1775, served under Captain Coburn, Col. E. Bridges' regiment of the Massachusetts line, eight months at Cambridge; again enlisted in 1776, under Capt. John Ford, Col. Jonathan Reed's regiment, five months at Ticonderoga; again enlisted, 1777, serving three years in Capt. James Varnum's company, Col. Michael Jackson's regiment of the Massachusetts line, on the continental establishment in General Learned's brigade. He was discharged at West Point, N. Y., March 31, 1780. In 1782 he married Sarah Worcester, the daughter of Noah Worcester and the aunt of Joseph Emerson Worcester, who com-

Sarah Worcester Fox received her education in the common and select schools of the day, as did the others of her father's large family. He had been married twice, having seven children by his first marriage and seven by his second, his second wife being in maidenhood Eleanor Brewer. Going to New Hampshire in young girlhood, Sarah W. Fox made her home there until her marriage, which took place May 15, 1855, in Lowell, Mass., and united her with John A. A. Wilson. He was a native of New Brunswick, and a merchant tailor of Boston, and in Lawrence, Mass., he followed that occupation for some time after his marriage. Mrs. Wilson had some friends who had come to California and the glowing reports they sent back so fired her with enthusiasm that she persuaded her husband to come west. This they did by way of the Isthmus of Panama and arrived in San Francisco December 11, 1859, and there Mr. Wilson took up his trade. They remained residents

of that city until February 1, 1864, when they removed to Oakland, and Mr. Wilson remained unoccupied until his death, March 13, 1865. He invested in property, becoming the owner of two hundred feet on Washington street, where they built their home.

In October, 1868, Mrs. Wilson became the wife of John D. Deming, a native of New Haven, Conn., who had come to California in an early day, via the Isthmus of Panama, to accept a position with the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, remaining with them for years in various capacities. Mrs. Deming erected the first brick building on Twelfth street, between Washington and Broadway, retaining the property for years. She purchased her present home in June, 1893, being the pioneer of the district in the neighborhood of Hardwick and Worcester avenues, where she improved a handsome and substantial residence. Mr. and Mrs. Deming became the parents of two daughters, both born in the home on Twelfth street. Inez F. was educated in the Willard school of Chicago; and Sarah W. Haynes, of Oakland, was educated in Miss L. Tracy's school, "The Oaks," of Oakland. She has two daughters, Florence W. and M. Dorothy. After the death of her first husband, Mrs. Deming's father came to California and made his home with her until his death, he being then seventy-seven years old. She owns considerable property, both improved and unimproved, in Oakland, and also in Niles, Cal., her daughter Inez also owning in the latter place, while she has a beautiful home at Pacific Grove for summer occupancy. Mrs. Deming has traveled extensively throughout California and the Pacific coast, and has crossed the continent eight times, is well read, and thoroughly informed on topics of the day. She takes a keen interest in everything pertaining to the pioneer days of the state, in which, as the wife of sturdy upbuilders of the west, she played an important part. She is also interested in the collection of antiques, and has a large collection of minerals, Indian baskets and miscellaneous curios from various parts of the world. She is a member of the National Daughters of the Revolution at Washington, D. C.; the National Geographical Society; member of Oak Leaf Chapter, Order of the

Eastern Star of Oakland; member of Appomattox Corps, No. 5, W. R. C., in which she has held various offices; and was a delegate in 1892 to the convention in Washington, D. C.; also belongs to the Independent Order of Good Templars and affiliates with its grand lodge, having taken a keen interest in all temperance movements, and was formerly associated with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She has been liberal in fostering all charities of her city, particularly supporting those of the First Congregational church of Oakland, of which she is a member, having formerly belonged to the First Congregational church of San Francisco. No one is better versed in the pioneer history of the city, county and state, and to her credit, be it said, no one lends her aid toward preserving historical data in more complete measure than she. She has long occupied a high position in the citizenship of Oakland, and until the close of her journey here on earth she will be revered and admired for her womanhood, her Christian character and the generosity of all wherewith she has been blessed.

WILLIAM G. BARRETT.

One of the most esteemed of the citizens who helped to make San Francisco and the bay country of California what it is to-day, is the late William G. Barrett, who came as a pioneer to the state and for more than a half century assisted in its upbuilding and development. Mr. Barrett was the descendant of an old New England family, born in Chester, Vt., December 12, 1822, a son of Thomas T. and Nancy (Gront) Barrett, natives respectively of Vermont and New Hampshire, of Welsh and English extraction. The maternal grandfather, a native of Vermont, was a colonel in the Revolutionary war. Mr. Barrett's father was a physician and farmer, who spent his entire life in Chester, where he became a man of influence and standing.

William Gront Barrett attended the public

schools of his native state and also an academy, then completed his education in New Hampshire, after which he engaged in teaching for a time. He finally went to New York City and there found employment as a clerk in a commission house on Broad street, continuing so occupied until his location in Lake Geneva, Wis., where with friends he engaged in the management of a hotel. The glowing reports of the wealth of California turned his attention still further westward and in 1850, with a friend, H. Smith, he came across the plains with the Oregon mail, being two months en route. After their arrival in Sacramento Mr. Barrett went to Feather river and began mining operations, but not meeting with success shortly afterward returned to the city and secured a clerkship in a mercantile establishment. There he continued until 1860, in which year he first located permanently in San Francisco, here securing employment with the San Francisco Gas Company as its collector. Two years later he was made cashier and general bookkeeper of the San Francisco Gas Light Company, while in 1877 he was elected secretary and treasurer, holding this position through the various mergings and successive ownership of the San Francisco lighting interests until 1902, when he was retired as secretary emeritus of the San Francisco Gas & Electric Company. When the Pacific Coast Gas Association was formed July 11, 1893, Mr. Barrett was its fourth charter member, and on July 16, 1902, he was unanimously elected an honorary member of the same. During these years he was a constant attendant of the meetings of the association, and although not an active participant in the discussion, yet his genial and kindly presence was always a benefit to those upon whom the responsibility rested.

Mr. Barrett was one of the early members of the old Union Club, and afterward the Pacific Union as well as of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco. He was a Republican in his political convictions, although never being active along these lines beyond giving his vote toward the establishment and maintenance of good government. He was a genial, kindly natured man, always ready to extend a helping hand to those less fortunate than himself, and to his employes

was ever ready with a word of encouragement or praise.

Mr. Barrett was twice married, his first wife being Miss Sarah Sherman, a native of Massachusetts and a pioneer of California, and born of this union were three children, Charles L., who succeeded his father in his position with the gas company, is married and has two sons; Saretta is the wife of Stetson G. Hindes, of San Francisco, and Mora Moss died at the age of thirty-six years, leaving a wife and daughter. June 4, 1883, Mr. Barrett was united in marriage with Miss Clara A. Brosius, a native of California and daughter of William L. and Zerelda Ruth (Osborn) Brosius, who were pioneers of the state in 1853, crossing the plains amid all the hardships and perils of that early day. The father is deceased, while the mother has since become the wife of J. V. Hunter of San Francisco. In spite of many hardships and privations in early life she is still hale and hearty at the age of seventy-three years. She had eight children, of whom the only survivor is Mrs. Barrett. Mr. and Mrs. Barrett first resided in San Francisco, on Taylor between Sutter and Bush streets, after which they sold and bought a home on the northwest corner of Pine and Taylor streets. This they gave to their daughter in 1886, and going to Sausalito built another home, residing there until after the earthquake, when they purchased the property now occupied by the widow at No. 505 Vernon avenue, Oakland.

JAMES EDGAR FOWLER.

Although a resident of Oakland for the past eighteen years the greater part of the life of James Edgar Fowler spent in California has been passed in Sonoma county, where he is commonly known as the "father of Valley Ford," where with his brother, Stephen L. Fowler, since deceased, he erected the first dwelling in that locality in the month of July, 1852. Mr. Fowler is one of the pioneer settlers of California who can

trace his ancestry in America back to the old colonial days, when a narrow stretch of settlement along the Atlantic coast constituted the only signs of civilization on the North American continent. A hundred years before the Declaration of Independence announced the birth of these United States, the ancestors of Mr. Fowler were counted among the worthy citizens of the New England colonies. His father, Stephen Cornell Fowler, born in Lakeville, Queens county, Long Island, on January 3, 1797, served with the militia in the war of 1812 and took part in the defense of New York City and vicinity.

Born in New York City, December 28, 1828, James Edgar Fowler was the fourth in a family of ten children. He received a public school education, after which he learned the business of builder, which occupation had been followed by his father. Upon hearing of the first discovery of gold in California, Mr. Fowler, then just twenty years of age, left New York City, in company with his elder brother, Stephen L., on the American ship Brooklyn, carrying two hundred and five passengers around Cape Horn to the unknown regions of the new Eldorado. After a four months' voyage they reached the island of Juan Fernandez and visited the cave and home of Alexander Selkirk, the hero of the story of Robinson Crusoe. At the end of a seven months' voyage, after a narrow escape from shipwreck and suffering from scurvy and a short supply of water, they finally reached San Francisco on the 12th of August, 1849. Mr. Fowler and his brother immediately found work as carpenters at \$12 per day, but shortly branched out as contractors on their own responsibility and erected several frame buildings in the vicinity of Clay and Montgomery streets, and assisted in the laying of the foundation of the first brick building erected in San Francisco. Later in the year the two brothers started for the mining country, taking six days to reach Sacramento by boat, and from there going to Drytown, Amador county. They returned to San Francisco immediately after the great fire, when the work of rebuilding offered large returns for their labor, but found that the limited field had been filled by those nearer the scene of activity. They, however,

erected a few buildings for Sam Brannan, after which, February 1, 1850, they left for Marysville and afterward for Downieville, at the great Gold Lake excitement.

An attack of fever and ague induced Mr. Fowler to give up his mining ventures, and from this time on he was identified with the interests of Sonoma county. In the early part of 1852 he purchased of Frederick G. Blume, who had come to California in 1842, a tract of six hundred and forty acres of land, and here erected the first house of what finally became the settlement of Valley Ford. Sonoma county is one of the most beautiful spots in California, with fifty miles of rugged coast line extending from the Estero Americano to the Gualala river, which includes the harbor of Bodéga, Fort Ross and several chutes where vessels may lie at anchor and receive cargoes of lumber, tan bark, cordwood, posts, pickets and other products of the country; its wide, beautiful and fertile valleys, productive for all agricultural purposes, its grand forests and high rolling hills, altogether forming a diversified picture of the multifold charms of the state.

Sonoma county remained the home of Mr. Fowler for many years, while his father, mother and the remainder of the family followed him to the state and also dwelt here to the end of their days. In 1857, while on a visit to the east, Mr. Fowler was married, August 19, to Miss Charlotte E. Palmer, of Morris county, N. J., returning shortly afterward to California, where he has been engaged ever since in farming, mercantile pursuits and mining, and is to-day enjoying the best of health at the ripe age of eighty years. He is properly classed among the portion of the early pioneers who were the actual founders and builders of the state of their adoption. He has seen the state grow from a sparsely settled waste, given over to the excitement and uncertainties of mining and frontier life, to one of the most advanced and attractive communities in America, the garden spot of the country, and in this work no citizen has been more active in every avenue where his help could be given. He was a staunch and loyal patriot at the time of the Civil war, and although the section was largely



N. Lunenburg

southern in sympathy he did not allow this to deter him from putting aloft the American flag on a seventy-foot pole on top of his store at every Union victory. He was always interested in church and charitable movements, having erected a hall which he deeded to the Good Templars. He takes a keen interest in the events of the early days, having been a member of the California Pioneer Society since 1890. Mr. Fowler makes his home with his daughter, Mrs. Lottie B., wife of M. B. Merritt, of Oakland, where he is rounding out the years of a well spent manhood, looking back without regret over the events of the past years, and forward without fear to that which awaits him in the great beyond, in consciousness of duty performed wherever met. August 19, 1907, Mr. and Mrs. Fowler celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in Oakland.

NICHOLAS LUNING.

Among the pioneers of '49 the name of Nicholas Luning should have place, for though he has now passed on to the lights and shadows of the great beyond, the part he played in the citizenship of a new country justly gives him rank among its representative men. Mr. Luning came by inheritance to the sterling traits of character which were distinguishable in his career, being a native of Germany, born March 31, 1820. There he received his education and began a commercial career, when the news of the gold discovery in California attracted the attention of the world to that quarter of the globe. Mr. Luning was in nowise different from the rest, and it was not long before he found himself a resident of San Francisco, and here he at once began business, which he continued throughout the remainder of his life. He engaged in various lines, spending some time in the mines and meeting with his accustomed success. He rapidly acquired a fortune and as an evidence of his great faith in the future of California he invested heavily in this section of the state.

Among the enterprises with which he was identified was the California Bank, in which he was a director, and the Contra Costa Water Company, of Oakland, a coal mine in Coos county, Ore., as well as others of equal importance. Although he remained a citizen of the Fatherland he was a very liberal contributor to all public movements in San Francisco, and indeed no citizen could have better filled his part. An evidence of the esteem in which he was held was shown at the time of his death, when all flags in San Francisco were placed at half-mast.

In San Francisco Mr. Luning was married to Miss Ellen Dempsey, who was born in Ireland, brought to America in childhood, and from New York City came to California, where her death occurred in 1865. They became the parents of the following children: Agnes, who was married and died in Philadelphia; Anna L., wife of George Whittell; Ellen A., wife of George S. Fife; Nicholas, who died at the age of twenty-six years; John N., a resident of New York; Oscar T., of Oakland; and Clara, wife of Athearn Folger. All were born in San Francisco but reared in Dresden, Germany, the father having traveled extensively over Europe and especially in his native land. In San Francisco they made their home in the Palace hotel, having taken up their residence there before the hotel was quite finished, and there Mr. Luning passed his life to the time of his demise in August, 1890.

Oscar T. Luning, the youngest son in the family of his parents, was born in San Francisco, but at the age of six years was taken to Germany, and remained abroad from 1867 to 1889. Every advantage educationally was given him and he profited by them. After returning to America he spent one year in Sonoma county, then a brief time in San Jose, after which he returned to Europe. Returning to California he has been identified with Oakland since the year 1893, and in 1901 he purchased a home at No. 3855 Telegraph avenue, where he has since resided. He has been busy looking after his various interests, which suffered heavily in the San Francisco disaster. He married Marie Philippe, of French birth, and they have one son.

Nicholas T., who was born in Geneva, Switzerland, in which country their home was located for a time. Mr. Luning is a member of the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks, and also a member of Piedmont Parlor, N. S. G. W. He takes an active interest in matters of public import and can always be counted upon to further any plan advanced for the betterment of the general community.

WILLIAM H. HILTON.

The descendants of the Hilton family in America are inheritors of patriotic blood, for since the early colonial days in our history the name has been a prominent one for the wars for independence, supremacy and preservation. Both of Mr. Hilton's grandfathers, William Hilton and Edward Shonnard, were soldiers in the Revolutionary war, while his father, William Hilton, held a colonel's commission in the war of 1812, and was presented with a sword for gallantry by his regiment on his promotion. His son, William H. Hilton, served in the Mexican war, 1846-1848, under Col. Jack Hays, in Captains Sam Walker's and in Ben McCulloch's companies. He also served in the Civil war in the Twenty-third Ohio Regiment, entering it as a private, and was in time promoted captain, and transferred to another regiment. He was very severely wounded at the battle of Shenandoah, left for dead, but finally sent to the New York hospital, where he remained for over six months and was discharged with badly impaired health.

William H. Hilton was born in New York City, March 27, 1827, a son of William Hilton, a native of the state of New York, born March 16, 1777, and Matilda Shonnard Hilton, of Yonkers, N. Y. The father was a personal friend of Gen. Winfield Scott, with whom he served in the war of 1812. The son spent his youth in New York and Brooklyn at school, also at a private boarding school at White Plains, Westchester county, where a brutal, undeserved thrashing by the prin-

cipal caused him to leave home. He had the best of parents, but being of a sensitive nature, the undeserved beating by the teacher worried him and caused a change in his career. In 1844, then seventeen years of age, he left New York City, on the M. B. Lamar, for Galveston, Tex. As the yellow fever was prevalent there he left for Houston, and there got employment as a salesman. Upon the breaking out of the war with Mexico, he enlisted in Capt. Sam Walker's company, participating in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma and Monterey, and the company was there discharged, being six months' men. He then joined Capt. Ben McCulloch's Texas Rangers (with Col. Jack Hays' regiment), and was in the battle of Buena Vista, under General Taylor's command. The Col. Jack Hays' regiment was then transferred to Gen. Winfield Scott's command, and was ordered to Tampico, thence to Vera Cruz, and greatly aided in keeping the road to the City of Mexico free from guerrillas, and guarding the ammunition and provision trains, also the important duty of scouting ahead of the army. Three times he was selected to carry dispatches from Pueblo to General Scott, at the City of Mexico; others with duplicates were also sent, each to take his own route; too many never reported, being killed by the guerrillas. After two years and two months' services he was honorably discharged, when he returned to Texas and became clerk in a small store in the new town of Austin, and was appointed deputy sheriff under James Irwin, who was also a veteran of the Mexican war.

In 1849 Mr. Hilton came to California, around Cape Horn in the ship Panama, and from San Francisco went to the Yuba river to mine, made a small raise and started freighting to the mines, both by wagon and pack mule trains. Later he sold out and engaged in buying bands of cattle and horses in the lower counties, and disposed of them in the northern mines. He had purchased an interest in the old Grass Valley mine, and, as he had also been studying mining "on horse back and at camp fires," he concluded to devote his attention to mining and to get a better knowledge of it, went to work in the Grass Valley mine and "earned his wages." He had made money

and decided to go home, and went to San Francisco. The firm of Bolton, Barron & Co., with whom he had banked, induced him to go to Chili to settle some business there. After accomplishing it the firm to whom he was consigned, offered him the position of superintendent of a rich gold and copper mine, worked by Auricanian Indians. He then went to Peru and was with Harry Meiggs on the survey of the railroad from Mollendo to Arequipa. He returned to California in 1863, and went east to enlist on the Union side as a private during the Civil war, and was promoted captain of a company. In the battle of Spottsylvania he was severely wounded by a shell and was carried from the field apparently dead, but recovering consciousness he was finally taken to the New York hospital, where he remained about six months. Partially recovering his health he returned to California and was appointed superintendent of the Chollar mine at Virginia City, Nev., during the bonanza days, then went to Mexico to take charge of the San Sebastian mines. While thus engaged he was taken with the Mexican coast malarial fever, while making a survey of the bay of Jaltembra, to have vessels come there to take ores to Swansea, Wales. He finally had to resign his position, owing to broken health, and returned to San Francisco. When partly recovered he bought a rancho of one hundred and fifty acres, in Sonoma county, and planted wine and table grapes, also had a fine orchard, and continued to improve the property for about sixteen years. He then sold out, owing to impaired health, caused by old wounds, etc., and bought property in Berkeley, where he has lived retired.

Mr. Hilton married Mary Virginia Glasgow, formerly of Baltimore, Md., and they had one son, William Halsted, who died in 1901. He was a graduate of the University of California, in the mining and chemistry class, where he was held in high esteem, not only by his associates, but by President Wheeler and the faculty, having been appointed by President Wheeler as a member of the faculty in the mining department, which position he held at the time of his death, greatly lamented. William H. Hilton in a staunch Republican in his political convictions. He is now in

his eighty-second year, has poor health, but has courage left to get all the good he can out of life. He has lived a temperate life in every respect, although much of his life has been passed in the army and in the mining camps. Like many others who struck out in their youth his life has been one of hardship, and he has seen life in varied forms, as a poor man and as one comfortably well off. He has many interesting reminiscences of the early day life in Texas in 1844, of war times, and the '49 days of California, and is an entertaining companion, who numbers friends wherever he has been known. He is one of those truly great men who helped to make the great west, and too little can be said in this short sketch.

During the war with Mexico the Texas Rangers scouted over the country so much they also became valuable as dispatch bearers, and as hereinbefore stated, he was sent three times from Pueblo and Japala, with dispatches to Gen. Scott at the City of Mexico, with other dispatch bearers, each to take his own route: too many lost their lives by guerrillas. Once he was severely wounded, but got through. Later on in New York City, while calling with his father on General Scott, he recognized him and kindly gave him a letter of introduction to General Persifer F. Smith, commanding in California. This letter he was unable to present, and has as a valued relic. It is dated January 23, 1849, and highly recommends Mr. Hilton for courage and other moral attributes. Mr. Hilton is a member of the 1849 Pioneer Society of California, secretary of the Association of Veterans of the Mexican War, also a member of the Texas Association of Veterans of the Mexican War, and a member and second vice-president of the Sloat Monument Association.

DARWIN DeGOLIA.

An investigation of the records of the DeGolia family shows that it flourished in the north of Italy as early as 1362, but subsequent generations lived and died in France. In 1789 the

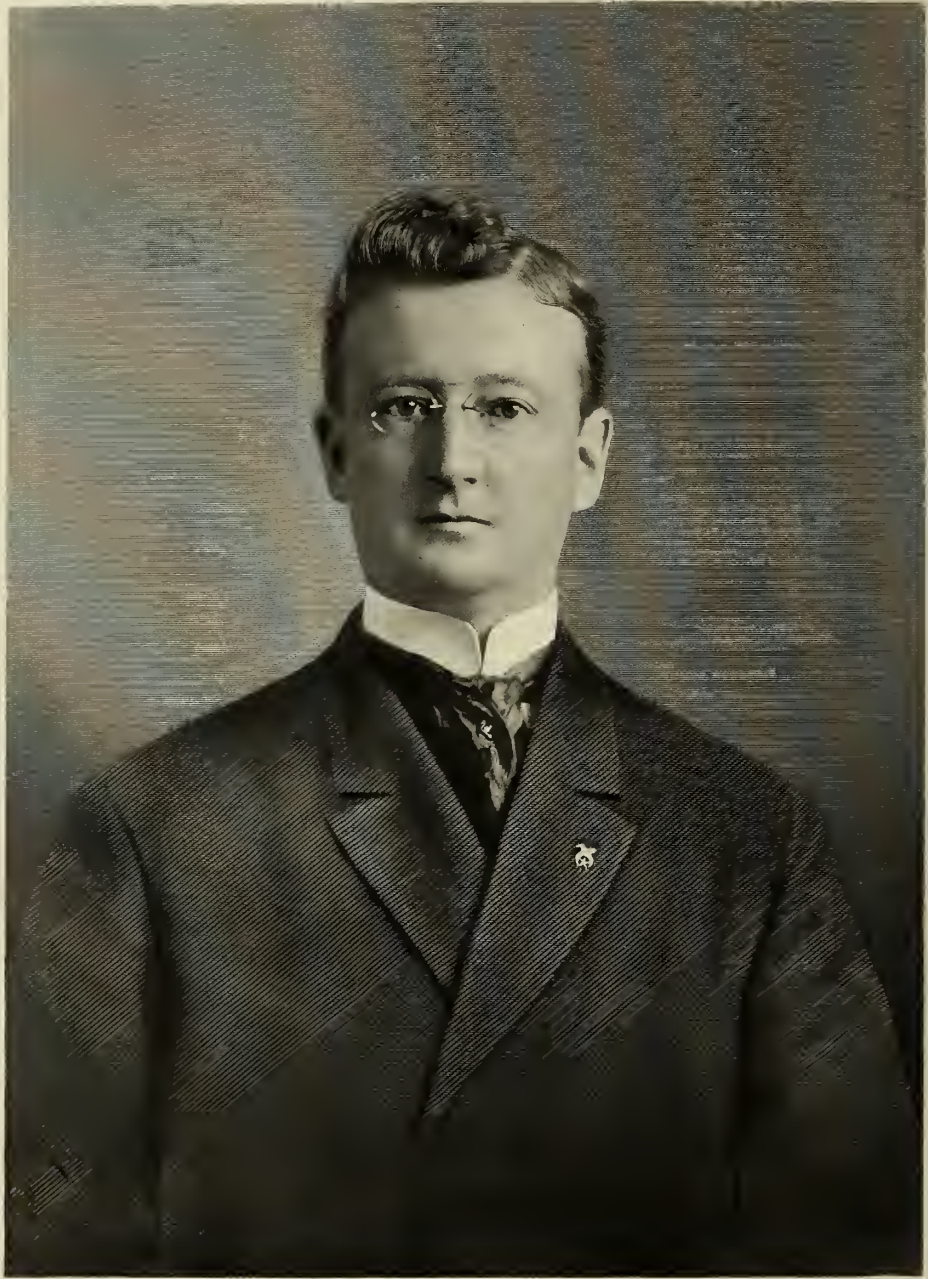
nobility of France were compelled to flee for safety into other parts of the world, and among those who left for England was Marquis Georges deGolier. From London he went to Montreal, Canada, but in 1791 he crossed over into the United States and in what was then known as West Fort Ann, on the shores of Lake George, New York, purchased a homestead and in due time became an American citizen. So thoroughly imbued did he become with the true American spirit of his adopted country that he ignored and avoided everything French, even to anglicizing his name by spelling it Degolyer. He married into the well-known Rensselaer family of Troy, N. Y., and among the children born to them was John, the father of Darwin DeGolia. His marriage united him with a family also well known in the east, Mrs. DeGolia being in maidenhood Abbie Kronkhite, of Albany, N. Y.

By reason of an investigation made in an effort to recover the family estate in France that had been confiscated by the French government because the marquis was a refugee, it was determined about 1840 that the French family deGolier originally came from the north of Italy, where the records were traced back to 1362 and the family name was spelled deGolia. After these investigations the young Californian, Darwin DeGolia, changed his anglicized name of Degolyer back to the original family name of deGolia, and spelled it with a large D, but kept the distinctive large G, and many of the other descendants of the marquis throughout the United States have made the same change.

On the old family homestead at West Fort Ann, N. Y., Darwin DeGolia was born in 1818, and in the vicinity of his birthplace he was reared and educated. His training had been such as to prepare him for the teacher's profession and he followed this calling until caught by the gold fever, when at the age of thirty-one he came to California by way of Panama, arriving in San Francisco in June, 1850, and going directly to the mines. He first sluiced for gold near Coloma, where Marshall first found the yellow dust that made his name famous, and from there he drifted into Hangtown (now Placerville), then the third largest town in California and the county-seat of

Eldorado county. In the history of that famous mining center of early days the name of Darwin DeGolia will always be cited as one of its prominent and leading factors, he taking an active and interested part in all that transpired in that live community. He was one of the leaders that sent Stephen T. Gage to the state legislature in 1855. It was during the following year that he met and married Lavinia W. Baldwin, who had crossed the plains with relatives in the fall of 1855, making the journey by way of Truckee Pass, with Hangtown as their destination.

The troublous times between the north and the south which preceded the breaking out of the Civil war were felt and conditions discussed in the bustling community of Hangtown and sides taken. In June, 1856, eight men met, each heavily armed for protection, and organized the Republican or Fremont party in Eldorado county. At the head of this delegation was Col. William Jones, a veteran of the Mexican war, and among the number were Darwin DeGolia and two brothers of his wife, George and David Baldwin. As the southern sympathizers were numerous and very aggressive they did everything in their power to force public sentiment in favor of establishing an independent government in California. As a result of this intense feeling murders were frequent and it needed strong men as well as brave men to hold public office. The better element selected James B. Home (for many years afterwards at the head of the Wells-Fargo detective force) as sheriff, and Mr. Home appointed Darwin DeGolia and George Baldwin as two of his deputies. Their positions in this capacity were no sinecures to say the least, for they found all they could do in capturing and punishing the many criminals to be found in the mining camps. During 1860 Mr. DeGolia took a prominent part in the efforts then being made to subdue the widespread agitation in favor of having the state join the south and secede from the Union. During this time he made the acquaintance of many prominent men of the state, among them Leland Stanford, with whom his friendship continued until his death. In 1863 Mr. DeGolia assumed control of the Placerville *Republican*, the principal Republican newspaper



F. F. Jackson M.D.

of that time north of Sacramento, of which he was the head for many years. He was strongly in favor of placing his friend Stanford in the gubernatorial chair, and urged his nomination and election upon every occasion. Mr. DeGolia held a prominent place in the civic life of Placerville until 1873, when he removed with his family to Oakland, where his useful and eventful career came to a close in 1889.

All of the four children born to the marriage of Darwin DeGolia and his wife are living in Oakland, the eldest of whom is George E., of whom a sketch will be found elsewhere in this volume.

DR. F. F. JACKSON.

Since locating in Oakland, Dr. Jackson has taken a prominent part in the public affairs of the city, being active in its commercial life, as well as its professional and political. He was born in Caledonia, Ontario, Canada, in 1867, receiving his preliminary education in the public schools of that city. He then took up the study of pharmacy, and in the year 1886 came to California, establishing himself in the drug business in Oakland, and at present is the proprietor of two of the leading drug stores in the city. His researches in chemistry enabled him to perfect the Chicago Boiler Compound, which is manufactured by the Chicago Chemical Company, a company of which he is president and in which he is one of the principal stockholders.

The success which followed his business enterprises enabled him to take up the study of medicine, which had been his aim for years, and in 1899 he matriculated in medicine at the College of Physicians & Surgeons of San Francisco. He received his degree four years later, and passing the examination of the California State Board of Medical Examiners in the same year, took up the practice of medicine in his home city.

Progressive and up-to-date, Dr. Jackson keeps abreast of every advancement in the theory and practice of medicine, and through his spirit of

progression has already won a wide patronage. He is a member of the Alameda County Medical Society, State Medical, and American Medical Associations. He is prominent in social and club life, and has been honored fraternally in the societies to which he belongs; he is a Past Noble Grand of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Past Wise Master of Knights Rose Croix, a Scottish Rite Mason of the thirty-second degree, a Noble of the Mystic Shrine, and a Knight Commander, Court of Honor, at Washington, D. C.

For many years Dr. Jackson has taken a keen interest in municipal affairs and in 1907 was elected as councilman at large a member of the city council. As chairman of the wharves and water front committee, he immediately took steps to improve the immense water front of the city, appreciating the great commercial possibilities of his city if deep water dockage was secured. He entered upon the task with the same zeal that characterized his private enterprises, and succeeded in overcoming corporate and political influences, and in having adopted plans for the improvement of the water front involving the expenditure of \$25,000,000. Oakland's transition from a city of residences to a commercial city will be due largely to the efforts of Dr. Jackson, in securing for her the water front that has been held from her for generations. He was father of the ordinance to establish children's public playgrounds in the city, and his entire public record, although short, shows that he is a man of large ideas and progressive spirit.

DON ANTONIO SUNOL.

California will always retain the influence upon it of the Spanish race in the characteristics of its inhabitants, and the names of the old families will never be forgotten, for they are planted all over the state, not only in the individual representatives of the families, but in their adoption as titles for cities, counties, streets, etc., and the descend-

ants of these families also retain ownership of some of the finest properties of the state. Don Antonio Sunol was born in Barcelona, Spain, June 13, 1797, and at the age of eight years was taken to France by a French general and there educated. Surrounded by this training and influence it is a matter of no surprise that he drifted into the service of the navy and when only a mere youth he had passed through experiences and perils on the sea that would have daunted the courage of many old sailors who had spent their lives on the seas. Off the coast of Africa the transport on which he was making the trip was shipwrecked, and out of six hundred men comprising the troops, only nineteen were saved. From Algeria, where the troops had been sent to settle a difficulty, the remainder of the men proceeded south, rounding Cape Horn and proceeding north on the Pacific ocean to Lima, Peru, where a revolution was in progress. From there they went to Mexico, landing in 1816, and in the same year he proceeded still further north until he reached Monterey, Cal. Here he found himself absolutely penniless, and in order to provide the necessaries of life he parted with the braids of his hair for an ounce of gold, worth \$20, a part of which he invested in lace. With this as his sole stock in trade he again went to Mexico to sell it, and with the proceeds he bought fine Mexican shawls and took them to Peru to sell.

Returning to Monterey, Mr. Sunol turned his attention to dealing in furs, and for this purpose went to Sitka, Alaska, remaining there in the interests of this business for some time. Some of his goods he sold in Mexico, also sent some to Europe, besides dealing to some extent with the Hudson Bay Company. Subsequently Mr. Sunol located in California and in San Jose as early as 1818 started the first store established in the town. A variety of goods comprised his stock, among them, sugar, brandy and soap, besides which he carried calico, which in that day sold for \$1.50 a yard, and red bandana handkerchiefs, which were worth \$16 a dozen. All of the commodities which he handled he manufactured himself, among which may be enumerated shoes, clothes, soap and candles, and he also established a grist mill, making it possible for the settlers to have their grist

ground when they came to town to make their purchases. In 1826 he was appointed the first postmaster in San Jose. In 1850 he purchased what was known as the Los Coches rancho from the Indians for \$500. In the meantime he continued his merchandising business, expanding it as the times demanded, and besides furnishing the American troops with supplies, also supplied necessities to the miners. No one in the community was more thoroughly trusted or loved than Mr. Sunol, and his safe—a large redwood box—was the receptacle in which much of the gold dust of the Mexicans and Indians was kept for safe-keeping. At times Mr. Sunol had in his possession as much as \$3,000,000. In 1852 he sold out his business interests and thereafter lived retired. Subsequently he was appointed superfacto under the Mexican government, a position which corresponded to that of superior judge in this country. The Spanish, French and Mexican flags floated over his home, which was the headquarters for those various consuls, and he himself was the advisor of the governors sent from Mexico. As a partial compensation for the efficient services which he had rendered the Mexican government he received a grant of twelve thousand acres of land. The portion which he received was one quarter of the entire grant, the remainder going to his three brothers-in-law, who were soldiers in the Mexican army. Mr. Sunol devoted his land to the raising of horses and cattle, and at his death it fell to his seven living children and their families, only three of whom are living at this writing. One-third of this tract, however, he gave to General Nagle to assist him in fighting off the squatters. He also had some lots in Sacramento which he had taken from Sutter in payment for some cattle.

Mr. Sunol passed away at his home in San Jose in 1865, mourned by the many friends and associates who had been drawn to him by his tender, sympathetic nature. He built the first Catholic church in San Jose, St. Joseph's, employing about one hundred and fifty Indians to make the adobe bricks, he himself superintending the erection of the building. His marriage in 1823 united him with Dolores Bernal, a descendant of one of the old and well-known families of San Jose, who re-

sided on the Santa Teresa rancho. Of the seven children born of this marriage we mention the following: Paula became the wife of P. Sansevain, and at her death at the age of seventy-five left two children. Jose met an accidental death at the hands of a squatter, with whom he was in dispute concerning the lines bounding grant lands in 1855; he was married and left three children. Incarnacion became the wife of P. Etchebarne, and is the mother of four daughters and one son. José N. during his boyhood was sent to France to be educated and after five years of training returned to San Jose, Cal., and became his father's right-hand man in the care and management of the estate; after the father's death he was made administrator; he is married and has five daughters. Francesca became the wife of J. Lacosti, and is the mother of one son. Antonia married J. Murphy and has two daughters. J. Dolores died at birth. The mother of these children passed away in 1845 and is buried in front of the altar of St. Joseph's Church, an honor accorded her in remembrance of her devoted work in behalf of the Indians. This is the only case known of in California of a woman being accorded this honor. Mr. Sunol was not a man who sought wealth to the exclusion of the higher things of life, in fact his greatest happiness consisted in doing for others, and none can testify to this characteristic more truly than his children, to whom he was a most devoted father. The name of this worthy pioneer is perpetuated in the town of that name, so named in his honor, and is located on his rancho.

ROYAL PORTER PUTNAM.

The Putnam family trace their ancestry to Gen. Israel Putnam of Revolutionary fame, and the first authentic record of the lineage traces to the year 1199, the de Puttenhams, and the first immigrant to American shores was John Putnam in 1614, the founder of the Salem family from which Israel Putnam is descended. As John Putnam was the founder of the name on the eastern shores

of this continent, so the first to establish the family name on the western coast was Royal Porter Putnam. The pioneers of the west were not exempt from hardships and vicissitudes; indeed their lives were one continued round of privations nobly endured and sacrifices cheerfully made. The spirit of optimism which they displayed has come down as an inheritance to their descendants, so that now no state in the Union can present to the world nobler instances of courage and patient endurance than does this commonwealth by the shores of the western sea. Noteworthy among the pioneers of the state who braved many misfortunes and rose above many obstacles may be mentioned the name of Royal Porter Putnam, who though dead, yet lives in the memory of those who were associated with him in the struggles of early days.

Mr. Putnam was a native of the east, born in the town of Covington, Pa., August 5, 1837. the youngest son of Thomas Putnam, a well-known merchant of that town. Educational advantages in his day were very meager indeed, and thus it happened that young Putnam reached the age of twenty years with little or no school training. During all this time he had been a valued assistant to his father in his mercantile business. During the long hours which his position necessitated he improved his spare moments by cultivating his mind, and indeed throughout his life he never ceased in his efforts to make up for the loss of educational privileges in his youth. In 1857, at the age of twenty years, Mr. Putnam bade good-bye to home and friends in the east and with the determination to start life on his own behalf set out for New Orleans. There he joined an emigrant train which was at that time leaving for the Pacific coast. No record of their journey as far as Fort Yuma is available but at that place it is known that Mr. Putnam fell ill with a raging fever which confined him in a hospital for six months, during which time he was entirely at the mercy of strangers. Sickness and delay proved no bar to his enthusiasm however, and as soon as he had gained sufficient strength he resumed his journey towards the setting sun. Reaching Los Angeles, he accepted the first honest employment that offered, and for a time

worked as a laborer in the employ of Colonel Banning. While there he heard much about the superior advantages offered in the northern part of the state and in the light of future events his decision to come north was a wise one. By way of the old stage line which ran between Los Angeles and San Francisco he made the journey, arriving at the stage station then known as the "Lone Cottonwood Tree" located eighteen miles northwest of the present town of Porterville. Here bright prospects awaited him, for without delay he was offered a position with a stage company at \$30 per month. During the time he remained with the stage company he guarded his earnings carefully, laying aside whatever was left after his few wants were satisfied, and at the time of the Kern River gold excitement in 1861 he wisely invested his means in a small hotel. Fortune continued to favor him. Later he purchased forty acres of swamp land which he laid out in town lots, and at the same time started a small general store. From this unpretentious beginning sprang the now prosperous city of Porterville, so named in honor of its founder, Mr. Putnam, who by his associates was familiarly known as Porter. In 1890, when there was a movement to divide Tulare county into two separate counties, a move was made to call one of them Putnam for the pioneer settler.

While upon a visit to the east in 1864 Mr. Putnam was married at Bainbridge, Chenango county, N. Y., to Miss Mary Packard, and soon afterward he returned with his bride to his California home. With renewed energy Mr. Putnam again bent his energies toward the improvement of his interests, extending his holdings from time to time until he had acquired about five thousand acres. In 1866 he built a more commodious store room, in response to the growing demands of his business, his being the principal merchandise and implement establishment in that part of the country. By his upright business dealings and never-varying kindness and geniality he won a lasting friendship with all who came in contact with him, and when death removed him from their midst his loss was indeed a public calamity. He passed away October 21, 1889, survived by his wife and two sons, W. P. and F. O. In re-

sponse to the last wish of their devoted father the sons have continued his business, to which they were trained as soon as their school days were over. Born in Porterville, they attended the village schools during their earlier years and later attended the Berkeley Gymnasium and the University of the Pacific. Before his death Mr. Putnam had contemplated the erection of a business block for store and hall purposes, and as far as has been possible his heirs have carried out his wishes in this respect and a two-story structure, 75x100 feet in dimensions, was erected as a monument to the memory of Mr. Putnam. This proved not only an ornament to the town of which he was the founder, but for many years was the headquarters of the Putnam Brothers extensive mercantile business.

The oldest son, W. P. Putnam, was married in Porterville in March, 1890, to Miss Minnie Kinkade, and they have one child. The younger son F. O., married Onie Wilson and they have one child; they make their home in Santa Clara county. By right of birth both sons are eligible to membership in the Native Sons of the Golden West, and hold membership in Porterville Parlor No. 73.

FRANK D. MITCHELL.

A varied business career has been that of Frank D. Mitchell, at the present time a real estate operator in San Francisco, where he has made his home for more than twenty-five years. He is a native of the state of New York, his birth having occurred in Addison, Steuben county, November 30, 1854. His father, Dr. John Mitchell, was also a native of that state, having been born in Lisle, Broome county, in 1824. He became a prominent physician in Steuben county, where he made his home until his death, which occurred in 1882, the result of an injury incurred in a runaway. His wife was formerly Miss Alma B. Hubbard, who was born at Cameron Mills, Steuben county, N. Y.; she died in Addison.



John Sanborn

Frank D. Mitchell was the eldest son in the family. He received his education through the medium of the common schools and eventually graduated from the high school in Addison. Upon putting aside his studies he became a druggist, following this business for a few years, and then in 1874 he came to California. He located in Hayward, Alameda county, and there engaged in the drug business for two years, after which he went to San Bernardino county and devoted his attention to general merchandising. In 1882 he returned to the bay section of the state and in San Francisco formed a partnership with L. H. Brown in the grain business, continuing this for five years. Disposing of his interest in this concern he accepted the position of chief clerk in the office of the general cashier of Wells Fargo & Co. Express in San Francisco, with whom he remained for sixteen years. Severing his connection with them Mr. Mitchell has since given his time and attention to real estate enterprises in San Francisco and vicinity, a business in which he has been very successful.

In 1879 Mr. Mitchell was united in the holy bonds of matrimony with Miss Mary I. Brown, of Hayward, Cal., and daughter of George Brown, one of the early settlers of this section and an esteemed citizen, and born of this union are four children, namely: Ralph B., Alma L., Frank L. and Maud F. In his political affiliations Mr. Mitchell is an advocate of Republican principles, but he has never aspired to official recognition. His home is now located in Berkeley, and here he has surrounded his family with the comforts and conveniences which are the legitimate fruits of his early industry and ability.

JOHN SANBORN.

In the pioneer days of the state of California, John Sanborn came to the Pacific coast to brave uncomplainingly the hardships, dangers and privations incident to the founding and up-

building of a new commonwealth. That his efforts for the welfare of his adopted state were prolific of results is evidenced by the place given him in the annals of the bay country of California, where he was known for years as one of the prominent factors in the development of natural resources. He was born December 12, 1826, in Perrysburg, Monroe county, N. Y., a son of Joseph and Ann (Blaisdell) Sanborn, pioneer farmers of that section, representatives of English ancestry long established on American soil. He was reared on the paternal farm and received a limited education through an attendance of the primitive schools of that early day, the greater part of the knowledge which enabled him in maturity to make his way successfully in the world coming from a close observation and an instinctive well trained understanding of human nature.

In young manhood he went into business as a manufacturer of lime, and finally became the owner of several boats on the Erie canal. These different enterprises he sold out finally and, in 1851, with twelve other young men, came to California, his main object at that time being to obtain settlement for a boat sold to a man who had emigrated afterward to this state. After securing the settlement he went to the mines of Tuolumne county with his companions, all of whom were educated men and some belonging to different professions. Mr. Sanborn boarded at the Bear Tent, at Red Mountain Bar, and there became the owner of the ferry and conducted this interest until 1868. The flood of 1868 destroyed his property, after which he came to San Francisco and there established himself in the business world, becoming the owner of valuable property. He was one of the organizers of the Clay Street Savings and Loan Society, and retained his stock for a number of years, finally disposing of it and purchasing the Vallejo and Gibbs warehouses (bonded). In 1880 he came to Oakland, and purchasing property improved it for a home, laying out the grounds according to his own ideas and erecting a commodious and comfortable residence. He lived retired here in his beautiful home until his death, which occurred September 28, 1888. His death was uni-

versally deplored, for he had made many friends throughout his long residence in California, being ever ready to lend a helping hand to those in need, never refusing a request for aid, and yet always giving assistance in an unostentatious manner. He was also liberal and helpful as a citizen, and although a staunch advocate of Republican principles, was first of all a loyal citizen in the interests of his community, state or nation. He was a member of the Methodist Episcopal church in religion, and a generous contributor to its charities.

Mr. Sanborn married Miss Elizabeth Brodigan, by whom he had eight children, two, Anna Beatrice and Henry Eugene, dying in childhood. The others are named in order of birth as follows: John A., born in 1871; William B., born in 1873, a Cornell graduate, and on the 'varsity crew; Grace E.; George Francis; Laura E., and Clarence B. All were educated in the best schools and colleges and are possessed of considerable talent in various lines. Mrs. Sanborn was born June 17, 1849, a daughter of Terrance and Ann (Sherlock) Brodigan, the father being a native of the north of Ireland and the descendant of a prominent Irish family. He was well educated in his native country, and came to California in 1857. He purchased property and conducted a hotel business for a number of years, then went to Virginia City, which place he named, and also named the famous Comstock mines. He acquired large interests during his lifetime and became a man of means, passing away in the home of his daughter, as did also his wife. Mrs. Sanborn was educated in Benicia and also by private instruction, being a woman of rare grace and ability, who numbers her friends liberally throughout this section of California, where she has lived practically all her life.

SAMUEL FLEMING GILCREST.

A prominent name among those of the early California pioneers is that of Samuel Fleming Gilcrest, whose life and works are now but a

memory, as he has long since passed to his reward. He was born of Scotch ancestry in Washington county, Pa., August 21, 1819, a son of Robert and Jane (Fleming) Gilcrest; he grew to maturity in Knox county, Ohio, to which location his parents removed when he was a boy. He was brought up as a miller's son, but had higher ambitions and after studying law in Washington College and graduating therefrom he was admitted to the bar and began to practice. He became prominent in his profession and served as probate judge and also was elected a member of the state legislature. In Mt. Vernon, Ohio, December 25, 1843, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary Ann Blackman, who was born in England, March 21, 1820, and was brought to America when eleven years old. She was a daughter of William and Susan Blackman; her father was born August 7, 1796, and became a resident of California, where his death occurred in 1896, when almost one hundred years old.

Mr. Gilcrest removed with his family to Howard county, Iowa, in the spring of 1855, and there homesteaded land and took his place among the pioneers. At the time of the Pike's Peak excitement he started for that place, intent as were all others upon making his fortune in the wonderful discovery. The bubble that had attracted him burst before his arrival there, but he decided to continue the journey and come to California. Upon his arrival in the fall of 1859 he located in San Francisco and remained there until the discovery of the Comstock mines at Virginia City and Gold Hill, where he went at once to the new fields and became a heavy investor, besides acting as manager of Comstock's interests for some time and also practicing law. He lost heavily in his mining ventures; while he was in the east the bottom fell out of the business and left him with practically nothing, though he was preparing to bring his family to California in 1863. They outfitted for the journey with two teams, necessary provisions, etc., and began the trip alone, but hearing of numerous Indian massacres that had occurred to solitary travelers, they made forced marches and caught up with a Mormon train and thus completed their jour-

ney, arriving in Oakland, November 3, 1864, four months after they had left the Missouri river. Mr. Gilcrest established his home at the corner of Fifth and Harrison streets, and began the practice of his profession in San Francisco, continuing thus occupied for about one year, after which he located in Oakland and continued his practice up to two years prior to his death, which occurred January 1, 1887. He held many positions of trust and responsibility in the home of his adoption, was attorney for the Union Savings Bank, and succeeded in building up a large clientele, making a specialty as searcher of records. Fraternally he was a Mason, having been made a member of the organization in Mt. Vernon; his wife, who died February 12, 1893, was a member of the Baptist Church and to this denomination he gave a liberal support. They were the parents of the following children: Frank Marion, born in Mt. Vernon, October 14, 1844; Inez Augusta, who was born August 22, 1847, and who became the wife of Hugh Craig, of Oakland; William Murray, who was born June 7, 1849; John, born August 21, 1851; and Fred, born November 9, 1853, and died July 26, 1854. Mr. Gilcrest was a man of strong character, staunch integrity, and personal attributes, which won for him a wide circle of friends, who hold him to-day in remembrance because of these things.

Frank Marion Gilcrest, the eldest son, inherited the sturdy qualities of character which distinguished the elder man. His school days over he began as a boy to make his own way and worked at various occupations until 1875, when he became associated with the New Zealand Insurance Company, and remained with them for some time. For the past seventeen years he has been the representative of the Royal Insurance Company, as special agent and adjuster. He is a prominent citizen of Oakland, being associated with various public movements; fraternally he is an Odd Fellow, having become a member of the organization in Oakland over forty years ago. June 10, 1873, he was united in marriage with Mary Catherine Sailor, a native of Logan county, Ohio. They became the parents of three children, namely: William, born May 25, 1875,

and died December 1 of the same year; Charles F., born September 8, 1880, an electrician and now assistant instructor in the electrical department of the University of California, of which he is a graduate; and Herbert F., in the employ of the San Francisco Gas & Electric Company.

JOHN T. BRADLEY.

But a few years have elapsed since the death of John T. Bradley, one of the pioneers of California, and one whose best efforts were ever given toward the betterment of the country in which he spent the best years of his life. Mr. Bradley came of an old southern family, his birth having occurred in Bourbon county, Ky., in which state his father, Hiram Bradley, a native of Virginia, engaged as a farmer for many years after the war of 1812, in which struggle he participated. Later he removed to Illinois for a few years, but eventually returned to Kentucky, where he spent the last years of his life. His wife, formerly Mary Markwell, died while they resided in Illinois.

John T. Bradley was born July 18, 1835, in Bourbon county, and soon afterward his parents removed to Bath county, Ky., where he grew to young manhood. He attended both the common and subscription schools of Kentucky in pursuit of an education. In 1850 he crossed the plains to California, working his way by driving a wagon in a train, and upon his arrival, like many others, went at once to the mines. This was the beginning of a long and successful career as a miner and dealer in mining stocks, although until he had acquired experience he had his obstacles to overcome in much the same manner that other fortune seekers had. After having acquired some means he began to deal in mining properties on his own responsibility, becoming half owner of the Dromedary, which employed a force of three hundred and fifty men. After this enterprise closed down he went to Virginia City and was there identified with many big deals.

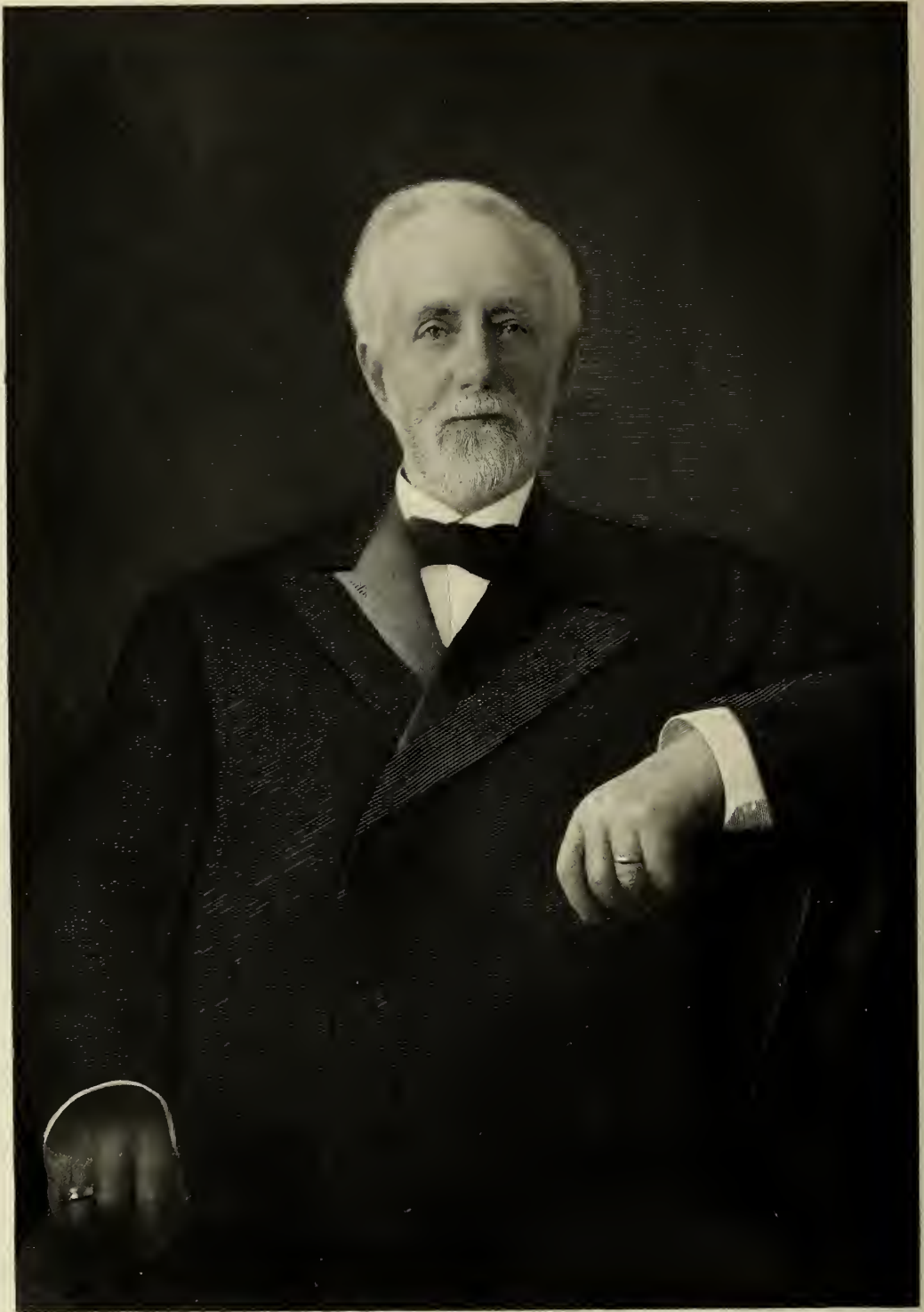
owning one of the first mines which was sold to the famous Comstock company, in which he also became interested. In the succeeding years Mr. Bradley traveled extensively throughout the state, investigating mines and mining properties, and came to be recognized as an authority on such subjects. Four years he spent in New York City as a speculator in mining stocks and there met with the same success which had characterized his career in California. One year of his life he spent as a resident of San Francisco, and for the thirty-five years prior to his death he had made Oakland his home.

Mr. Bradley returned east by way of the Isthmus of Panama a few years after coming to California the first time, and in Bath county, Ky., near Wyoming, in 1855, he was united in marriage with Miss Eliza J. Boyd. She was born in Fleming county, Ky., a daughter of Samuel Boyd, who was a native of Bourbon county and the descendant of an old Virginia family of Scotch and German extraction. He engaged as a builder in Bath and Fleming counties until his death. Her mother was in maidenhood Lucy Van Nattan, who was born in Kentucky, a daughter of Jarick and Anna (Estill) Van Nattan, natives respectively of New Jersey and Kentucky, the latter living to the age of one hundred and five years. Mrs. Boyd passed away in Bath county, Ky., leaving six children, of whom two now survive. Mr. Bradley and his wife returned to California in 1856 by way of the Isthmus of Panama, and he at once resumed his mining operations, which he continued up to within four years of his death. They became the parents of four children, one passing away in childhood, the others now surviving: Mary F., Lucy and Hiram T., all at home. Mr. Bradley's death occurred July 18, 1902. He was ever a capable and reliable citizen in every respect, always ready to lend his aid toward the furtherance of any plan for the betterment of the community. He organized the People's Water Company, but because of illness was unable to put the matter through to completion. He was far-sighted and thorough in his work, and in his investments in Oakland demonstrated not only his faith in the future of the

city, but his judgment as well. Politically he was a staunch advocate of Republican principles, and was always loyal to the Union, even though of southern birth and lineage. Fraternaly he was prominent in Masonic circles, having been made a member of the organization in Grass Valley and there raised to the degree of Knight Templar. His widow occupies an enviable position among the pioneer residents of the city, being held in the deepest respect for her personal qualities, as well as for the business ability with which she has managed her affairs since her husband's death.

JOHN JOSEPH GILL.

A prominent citizen of San Leandro is John J. Gill, who as president of the city board of trustees exercises an influence in municipal affairs which has resulted in material benefit for the general public. Mr. Gill is a native of New York, his birth having occurred in Elmira, Chemung county, August 7, 1864. His father, who was a native of Ireland, came to America in young manhood and in Elmira, N. Y., married Mary Battersby, a daughter of John and Catherine (Bolf) Battersby. They remained residents of the Empire state until 1866, when they immigrated to California and in San Francisco spent the first two years. Coming to San Leandro in 1868, Mr. Gill purchased a tract of three and three-quarter acres of land, built a residence and outbuildings, installed a wind pump, and later engaged extensively in the raising of fruit. He set out the orchard now cared for by his son, J. J., which consists of about two hundred and ninety trees principally cherry. Mr. Gill always took a strong interest in local affairs, in politics voting the Democratic ticket on national issues, but in his home town giving his support to the men and measures best calculated to advance the general welfare. He died November 7, 1901, at the age of seventy-one years, survived by his wife, who is now sixty-five years old. They became the parents of the following chil-



Charles Nelson

dren: Catherine; Thomas, who died at the age of forty-one years; John Joseph, of this review; Margaret; William and Anna, twins.

John Joseph Gill was reared in California, receiving his education in the public schools of San Leandro and through a private instructor, and then took a commercial course in a business college in Oakland. He began teaching school in Capay valley, Yolo county, and continued in this profession in various portions of Alameda county until 1903. Since that year he has given his attention principally to the raising of fruit, caring for his mother's property and an eight-acre tract of his own located on Dutton avenue, where he has an orchard of apricot, cherry, peach, pear and apple trees. This is sufficiently damp from its own moisture and does not require irrigation. He has become prominent in the public life of San Leandro and in April, 1904, was elected to the city council and has served as president since April, 1906. He has proven an upbuilding force in public affairs, and is accounted one of the most practical and helpful citizens of the community. In religion he is a member of the Catholic Church of San Leandro, and is a generous contributor to all worthy projects advanced for the general good of the community.

CAPT. CHARLES NELSON.

A review of the representative citizens of San Francisco and vicinity and of the men who have played an important part in the history of this part of the state would be deficient without a sketch of the life and work of Capt. Charles Nelson. While his name is well known in financial circles, as president of the Western National Bank of San Francisco, he is perhaps even better known among lumber and shipping interests as president of the Charles Nelson Company, the business being capitalized at \$500,000, and classed as one of the most stable enterprises of the kind on the Pacific coast.

As is true of many of California's best busi-

ness men, Mr. Nelson is of foreign birth, the family from which he descended having for many generations lived and died in Denmark. He himself was a native of that country, having been born September 15, 1830, and was a lad of only thirteen years when he separated from family and friends and came to the United States to take advantage of the many opportunities which at that time were holding out such glowing inducements to young men of spirit and determination. Nature endowed him with a keen, retentive, penetrating mind, which was exhibited not alone in his early school days, but in after life in whatever he undertook he had a faculty of grasping the situation at a glance and the no less important ability to execute in detail what his judgment had pointed out. At the age of thirteen years he left home and went to sea and for his valuable services on the vessel he received seventy-five cents per month. From this humble position he rose gradually step by step until he became mate, and it was found there was nothing to which he could not turn his hand, even taking the place of cook when the necessity arose. On one of his voyages he went to New York in 1847. Having promised his mother he would return in four or five years, he sailed from New York in 1849 to visit his old home in Denmark. This was the last time he ever saw his parents, his father dying in 1850 and his mother in 1863. In 1850 he shipped for California, arriving in the harbor of San Francisco in July of that year. The news of the finding of gold had been the cause of his coming to the state and it was thus natural that he should try his luck in the mines. After following it with only fair success he finally gave it up for a life with which he was more familiar and for which he had a natural adaptation. In the early days he secured an interest in a whaling boat at Sacramento and with the assistance of a comrade rowed the boat from Sacramento to Marysville, a distance of ninety miles, carrying freight and passengers. He made frequent trips down the river buying vegetables and garden produce, which was sold in the city. He purchased these supplies from a Mr. Farber and his three sons, who had settled on Steamboat

Slough in 1846. He also took up a government claim of two hundred and fifty acres down the river, paying \$2.50 per acre for it. In addition to his shipping operations the captain also engaged men in the winter to chop wood, which was sold to the steamers engaged in the river trade. After hard work and economy he accumulated a little money, which he placed on deposit in Adams & Co. Bank, intending to use it to defray the expense of the repairs on a vessel which at that time he was rebuilding. Before he could use any of the money, however, the bank of Adams & Co., together with other banks of San Francisco, failed and he never received one cent of his hard-earned money. The captain says he owes everything of a successful nature to his good, sensible wife, to whom he was married in 1856. In 1862, in connection with John Kantfield, the captain became interested in a barkentine, the first one built on the Pacific coast, and still later became interested in a larger vessel in San Francisco.

Mr. Nelson's identification with the lumber business dates from the year 1867, at which time he bought an interest in the Kimphill Lumber Company, who owned large sections of timber land in Humboldt county, Cal. After Mr. Nelson became interested in the business the company extended the scope of the business, by extending the facilities for the manufacture of lumber, also purchasing a line of tow boats, and from their various mills they shipped large quantities of lumber to all points along the coast as far south as San Pedro and extending north to Portland and Seattle. As his means accumulated Mr. Nelson made investments in other vessels, building up a large shipping business on the coast, which finally became organized and known as the Charles Nelson Company. In connection with their sailing vessels the company has four steamers, among which is a new one of steel, now on her maiden voyage, built by Moran Brothers, of Seattle. The present officers of the company are Charles Nelson president, James Tyson vice-president and treasurer, and P. Thompson secretary. The offices of the company are located at No. 112 Market street, San Francisco, in one of the city's new office build-

ings, and both from an accessible point of location and as a result of the excellent business reputation of the company they are receiving a large share of the business in their line in San Francisco and surrounding country. Mr. Nelson is interested in twenty or more sailing vessels in carrying and distributing lumber at their different points, which includes China, South America, Australia and intermediate points.

Six children were born of Mr. Nelson's marriage with Metha Clausen, a native of Denmark, which occurred on October 13, 1856, but of the number all died in infancy with the exception of one daughter, Margaret, who is now the wife of Eugene Bresse. Having had no boys of his own the captain brought over seven nephews from Denmark, most of whom are married and have homes of their own in Alameda county. The wife and mother passed away in 1896, leaving a blank in the affections of her husband and daughter, as well as in the hearts of the many friends to whom she was endeared through association of many years with the Old People's Home. By nature she was kind hearted and public spirited and it was a desire to benefit the old people among her countrymen from Denmark that induced her to establish the Old People's Home in San Francisco. At first the home was restricted to those of Danish origin, but it finally opened its door to old people of all nationalities. The institution still exists as a monument to its originator, and is now in charge of her daughter, Mrs. Bresse, who was appointed president of the home upon the death of her mother.

The second marriage of Captain Nelson occurred in 1901 and united him with Miss Helen Stind, also a native of Denmark. They have a commodious residence on Seminary avenue, which is surrounded by twelve acres of land, and taken all in all forms one of the finest country residences of the vicinity, for no means have been spared in its improvement and beautification. Here the captain spends his leisure time, for though he is now in his seventy-ninth year, he goes daily to his office in San Francisco. Politically he is a pronounced Repub-

lican, and fraternally he is identified with the Masons. He was also president of the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco for four years. Throughout his life he has been an inveterate reader, and as his reading has been confined to the best literature he is well informed, and is an easy and pleasant speaker. For a number of years he has been a trustee of Mills College, a girl's school, which is located in close proximity to his home. During the many years that Captain Nelson has been located in the Bay cities he has won a host of friends on account of his unswerving devotion to duty and honesty of purpose, and all who know him admire him for his pleasing personality.

SOCRATES HUFF.

The late Socrates Huff holds a place in the annals of Alameda county unsurpassed by that of any other citizen, won not by great wealth, but by the inherent qualities of noble manhood which distinguished his career. His death, which occurred in San Leandro September 26, 1907, removed from the community which had known him, a successful financier and a man of affairs, and above all a man of noble mental and moral stature, unswerving integrity and honesty of purpose, whose life was ever a power for good and an influence toward better, higher and purer things. His is a career which will never pass from the memory of those who have known him, for its influence will live for all time in the lives of the many who have felt the power of his strong, earnest and upright manhood.

A son of William and Plesa (Garver) Huff, Socrates Huff was born in Crawford county, Ohio, July 1, 1827, and when he was two years old the family home was transferred to St. Joseph, Mich. The wife and mother did not long survive the journey, for the following year, 1830, she passed away, ere her son was capable of realizing his loss. He grew to manhood in St. Joseph, and in addition to his school training, re-

ceived the equally necessary training for a business career, which well fitted him for the battle of life which was before him. It was about New Years day of 1849, that letters were received in his home town telling of the discovery of gold in California. As he was then a young man full of ambition and ready for any venture which promised larger opportunities than his home surroundings had to offer, it is a matter of no surprise that Socrates Huff was among those who soon set out for the Golden West; indeed, he himself formed a party for that purpose. The little party was composed of Socrates and L. B. Huff, L. C. Wittenmyer, A. M. Church, James M. Morton and A. P. Pinney. Having secured their equipment, purchasing their mules in Indiana, wagons in Chicago and provisions in St. Louis, they set out in February, 1849, to make their way to the "land of promise." Mr. Huff arrived at Bear River August 12, 1849, stopping there long enough to try his hand at mining, but at the end of two weeks he abandoned it and made his way to Sacramento. For a short time he held a position in that city, but ill-health made a change of location necessary, and from there he went to Mission San Jose, remaining there until March, 1851. It was about this time that he returned for a visit in the east, and after remaining a few months, again took up life in the west. In August of that year he purchased a vessel which he put on the line between Alvarado and Stockton, and until November, 1852, carried on a remunerative business.

Returning to the east a second time, Mr. Huff was there united in marriage, February 14, 1853, to Miss Amelia Cassady, a native of Pennsylvania, and in May of the same year the young people started for California. Mr. Huff driving a large band of cattle and horses. Green Valley, Contra Costa county, was their destination, and there they made their home until 1857, in which year they transferred their abode to Hayward, Alameda county. Eighteen months afterward Mr. Huff again went east, but as on previous visits he again came to make his home in the west, this time settling in San Leandro, which was ever afterward his home and the scene of his most telling achievements. Mr. Huff was always alert to

respond to the duties of citizenship, and in selecting him to public office his fellow-citizens knew in advance that their interests and those of the general public were entrusted to one who held a public trust as a sacred office. In 1863 he was elected treasurer of Alameda county, a position which he filled with credit for four years, during which time he was also interested in a mercantile business in Carson City, Nev. In 1880 he was chosen as a delegate-at-large from this state to the national convention held at Chicago, at which the martyred President Garfield was nominated. In 1886 he was recalled to the county treasurership, succeeding himself in the elections which followed in 1888 and 1890, and could have had a nomination in 1892 if he had so desired, as Mr. Huff was recognized throughout the state as the synonym of honesty and fidelity to any great public trust. At an early day he became identified with the banking interests of Oakland and was one of the organizers and directors of the Union Savings and Union National Banks of that city. He continued to be actively identified with banking in Alameda county up to the time of his death, having in the meantime organized the Bank of San Leandro, of which he became president. The institution was a success from the start, and under his careful and able management made wonderful progress and is today counted as one of the most stable financial institutions in Alameda county.

The death of Socrates Huff occurred at his home in San Leandro September 26, 1907, the death of his wife having occurred about three years previously. They became the parents of seven daughters, of whom six are now living, as follows: Mrs. J. F. Sloane, Jennie Huff, Mrs. O. P. Downing, Callie Huff, Mamie Huff and Mrs. Bush Finnell. Mr. Huff was a member of but one organization, the Society of California Pioneers, of which he was at the time of his death one of the vice-presidents. In closing this brief review of the life of one of Alameda county's noble citizens it is only fitting to recall the tributes paid to his memory by those who knew him best. He was a man of the highest type of character, and of sterling integrity in all the walks of life. In business his word was held equal to

his bond, and in public as well as in private life he was held in the highest esteem for uprightness and irreproachability of character. The Rev. E. E. Baker delivered an eloquent eulogy over the remains of Mr. Huff, from which we quote as follows: "A good name is to be desired rather than great riches. One of the priceless legacies given unto this family is this name for honesty and incorruptibility, unsullied, and without tarnish or stain or blemish."

JUDGE ALEXANDER M. ROSBOROUGH.

The death of Judge Alexander M. Rosborough occurred on the 6th of November, 1900, removing from the community of Oakland a citizen who had been prominent in public affairs for a half century, giving the best years of his manhood to the upbuilding and development of the state at the time most needed in the history of the commonwealth. Judge Rosborough was the descendant of southern ancestry, and was born in Chester district, South Carolina, May 30, 1815; his parents removing to middle Tennessee in 1826, he received his preliminary education through the medium of the public schools in his home community. Although but a lad in years he volunteered for service in the campaign to suppress the Creeks in Georgia and Alabama, and after the signing of the treaty a regiment volunteered to go to Florida to fight the Seminoles, the last of these veterans being the judge. Returning home he entered the Tennessee university and graduated therefrom in 1839, after which he engaged for a time in teaching. Taking up the study of law with Judge Cahal he combined the practice of his profession with journalism, about this time becoming editor of the *Columbia Observer* and *Nashville Whig*, which matters occupied his attention during the ensuing eight years.

Coming to California in 1850, Judge Rosborough was one of the first to wield the pen on the San Francisco *Evening Picayune*, holding the position of editor for some time. Later he formed



Jed McCampbell

a company to settle at Cape St. George, the present site of Crescent City, which place he named. He removed to Yreka, Siskiyou county, in 1853, and there practiced law with J. Berry and Elijah Steele until he was elected county judge, in which capacity he served for fourteen years, when he resigned to become judge of the district court. He held this position for ten years, when his judicial career was ended by the statute of limitation under the new constitution. During all those years Judge Rosborough enjoyed the political support alike of the Republicans and Democrats, and never once was a decision of his reversed by the supreme court. At the close of the Modoc war in 1873 he was appointed by President Grant, at the request of the Indians, as one of the peace commissioners. In 1879 he became a permanent resident of Oakland, where he acquired the prominence that had been his as a resident of Northern California. During the political campaign in Alameda county in 1890 the citizens of Siskiyou county, in a petition liberally signed by Republicans and Democrats alike, recommended Judge Rosborough to the voters of this county as a non-partisan candidate for the office of superior judge, but he declined to enter the campaign. He continued the practice of his profession for many years in Oakland, became a member of the board of education, and in every possible way sought to advance the interests of the city. Up to the time of his death, although then advanced in years, Judge Rosborough's faculties were as clear and his judgment as good as in his earlier days.

The judge left a widow, a daughter, Mrs. Fanny J. Gardiner, and two sons, Alexander J., ex-county tax collector, and Joseph J. Rosborough.

FREDERICK McLEAN CAMPBELL.

For six generations the ancestors of Frederick McLean Campbell, late a citizen of Oakland, were residents of Connecticut, where members of the family became prominent in commercial, pro-

fessional and political life. His parents removed to New York City and there he was born in 1837, the seventh in a family of eight sons; the mother, who was a Miss Bidwell before marriage and a descendant also of a family for six generations resident of Connecticut, died when this son was but four years old, while the father attained the ripe age of eighty years. The father inherited Scotch characteristics which were distinguishing marks of his personal appearance.

The early education of Frederick McLean Campbell was obtained in the public schools of his native city, and at the age of fifteen years was placed in charge of a class, during which incumbency he attended the normal school. He graduated at eighteen and two years later married Miss Catherine A. Marston, also a teacher, and who throughout her life proved a helpmate to her husband in his chosen work. The two came together to California in 1858, and on the 3d of September Mr. Campbell took charge of the Vallejo school, continuing in that position until recommended by Rev. J. H. Brayton to a position in the College School of Oakland, and the duties of which he assumed in 1861. He had all the characteristics of a successful teacher, his very carriage and gait expressing firmness and decision of character; an eagle eye which took cognizance of all going on around him, and combined with these attributes a geniality of disposition, a kindness and courtesy, which won him friends among both children and patrons. He quickly rose to prominence as a leading instructor of the state of California, and in 1870 was chosen superintendent of public schools of Oakland. He threw his whole life into the success of his work, gathering about him the best assistants, upon whom he impressed the importance of advancing the interests of the schools of the section. During the thirteen years of his incumbency he accomplished for the schools of Oakland what would ordinarily have taken many years to bring about. His merit being generally recognized, in 1879 he was elected state superintendent of public instruction, and with the revolutionizing of the school system by the new constitution he found his duties onerous in the extreme. He was most active in the revision of the school laws and in

their execution, and maintained his position until 1883, when he retired from the office. California's system of public instruction, as fixed by custom and code, is largely the work of John Sweet, living, and Fred M. Campbell, deceased, the former instrumental in laying the foundations broad and strong, and the latter in adjusting and adapting the parts; the one steady, constructive, tenacious, attentive to details and combative on occasion, the other affable, brilliant, inspiring, resourceful, conciliatory as a rule, and tireless in the pursuit of an object to be attained.

Returning to Oakland, Mr. Campbell made this city his home until his death, interesting himself not only in all educational movements, but as well in the general upbuilding of the city. He served as city councilman for a time and took an active interest in the municipal welfare of the city. He was president of the State Teachers' Association, was a member of the board of regents of the state university, formerly the Brayton school, in which he was a popular teacher for many years; was ex-officio of the normal school; and, indeed, was the first to be called upon to support all educational movements. He introduced the semi-annual promotion in the Oakland schools, and was instrumental in bringing the National Educational Association convention to Oakland in 1888. Mr. Campbell was a member of the Masonic organization, having joined in Vallejo, and became a charter member of Oakland Lodge, No. 188, F. & A. M. His death, which occurred in Washington, D. C., March 28, 1905, was universally deplored, for he had won a wide friendship throughout the entire state and enjoyed a position second to none in the esteem of his fellow townsmen.

Mrs. Campbell passed away January 27, 1893, being almost fifty-six years old. She was born in New York City April 4, 1837, and educated for a teacher, and while thus engaged met her future husband. After marriage she accompanied her husband to California, and for many years remained his most devoted assistant in all his educational work. For three years she acted as deputy state superintendent of public instruction, and twelve years as deputy superintendent of the Oakland schools, while she taught for

many years in the local schools. She figured in public only for the sake of her husband, being a devoted wife and mother, and unusually fond of the peace and quietude of her own home. They became the parents of seven children, of whom Gertrude became the wife of John Dassel, of Niles, Cal., and has seven children; Andrew M. is employed in the Los Angeles Coffin Company, of Los Angeles; he is married and has two children; Emma died in Sacramento at the age of twenty years; Mary M. is principal of the Fred M. Campbell school of Oakland; Grace is the wife of William M. Gassaway, of Oakland; Marston, a civil engineer, resides in Honolulu, and is superintendent of public works for the Hawaiian islands; he has one child, Marston, Jr.; and Catherine is the wife of H. P. Roach, of Oakland, and the mother of one son.

GEORGE WILLIAM FRICK.

The Frick family was established in California by George Washington Frick, a native of Westmoreland county, Pa., a son of Abraham Frick, a sturdy descendant of German settlers, as was also his wife, his death occurring in 1880 and hers in 1888. They were the parents of six sons and two daughters. George Washington Frick removed to Illinois about 1839, accompanying his parents, who settled on a farm near Moline. He received his education in the district schools of the period, which he supplemented by private study, working his way through a course in the Mount Morris Seminary when about twenty years old. He was married in Galena, Ill., in 1852, and before the close of the year the young couple set out for California accompanied by her parents. They crossed the plains without serious mishap and in 1853 arrived in the state, where Mr. Frick taught the first public school in Santa Cruz for one or two terms, then moved to Centerville, Alameda county, where he was similarly engaged. He was one of the first Republicans in the state and

almost from the first he was active in party affairs. In 1857 he moved to Sonoma county and three miles northeast of Petaluma he purchased a ranch of one hundred and twenty acres, and at the same time taught the Bethel school for one term. In 1860 he was nominated for sheriff, made an active canvass at the expense of time, money and energy, but withdrew before election in favor of a Union Democrat, to promote the chances of the Union party, then formed of Douglas Democrats and Republicans. He was active in the Union League movement during the Civil war, and president of the Bethel Union League. He was chairman of the Sonoma county delegation in the state convention that nominated George C. Gorham for governor. He was twice elected supervisor, though the county had a Democratic majority, and his most bitter opponents never impugned his official integrity. He was recognized as a man of high principles, and though loyally attached to the party of advanced ideas, was a lover of freedom and had no use for party "bosses." He was school trustee for fifteen years, and an official of the Methodist Episcopal Church nearly all his life. In 1871 he disposed of his interests near Petaluma, and the following year found him located in Mendocino county. He was next identified with the Lompoc Temperance Colony, in Santa Barbara county, where he located in 1874, being one of the pioneers of the movement. He kept the first general store in Lompoc, and while serving as school trustee was largely instrumental in erecting a \$5,000 school house within a year of the time of settlement, while he was also an efficient promoter of the erection of a good church building for the Methodist Episcopal Church. Selling his store in Lompoc he purchased a dairy ranch of one thousand acres in the San Miguelito canyon about 1876, and three years later located permanently on the place. For the benefit of his children he later rented the property and moved to Oakland, where they could have the best educational advantages. Mr. Frick died in Lompoc while on a visit, July 12, 1889, at the age of sixty-two years. His wife, who died May 3, 1884, was in maidenhood Mary E. Bryant; her father, William Cowper Bryant, was a native of New Eng-

land, who immigrated to Illinois at an early date in the history of the middle west and engaged as a merchant in Galena. He made several trips to California, first by way of Mexico and later by the Isthmus. While crossing the plains he was shot by Indians and for some time he carried the arrowhead in his breast. Finally he had to have it cut out with a butcher knife, as he could not reach a doctor. He was also a pioneer drayman of San Francisco, and while there fell through a wharf and received injuries that crippled him for life. His wife, Anna (Sterret) Bryant, was of German extraction and was prominent in church and charitable work throughout the state, where she became generally known as "Mother Bryant." She came across the plains on crutches and lived to be about seventy years old. Two of her sons, both ministers, John and William, are still surviving. Mrs. Frick was president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Lompoc at the time of her death. Mr. and Mrs. Frick were the parents of the following children: George W., of this review; Laura A. L., who died December 3, 1888, of typhoid fever, at the age of twenty-seven; Abraham Lincoln, who was born February 21, 1866, and in manhood became a lawyer, holding the position of deputy district attorney of Alameda county in 1891 and later that of superior judge; John Frederick, who was born October 23, 1869, and was graduated from the Oakland high school in 1888, and has also studied law; and Blanche, who was born October 9, 1874, also a graduate of the Oakland high school.

George W. Frick, one of the most prominent educators of Alameda county, was born in Santa Cruz, Cal., April 4, 1854, and received his early education in the Bethel district school in Sonoma county, and at the age of fourteen years entered Prof. E. S. Lippett's scientific and classical institute at Petaluma. In 1870 he took one term in a grammar school under the instruction of J. W. Anderson, later state superintendent of public instruction; and in 1871 he entered the Napa Collegiate Institute. At nineteen he learned the printer's trade in a newspaper office in Napa; was then with the same employer in San Jose, where he first began to write for the

paper. He then returned to Petaluma, from which place he went to Lompoc with the family, where he taught a private school and worked on the local paper. He next studied law in San Francisco for about nine months. Returning to Petaluma he worked as compositor and writer, studying also to qualify as a teacher and afterward received his teacher's certificate in Santa Rosa in 1877. Thence he taught in Sebastopol, same county, and from that place returned to Lompoc, where his parents had located in 1874. Coming to Alameda county in 1879 he taught in Castro valley for eighteen months; then a two-department school at Mount Eden for three and a half years. In 1884 he took charge of the Haywards school of seven departments, and next of the San Leandro school of eight departments in 1886. In July, 1888, he was elected by the Oakland board of education as principal of the Tompkins school of eleven departments. In the fall of 1890 he was nominated and elected county superintendent of schools of Alameda county, which position he filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of the public. Mr. Frick thereafter acted as principal of the Cole school of Oakland for twelve years, being again elected county superintendent of schools for Alameda county in 1906, which position he now holds.

In Oakland, January 1, 1885, Mr. Frick was united in marriage with Miss Rhoda Louise Tucker, who taught at Haywards under his principalship. She was a daughter of William J. and Sarah L. (Walker) Tucker; her home was originally in Brandon, Vt., whence she came to California and received her education in the state schools, graduating as class poet in the class with ex-Governor Pardee. Mr. and Mrs. Frick became the parents of two children, Gladys C., a student in the Oakland high school; and Raymond L., in the public school. Mrs. Frick died in 1892. Mr. Frick has taken time to associate himself with various fraternal organizations, being an active member of the Odd Fellows since attaining his majority, and has held all the offices in the subordinate lodge and encampment of that order. In 1890 he joined Oakland Canton No. 11, of the order. He is a past grand of Sycamore Lodge No. 129, and past chief

patriarch of Alameda Encampment No. 29, both of Haywards, and was district deputy grand master for two terms. He is also a past master of Eucalyptus Lodge No. 243, F. & A. M., of Haywards; a member of Oakland Chapter, No. 36, R. A. M.; the order of the Eastern Star, a charter member and past exalted ruler of Oakland Lodge, No. 171, B. P. O. E., and past president of Oakland Parlor, No. 50, N. S. G. W.

Since Mr. Frick has been superintendent of schools, he has made many improvements in the work of the office. Its entire clerical and business methods have been thoroughly revised and systematized. He has visited every graded school in his county from five to six times every year, although the law requires but one visit, as he is of the opinion that it is the most important function of his office to keep in touch with the children and teachers by personal visitation.

JAMES LINFOOT.

When James Linfoot came to California it was for the purpose of finding his fortune among the treasures of the earth proclaimed to the world at the time of the discovery of gold in this state, and like many others he found his most profitable employment along other lines. He was born in England, in York, on the 15th of March, 1832, and there spent the years of his young manhood and received his education and youthful training. Deciding to come to California, he crossed the Atlantic to New York City, thence to St. Joseph, Mo., and from that point came across the plains to the Pacific coast with one companion, Schuyler Davis, who is also now deceased. At once Mr. Linfoot went to the mines in Placer county, but spent only a month in this occupation, when he found more profitable employment. In 1855 he came to the vicinity of San Leandro and went to work in the harvest field. A little later he was sought out by a wife of a fellow countryman, who had recently died, she asking him to take charge of the San Leandro hotel



Geo. Harmon

which had been conducted by her husband. Mr. Linfoot accepted the work, conducted it successfully for a time, and then bought the widow's interest. In the meantime he had purchased the present site of the San Leandro postoffice, and afterward he sold both this and the hotel property, when he purchased twenty-four acres of land and began its improvement and cultivation. He put up a residence and all outbuildings necessary, and set out seventeen hundred fruit trees, principally apricots. This remained his home from 1858 until his death and is now one of the profitable fruit ranches of this vicinity. In the meantime he also engaged extensively in the raising of sheep and cattle, having invested in other property which he devoted to this purpose. Subsequently he disposed of his stock interests and of later years gave his entire time and attention to his fruit ranch.

In San Leandro, in 1857, Mr. Linfoot was united in marriage with Mrs. Elizabeth Mason, a native of Pennsylvania; she had married Samuel Mason and become a pioneer resident of California, and the one son born to them, Benjamin Franklin, is a practicing physician in San Leandro. Mrs. Linfoot died in 1897, at the age of fifty-five years. Politically Mr. Linfoot was a staunch adherent of the principles advocated in the platform of the Democratic party, a candidate for various offices on this ticket, and was elected town treasurer.

JOHN BROWNE HARMON.

One of the most prominent among the early pioneers of California was the late John Browne Harmon, who not only held a high place among the legal fraternity of the state, but was as well one of the strong factors in the development and building of native resources. Mr. Harmon was a native of the middle west, born in Warren, Ohio, October 29, 1822; for more complete details concerning the family refer to the biography of Edward D. Harmon, a brother, which appears on another page of this volume.

The primary education of Mr. Harmon was received through the medium of the public schools, after which he entered Yale and pursued his studies there for some years. After graduation he returned to the middle west and in Kentucky engaged in teaching school for two years. Desiring to see more of the world he went to New Orleans and there read law, being admitted to practice some time later. There also he married in 1847, Mrs. Mary De Neale (Wolfe) Morgan, by whom he had five children, of whom three grew to maturity. Dana, deceased, a graduate of Yale, engaged for years in mining in California; Mary Wolfe became the wife of L. J. Le Conte, and is now the only survivor; and Dr. R. Harmon, who graduated from the University of California and was a prominent physician of Oakland, died in 1904. By a former marriage Mrs. Harmon had one son, T. W. Morgan, city engineer of Oakland for many years. Mr. Harmon was a member of the examining board for West Point for a time, and from that position he came to California in 1853. He remained one year in Sacramento engaged in the practice of law in partnership with M. Latham, and there he purchased a home and began its beautification in preparation for the coming of his family, whom he returned for in 1854. The trip both east and west was made via the Isthmus of Panama, and considerable trouble was experienced in crossing the Isthmus, as they had to stand guard to avoid trouble with the natives. However, the journey was made in safety and they made their home in Sacramento until 1856. In that year Mr. Harmon came to San Francisco and here engaged in the practice of his profession, and on account of his wife's health he established their home in Oakland in 1858, their first home being at the corner of Twelfth and Adeline streets. The following year Mr. Harmon returned to Sacramento as reporter for the supreme court and there practiced law until 1863, returning again to San Francisco and thence to Virginia City, Nev., where he practiced law for two years. Again returning to San Francisco he once more established a law practice and this he continued up to the time of his death. In 1870 he located in Oakland at the corner of Seven-

teenth and Jackson streets, in 1884 went to Fruitvale for two years, and in 1886 came to Berkeley and built a residence on Dwight Way. His death occurred in February, 1899, having practically retired about two years previously.

Mr. Harmon always took a profound interest in religious matters, having assisted in the organization of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Oakland in 1870, while he had also been connected with Grace Church in Sacramento as early as 1855. For many years he served as vestryman. In politics he was a staunch adherent of Republican principles, and fraternally was associated with both the Masons and Odd Fellows. He was especially active in the latter organization, having been made a member in Sacramento and there passed all the chairs, represented the grand lodge of the state, and also became grand master of the state lodge in 1869. For ten years he served as delegate to the Grand Lodge of the United States, regardless of the time it took from his profession. He was made the deputy grand sire of the United States Grand Lodge and was sent to Australia to harmonize affairs between Australia and New Zealand during their time of contention, and met with great success in his efforts. While there he was offered a position of barrister in Australia. He was a broad man in every sense of the word, gifted to a degree that placed him high among men of his profession, and also possessed such personal characteristics as could not fail to win the appreciation and esteem of all with whom he came in contact.

FRANCIS KITTRIDGE SHATTUCK.

Among those who participated in the early settlement of Oakland and Berkeley the gentleman whose name heads this article and who retained a continuous residence here, was a very prominent factor. In public and private enterprises, in civil and political life, he was a leading, moving spirit from the days when Oakland commenced her life as a village until his death, when she began to

give promise of a future for which her founders could scarcely have dared to hope. He is regarded as the father of Berkeley, having been instrumental in bringing the steam railroad and building the street car line and erecting the prominent business blocks here.

He was a native of New York state, born on the banks of Lake Champlain, at Crown Point, Essex county, March 6, 1825, his parents being Weston and Elizabeth (Mather) Shattuck. Both parents were natives of Massachusetts, and of old New England families, and the father was a farmer by occupation. F. K. Shattuck of this review was reared to farm life in his native place, and his education meantime had received such attention that at the age of eighteen years he was competent to teach a common school. This vocation he followed for four years during the winter months, and spent his summers during that period in attendance at a seminary. Having thus rounded out a very good education by his own endeavors, he gave up teaching and, going to Vermont, entered the mercantile business as a clerk in a store at Pittsford, at which place and at Bridgeport he was thus engaged for two years. The discovery of gold in California, and the consequent excitement throughout the world caused his mind to turn in this direction, and he decided to take the chances of making his fortune in this far-away land. In company with three other young men, all of whom are now deceased, he went to New York City, and there took passage on the steamer Cherokee, which left the harbor January 14, 1849, for Chagres. Arriving there they proceeded by boat to Gorgona, and thence to Panama on foot; from that point they became passengers on the steamer Oregon, and, continuing their journey without unusual incident, landed at San Francisco February 22, 1850. They started without delay for the mines, going by boat to Marysville, and from there afoot to Rose's Bar.

Their first mining experiences were not very successful, and after a month or two they proceeded to Nye's Crossing, on the Middle Yuba, where, after looking over the ground, they commenced the work of turning the river from its channel. This they accomplished, but were not

so successful in their search for gold, no metal of consequence being taken out. The party broke up after this failure, some of its members going to Nevada City, where Messrs. Shattuck, Blake, Kleinfelter and William Hillegas operated as partners. While the other members of the company were engaged in seeking a shaft Mr. Shattuck hauled the gravel from the hills down to Deer creek for washing. They were fairly successful in their work there, which continued from August until the setting in of the rainy season, which commenced that year in December. They then went to Goodyear's Bar, on the North Yuba, and there and at Downieville they mined until January, 1852. Then they left the mines and proceeded down to the region surrounding the bay of San Francisco. Messrs. Shattuck, Hillegas, Blake and Leonard took up six hundred and forty acres of land, a portion of which is now included in the university grounds. Messrs. Shattuck and Hillegas farmed in partnership, and also established themselves jointly in the livery business in Oakland. They also embarked in stock-raising, and in 1860 opened up the Mount Diablo coal mines. They built the Shattuck & Hillegas hall, which was the recognized place of public gatherings, and many stirring meetings were held within its walls, notably those having something to do with the entrance of the overland railroad into this city. In 1869 this hall was converted into a theater, which retained the name of the proprietors, and which was opened as a place of entertainment January 25, 1869. In all these varied business enterprises these gentlemen remained associated until 1876, in which year Mr. Shattuck closed out his mining, livery and stock interests. He was ever afterward connected with the movement of real estate in this vicinity as an investor, and for a portion of the time as a builder. In fact his principal business interests may be said to have been in real estate, of which he had large holdings in Oakland and Berkeley. In the latter place he had one hundred and twenty acres platted in town lots.

With most of the measures which were from time to time adopted for the improvement of these cities he was more or less closely identified. Among the first railroad enterprises with which

he was connected was the Oakland Railroad Company, which on December 27, 1864, petitioned the city council for the privilege of building and maintaining a railroad from a point at or near Broadway wharf to a point in Oakland township, at or near the lands belonging to the College of California, through Broadway and Telegraph road. This company obtained its franchise from the legislature, May 3, 1866, the original incorporators named being F. K. Shattuck, F. Delger, C. B. Wadsworth, Israel W. Knox, A. Hersey, S. E. Alden, I. H. Brayton, F. E. Weston, F. B. Ferris, S. H. Willey, George Goss and George H. Fogg. March 15, 1866, the Amador Water Company was incorporated by F. K. Shattuck, J. West Martin, J. S. Emery, and J. W. Dwinelle, with a capital of \$1,000,000, its object being to supply Oakland and the town of Alameda with fresh water from springs, wells, the laguna in the valley of Amador, and the laguna from Las Positas in Livermore valley, and from all other available sources. February 13, 1871, the Home Gas Light Company, incorporated by F. K. Shattuck, Charles Webb Howard, Sextus Shearer, C. T. N. Palmer, A. C. Henry and J. West Martin, obtained from the city council of Oakland a franchise for the purpose of establishing a gas manufacturing plant, laying mains throughout the city streets.

In 1870 Mr. Shattuck petitioned the council for the privilege of building a wharf on the Oakland water front, and on the 2d of May of the same year he, with Hiram Tubbs, J. W. Martin, W. A. Bray, W. Van Voorhies, T. LeRoy, A. J. Snyder, George M. Blake, Harry Linden and Allen J. Gladding, was granted the right of way to lay down and operate for twenty-five years a railroad from Fruitvale to and upon Twelfth-street bridge, Oakland, and one on Adeline street to University avenue. These were all bona fide enterprises, originated with the idea of improvement and profit, and, while they can not all be classed as successful, all had their bearing on the general advancement of the city's prosperity. In 1866 Mr. Shattuck erected one of the finest brick buildings in the city at that time, a substantial business structure on the corner of Broadway and Eighth streets.

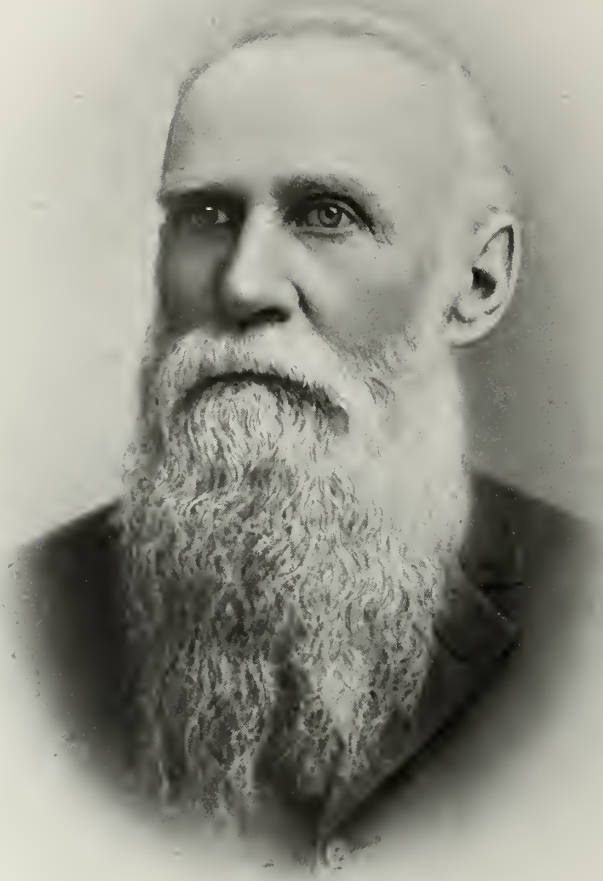
He was president of the Mutual Endowment Association from the time of its organization, and was one of the organizers of the Oakland Home Insurance Company, of which he was a director. He was also a director of the First National Bank of Oakland, as well as one of the originators and the prime mover in the Oakland and Berkeley Rapid Transit Company, whose purpose was the building of electric roads, and was president of the company, which rapidly pushed its work. He organized the Commercial Bank of Berkeley, which is now known as the First National, and also the Berkeley Bank of Savings, and was president of each until his death, which occurred September 9, 1898.

In public affairs Mr. Shattuck always took an active and prominent part. He was town and city clerk under the first organized government for Oakland, and was clerk of her first board of trustees, being elected May 17, 1852, and serving until his resignation in January, 1853. March 3, 1856, he was elected a member of the city council, and served during the years 1856-57. March 3, 1858, he was again elected to the council and chosen president of that body on the 8th of the same month. March 7, 1859, he was elected mayor of Oakland, and served one year. Upon the election of the new corporative officers March 7, 1859, it was resolved by the outgoing council "that the thanks of this body be extended to F. K. Shattuck for the able and impartial manner in which he discharged his duties, and that our congratulations be offered him upon his unsought elevation to the Mayoralty of this city."

March 5, 1862, he was again elected to the city council, and by virtue of successive re-elections, held a seat in that body until 1867. He was chosen president of the council, March 14, 1864. During much of the time of his connection with the city council he was also a member of the county board of supervisors. He was first chosen by the people to that position September 2, 1857, and re-elected September 1, 1858. September 7, 1859, he was elected to the legislature of California, and served in the ensuing session. November 6, 1860, he was again elected to membership in the board of

supervisors, and served continuously until 1869. November 3, 1862, he was chosen chairman of the board, and held that position during the remainder of his connection with that body. He was also chosen as one of the managers of the county hospital in 1864. During his incumbency of the chairmanship he was again elected to membership in the board, September 3, 1873, and remained in that position until 1876. During his incumbency of the Chairmanship of the board of supervisors, the county seat was removed to Oakland, and the present court-house was built, and in both these matters, as well as in the selection of the site, Mr. Shattuck took an active and prominent part. He was one of the committee of prominent citizens which guaranteed a site for the county buildings. February 3, 1868, he was appointed by the board a member of a committee of three to draft a bill to be submitted to the legislature, authorizing the board of supervisors of the county to issue bonds for the purpose of erecting buildings for the state as an inducement for the removal of the state capital to Alameda county.

Mr. Shattuck was a prominent and influential member of the Republican party, and served on the state central committee of the party, and was a delegate to the national convention of 1872. During the war his sympathies were strongly with the Union cause, and his voice and most earnest endeavors were given to the support of the national government. At the county convention of the Union party, held at San Leandro, June 14, 1862, he was chosen a delegate to the state convention, and October 29, 1864, acted in the capacity of marshal of the northern Alameda county division of the great Union parade held at Oakland on that day, which was one of the greatest political outpourings in the history of this community. Mr. Shattuck passed the chairs in Live Oak Lodge No. 61, F. & A. M.; was a member of Oakland Chapter, R. A. M., and a charter member of Oakland Commandery, No. 11, K. T., organized January 18, 1876. He held the presidency of the Masonic Temple Association from the time of its incorporation, June 25, 1878, and took an active part in the erection of the building belonging to the association.



E. D. Harmon

Mr. Shattuck was married in New York state, December 30, 1855, to Miss Rosa M. Morse, a native of that state. Mr. Shattuck was a man of strong individuality, yet entirely unobtrusive in manner. He was intimately associated with the history of Oakland, and took a deep interest and commendable pride in her progress. Occupying as he did a position in the foremost rank of her most solid and substantial citizens, he could reflect that his success in life had been due entirely to his own exertions, and in no small degree to his steadfastness in adhering to purpose. He had but a meagre start in life when he came to the present site of this city, and though he produced splendid financial results the citizens of Oakland universally conceded to him the merit of having well deserved his popularity. He passed away September 9, 1898, at his home in Berkeley, which he established in 1868.

EDWARD DANA HARMON.

The families which were represented in California by Edward Dana Harmon, one of the early pioneers of the state and until his death in 1903 a prominent upbuilder, were among those first established on American soil during the colonial period of our history. Massachusetts was the home of the Harmons, Reuben Harmon, of Sunderland, Mass., being one of the prominent men of that section; he removed to Rupert, Bennington county, Vt., and there on the 19th of October, 1780, the birth John Brown Harmon occurred. When he was nineteen years old his parents removed to Trumbull county, Ohio, then known as the Western Reserve, where the older man became the owner of five hundred acres of land upon which were located salt springs, which induced him to attempt the manufacture of salt. His death occurred in the vicinity of Warren in 1810, at the age of fifty-six years. In 1800 John B. Harmon returned to Vermont and in Rupert studied medicine under Dr. Jonathan Blackmer,

remaining in that location until 1804, when he returned to Warren, Ohio, near which he owned a farm of two hundred acres, and there spent his last days, passing away in 1858. By marriage he allied his fortunes with those of another old and prominent family of New England, his wife being in maidenhood Sarah Dana; she was born in Connecticut a daughter of Daniel Dana, a descendant of French Huguenot stock and for many years a probate judge. He died in 1841, at the age of seventy-nine years. Mrs. Harmon survived her husband many years, her death occurring November 6, 1868, when a little more than seventy-two years old. Of the four sons and one daughter in her family all are now deceased, although all lived to a good age, longevity being a trait of the family.

Edward Dana Harmon was born in Warren, Ohio, May 9, 1831, and in the public schools of Warren, as well as a private institution, he received his education. He grew to young manhood on the paternal farm, after which he secured employment as a clerk. His health failing him he decided to come to California for the trip and accordingly, March 14, 1853, he left his home for New York City, and there, on the 22d of the month, took passage for the Isthmus of Panama. Arriving in San Francisco, April 15, he at once manifested the inherited thrift of his New England ancestry by seeking an avenue for investment. With a cousin he purchased a tract of one hundred and twenty acres of land near Lake Merritt, now the site of Piedmont, and there the two engaged in farming until 1857. Having sufficiently recovered his health by this time, Mr. Harmon endeavored to enlarge his operations by purchasing the squatter's title to one hundred and seventy-two acres on the west shore of the lake, to which he also obtained the Spanish title. This property he sold in 1860, and in partnership with H. A. Opdyke purchased one hundred and thirty-five and a half acres the following year, becoming the sole owner of this tract in 1864. Finally, with his cousin, he sold twenty-eight acres in 1866, and two years later thirty-six acres, and in 1876 began the subdivision of the remaining property. He then engaged in build-

ing residences, from 1872 to July, 1891, erecting forty-four houses, most of which were contracted for before built. He continued in this business until his death and not only acquired a competence, but was largely responsible for the general upbuilding of this section of South Berkeley. He was a farsighted business man and through his efforts, both of time and means, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company was induced to put their line through to Berkeley, which movement greatly increased the value of real estate. He was pre-eminently a helpful citizen, serving for nineteen years as a member of the school board and clerk of the same; he was a Republican politically, although never desirous personally of official recognition. He was liberal to a fault, giving generously to all charitable institutions and indeed to all whom he knew to be in need; was unostentatious in manner, and no one ever knew the extent of his help to others. He was a home-loving man and took great pride in his family, and their loss was irreparable when death removed him from their midst in September, 1903.

Mr. Harmon was twice married, his first wife being Marie Metcalfe, who was born in Newark, Ohio, September 21, 1840, a daughter of Elial and Temperance (Colman) Metcalfe, of French Huguenot and English extraction; the father was born in Massachusetts and reared in New York, where his wife was born in 1814; after their marriage they removed in 1838 to Ohio, where his death occurred in 1878, at the age of seventy years, and hers in 1891. Mrs. Harmon died in Lorin, Cal., June 5, 1882, leaving three children: Lewis Colman, who was born in 1869, and now resides at No. 824 Thirty-eighth street, Oakland; Charles Reuben, who was born in 1873, and now resides on Prince street, Berkeley; and Julian Metcalfe, who was born in 1880.

December 13, 1883, Mr. Harmon was united in marriage with Helen Metcalfe, a sister of his first wife; she was born September 19, 1848, and came to California permanently after the death of her sister, having made a visit here previously. She now makes her home at No. 1627 Woolsey street, Berkeley.

J. ROSS BROWNE AND SPENCER COCHRANE BROWNE.

In the pioneer days of the state of California the Browne family was established on the Pacific coast by J. Ross Browne, who was born in Ireland, February 11, 1821. His father, Thomas Egerton Browne, was a man of culture and a writer of keen wit and as editor of the *Comet* he incurred the royal displeasure and for seven years was imprisoned in the Newgate jail. Everything he possessed was confiscated and after his release he was banished from the country, and emigrating to the United States he located in Kentucky and in Louisville established a finishing school for young ladies. He rose rapidly to a position among his fellow-citizens and was finally called to Washington by the publisher of the *Congressional Globe* to report the proceedings of congress. His son, J. Ross Browne, was associated with him at this time, having set out in the world at the age of thirteen years to earn his own livelihood. When nineteen years old he was fully competent to take an important position as a shorthand reporter and from that time on he rambled throughout the world, acquiring a wide fund of information that later proved of inestimable value to him. He toured the east on a whaler, telling of his experiences in "Etchings of a Whaling Cruise," his first publication. During President Polk's administration he became private secretary to Robert J. Walker, secretary of the treasury, and later entered the revenue service and sailed for California, the scene of his future labors. Here he reported the first convention ever held in the state, at Monterey. Following his sojourn here he went to Europe for a tour, taking with him his family (having in the meantime married), and upon his return to America had printed "Yusef," the result of his impressions from a visit to Constantinople and the Holy Land. In 1855 he was appointed special agent for the treasury department for California by Robert J. Walker, for a term of four years, and after its expiration he again visited Europe with his family, writing upon his sojourn abroad and after his return home several works, among them "The Ameri-

can Family in Germany," "The Land of Thor" and "Crusoe's Island." In 1864 he returned to California and remained for a time, and was then appointed commissioner of mines and mining and for two years was engaged in the compilation of statistics, the "Mineral Resources of the Pacific States and Territories" and "Resources of the Pacific Slope." During this time he was also engaged in literary work, having published "Adventures in the Apache Country." In 1868 he was sent as minister to China and one year thus spent ended his public career. Returning to California he built a residence and improved a place which he named Pagoda Hill, now in Claremont district in Oakland, and here he passed away in 1875. He was married in 1843 to Miss Lucy A. Mitchell, daughter of Dr. Spencer Cochrane Mitchell, a practicing physician of Washington at that time and formerly a surgeon in the British navy, and born of this union were ten children, five now living, Ross E. and Thomas M., mining engineers, the only surviving sons. Mr. Browne was a member of the Society of California Pioneers, was interested in all matters of contemporary interest, and as an enthusiast of the future of California sought always to promote the general development and upbuilding of the state. He was a man of unusual attainments, his writings were clear and forceful, his personality winning, and by the strength of these and his loyal, helpful citizenship he was mourned by a large circle of friends throughout the different parts of the world in which he was known.

Spencer C. Browne was born November 9, 1845, in Washington, D. C., and was but a child in years when he accompanied his father to California on the latter's second trip west in 1854. In the early days he attended school in Oakland, their home being at that time on Fifth between Madison and Jackson streets, his father owning the land from Fifth street to the water front. When nineteen years old he went to Arizona with a surveying party under Colonel Davidson, their duty being the survey for the first telegraph line in that territory. They experienced considerable trouble from the Indians who strongly resented their invasion, but with-

out serious mishap they returned to California, when Mr. Browne secured a position with Brooks & Rouleau, which firm was among the first searcher of records in San Francisco. Still later he became receiving teller in the San Francisco Savings Union, when James De Fremery, Sr., was president of that institution. In 1867 he became identified with the Bank of California, when D. O. Mills was president and W. C. Ralston cashier. The following year he resigned his position in order to accompany his father to China, and after a year spent in Shanghai and Peking returned to California and in Oakland embarked in the real estate business in partnership with Franklin Warner and Mr. Gardner. The partnership continued for some time, then Mr. Browne withdrew and engaged in the business alone. He became a man of influence in Oakland and vicinity, admired both for the business ability which distinguished his career and the stanch integrity and uprightness of his methods in dealing with others. He was public-spirited, was interested in higher education, and as a citizen was always found ready to lend his aid toward the furtherance of any movement suggested for the increase of the general prosperity. As a Democrat he voted that ticket on national issues, but locally was too broad-minded to be hampered by party lines, believing in giving his support to the man considered best qualified to discharge the duties of official position. In Oakland Mr. Browne was united in marriage with Miss Lucy Croghan, and born of this union were five children, three surviving: Mrs. Sidney M. Van Wyck, Jr.; Florence E.; and Spencer C., Jr. Mr. Browne passed away at his residence in Oakland November 23, 1896, aged fifty-one years.

EDWIN WESLEY MASLIN.

In the mother country William Maslin, an Englishman, married Jane Britain, an Irish girl, of Dublin, and migrated to the Colonies, settling on the eastern shore of Maryland in 1690. From

this couple descended the subject of this sketch. His ancestors had no coat of arms or quartering, but were plain farmers, of sturdy stock, "proud of their harvest lore." The Maslins are still farmers in Kent county, Md.

Edwin W. Maslin was born April 1, 1834, a son of Philip Thomas and Harriet (Points) Maslin. His early education was received in the public schools of Baltimore, the highest being in the high school. On November 7, 1852, he sailed in company with John L. Bromley, now of Oakland, on the ship Hermann from Baltimore. Landing in San Francisco in May, 1853, he at once went to Grass Valley, in Nevada county. Arriving at that place on Saturday night, on Monday following he began mining at wages and continued to mine until September, 1855, when he began the study of law. He was admitted to the bar by Judge Niles Searles, of loving memory, in 1857. In 1859 he was elected district attorney of Nevada county, and served two years. He removed to Sacramento in 1869 and was secretary of the judiciary committee of the senate for the sessions 1869-70 and 1871-72. He was elected secretary of the state board of equalization in 1870 and discharged the duties until by change of administration he was removed, and he then went to Santa Rosa, Sonoma county, and there resided until the fall of 1875, when Governor William Irwin selected him as his private secretary. This position he held until 1880, when he was again elected (although he was a Democrat), by a Republican board, as secretary of the State Board of Equalization, which position he held until the spring of 1891, when he assumed the management of the State Board of Trade and discharged the duties of his position until March 1, 1894, when he was appointed by Col. John P. Irish, naval officer of customs at San Francisco, as his deputy, which office he now holds.

Mr. Maslin moved to the city of Alameda about thirteen years ago and at once took a deep and abiding interest in the Free Library. On December 20, 1907, he was elected one of the trustees of the library, which responsible office he still holds and hopes to hold until the end of his life. In this trust he has been associated with men of culture and of like enthusiasm as his, and with

them he enjoys the encomium of Herbert Putnam, the librarian of the Congressional Library at Washington, D. C., that the Alameda Free Library is the model small library of the United States.

Outside of his vocations Mr. Maslin acquired some other distinctions. He located the famous Idaho mine in Grass Valley and afterwards the Maryland, which is an extension of the Idaho. The instinct of the farmer blood in him prompted him to engage in horticulture. In 1884 he planted a vineyard of the sherry wine variety, in Placer county, and took a prominent and earnest part in the various commissions and societies organized to promote the horticulture interests of the state. In this line he was one of the original farmers, and still is one of the directors of the State Board of Trade, a body that has done so much for the promotion of the agricultural and horticultural industries of the state. In 1884 he conceived the idea of growing the Smyrna fig and planted about twenty acres of seedling Smyrna figs at his vineyard in Placer county. These figs needed the aid of an insect to fertilize the female flower of the fig. He induced the Hon. James A. Wilson, secretary of agriculture, to import the insects from Smyrna, which were placed in Fresno county, where they flourished and are now the means of sustaining the fig production of the state. Orchard, vineyard and mines have long since passed out of his possession, owing, as he said, to a want of business training.

Mr. Maslin has been twice married, the first union occurring December 26, 1859; his wife was Mary Underwood, a daughter of Jackson Underwood, whose wife was a Miss Fox before her marriage. Born of this union were eight children, of whom three died in infancy; the others being Vertner, Prentiss, Woodley, Maud and Paul—Woodley and Maud were drowned; the remainder survive. Mrs. Maslin died at Santa Rosa, May 29, 1874, and on October 5, 1885, he was united in marriage with Miss Mary Alice Way, daughter of Eli B. and Margaret (Reynolds) Way, her native state being Illinois. She is a grandniece of Governor Reynolds of Illinois. They have one child, Francis Irwin, now a student at the University of California.



Henry Peterber

Once Mr. Maslin was asked by a distinguished and wealthy citizen of this state, why, with his opportunities, he had not acquired wealth. He replied: "Because my father did not teach me the value of money. I have not courted the limelight, but there is this compensation: had I gained wealth I might not have been as I have been, 'of some service to the state.'"

HENRY WETHERBEE.

In the pioneer days of the state Henry Wetherbee came to the Pacific coast and joined hands with those whose personal efforts throughout the years were not alone given to the accumulation of wealth, but to the upbuilding and development of a statehood, and so potent were his efforts, so prolific of results, that to-day, although long since passed to his reward in the great Beyond, he still holds a place in the affection of the people—the old generation cherishing his memory from personal acquaintance, and those of the younger because of the fruition of plans which have made their city of San Francisco and the surrounding country a part of what it is in importance throughout California. Mr. Wetherbee came by inheritance to those qualities which endeared him to his fellowmen, being a descendant of some of the best families of New England, his early ancestors on American soil having taken part in colonial wars before his paternal grandfather fought at the battle of Bunker Hill for the freedom of his country. His father was Jeremiah Wetherbee and his mother Mary Holden, she being a daughter of Col. Moses and Sarah (Perry) Holden, of Barre, Mass., the eighth generation in direct descent from Elder Brewster of Mayflower fame, and the seventh from Thomas Prince, governor of Plymouth colony from 1634 to 1636 and 1657 to 1673.

Henry Wetherbee was born in Cambridge, Mass., February 19, 1827, and in the public schools of that city received his preliminary edu-

cation. He early presented himself for admission to the Boston Latin school, but was rejected because one year under age. Shortly afterward he put aside his studies for a business career, his father being a prosperous business man of Boston. This also he put aside to come to California, the gold fever proving irresistible, and although his father offered him a salary of \$7,000 a year (then a fabulous sum) to remain and work for him, he continued his preparations to leave for the Pacific coast via the Isthmus of Panama the latter part of the year 1849. All of his friends imagined this to be a country absolutely devoid of civilization and as a result presented him with various weapons of defense, one of these being a revolver, which is now in the possession of Mrs. Wetherbee.

Upon his arrival Mr. Wetherbee went at once to the mines on the Northern Sacramento, but after remaining a day, returned to San Francisco to look about for better opportunities than mining appeared to present to him. Just about this time a ship came into port loaded with a cargo of potatoes which the captain wished to sell in bulk. These Mr. Wetherbee bought without a dollar to pay down, with the privilege of allowing them to remain where they were until disposed of. He hired a man to sell them from a wheelbarrow and on this venture cleared \$6,000. Within the ensuing five years he had made and lost several fortunes, but always gaining an experience which proved of inestimable value in later deals. One of his ventures was that in which he joined a party of thirty men, each to put in \$500, with a view to selecting a town site to rival San Francisco, where ships from foreign and Atlantic ports could discharge their freight. It was proposed to build a road into the valley where the mines were yielding rich returns, but the high prices of freight were forcing the miners out. They chartered a schooner, the *General Morgan*, under command of Capt. John Brannan, and set out upon their venture. They met with various mishaps, one of which was being becalmed for two days, during which time they engaged in fishing. They met a party of Indians who had never seen white men, and the captain, having brass buttons on his coat, was caught by

them and held until every button was cut off, and shortly afterward they adorned an Indian chieftain. With the help of the Indians they dragged the boat along the beach to Humboldt bay, where they selected a site and laid out a town, called Eureka by Dr. Poett. Later they assisted in laying out the towns of Arcata and Trinidad. At the beginning of their enterprise the Indians had manifested an unfriendly spirit and told the white men to go and leave them in possession of their lands, gathering three hundred strong to enforce their demands. A party of twenty-nine men went to meet them in a boat and opened fire upon the war dancers, killing twelve, this being the first Indian war on Humboldt bay, and after this they returned to Eureka and built a fort, and posted a guard night and day.

One of the first wharves built in San Francisco was by Sam Brannan, on Stuart and Market streets, and this Mr. Wetherbee leased at \$300 a month, in partnership with another forty-niner, B. F. Pond, a son of Dr. James Otis Pond, who was in early years surgeon at Newgate Prison in Granby, Conn. Later he removed to New York City and founded an academy of medicine, and practiced until past eighty years of age. The new company had considerable shipping interests throughout the Pacific coast, bringing lumber from Oregon, one cargo, arriving on the brig Halcyon, bringing them handsome returns, as it came in just after the disastrous fire at Sacramento. When in command of the barque Julia Ann, plying between Sydney and San Francisco, Captain Pond was wrecked October 3, 1855, and for two months the crew and fifty-six passengers lived on a coral island, subsisting on fish and cocoanuts. They were out of the line of ships and were finally forced to put to sea in small boats, and after four days succeeded in reaching Bora Bora island, where through the kindness of the British officials they secured a boat to return to the island for the passengers, who had remained behind. Captain Pond returned to New York and never again located in California.

In 1856, to secure himself for money loaned Alexander MacPherson, Mr. Wetherbee took a half interest in a lumber business, which part-

nership continued until Mr. MacPherson's death. They acquired large tracts of timber land from time to time, gaining possession of twenty-eight thousand acres of redwood about Albion river, thirteen thousand on the Noyo, and twenty thousand on Eel river, five thousand on Russian gulch, besides additional tracts on Ten Mile river, the Elk, Donahue, Pudding creek and elsewhere in Mendocino and Humboldt counties. A few months before his death he disposed of these interests, being then known as the King of the Redwoods, and planned to spend his time in travel and the enjoyment of his home. Death ended his plans, however, and carried from the midst of an admiring and loving populace a man who had ever been faithful to the highest interests of those about him and to the sterling integrity of his own character. During the early days of San Francisco Mr. Wetherbee had served as a member of the vigilance committee and carried throughout his life a scar on his hand received during those troublous times. He went east in 1857 and was under constant surveillance of his friends because the banished hordes of lawbreakers were scattered throughout the country and were ever ready to take revenge on those who had driven them out of San Francisco. He was a staunch Republican politically and supported the principles of his party, although personally he was too busy to care for official recognition. He was interested in many clubs and societies, among them the California Pioneers, the Olympic Club, the Pacific Union Club, and the Bohemian Club; supported liberally all charitable enterprises, as well as giving liberally to individual needs; was prominent in the Woman's Exchange and acted as a member of the advisory committee, receiving from this institution at the time of his death a most eloquent tribute to his worth as a man, citizen and friend; and in the affairs of life he was the same genial, courteous, kindly gentleman that first set out in the early days to win a fortune—unspoiled by success, simple, earnest and direct in all his thoughts, effort and action. He was a man of quick perception, had a fund of original wit and had he so chosen would have been a humorist, unrivaled. No citizen held a higher place in San

Francisco, where flags were placed at halfmast at the time of his death. One who endured the hardships and trials of the early civilization, its dangers and disappointments, his name will not readily be forgotten or his participation in public affairs cease to be of moment to those who follow after.

Mr. Wetherbee was married in New York to Miss Nellie Merrell, a cousin of Captain Pond, and three years later they returned together to California, the widow now making her home in Oakland, dispensing hospitality to all who come in contact with her, and exercising a beneficial and permanent influence on philanthropic and social affairs of the city.

CHARLES D. BATES.

At his death May 5, 1906, Charles D. Bates left a record not only of kind deeds toward his fellowmen, but also one of faithful work in the enduring macadamized streets that form so pleasant a feature of Oakland. The brickwork of the great Lake Merritt sewer constructed by him upwards of thirty years ago also bears testimony to this day of his fidelity in carrying out his contract for that important enterprise. Mr. Bates was born in the town of Oneida, Oneida county, N. Y., June 26, 1833, the sixth in order of birth in a family of ten children, six sons and four daughters. The family moved west to Illinois in 1837, arriving at Chicago when that city was but a mere village made of cloth tents and board houses. The next year the family went about seventy miles further west and took up a farm near the little town of Marengo, McHenry county.

In that early day schooling was one of the most difficult things to secure, the boys working on their father's farm and walking four or five miles to school; the schoolhouse was of the primitive style of those olden days, made of rough logs and plastered with mud to keep out the cold winter winds. On his eighteenth birthday

Charles D. Bates was given his time by his father, and he then started out to make his own way in the world. Accompanied by an old friend of his father's, a railroad contractor, he went to work and remained for several years on the old Galena & Chicago Railroad, the Illinois Central, the Dixon airline, now the Chicago & Northwestern. Later he engaged independently on the Dubuque & Iowa Central Railroad and from there to the Minnesota Central and subsequently worked on the Missouri Pacific Railroad.

When the war of the Rebellion broke out he left for California by way of Denver, Colo., which was then known as Cherry Creek, a mining town composed of cloth tents and board shanties. This was in July, 1861. He found nothing to engage in there and pushed on to California, and arrived at Sacramento September 23, 1861. The following winter saw the great flood with its disastrous results, to guard against a repetition of which the legislature appropriated funds for a levee around the city. Mr. Bates with J. M. Watson and Jared Irwin, ex-city clerk of Sacramento, secured a portion of the work. In June, 1862, the Central Pacific Railroad commenced to build its road and Mr. Bates' company of contractors took that portion between Rocklin and Newcastle. After this stretch of road was completed the Central Pacific organized the famous contract and finance company and took the building of the road into its own hands. Mr. Bates then went to San Francisco and formed a co-partnership with J. M. Watson and engaged in street and road work. They built the Bay View road and the race course at South San Francisco. In March, 1864, Mr. Bates took the contract for the construction of the Western Pacific Railroad from San Jose to the first crossing of Alameda creek, a distance of twenty miles, under Cox, Meyers and Arnold. The same year he built the Alameda Railroad from Alameda to Hayward for the owner and manager, the late A. A. Cohen. In September, 1865, he entered into a contract with Charles Minturn to build the wagon road from San Rafael to San Quentin, and also constructed for the same party the railroad from Petaluma to what is called Haystack on Petaluma creek. In March, 1867, he formed

a co-partnership with Capt. George T. Bromley and contracted with the Central Pacific Railroad Company for the building of the Western Pacific Railroad from the first crossing of Alameda creek to Stockton, but owing to a difference of opinion regarding certain classifications of the work the contract was not carried out. He came to Oakland in 1868 and entered into partnership with the late T. P. Wales, in street work. In 1872 Mr. Bates, Hugh Slicer, T. P. Wales and F. E. Weston organized the well-known Alameda Macadamizing Company and continued in the street business until 1879, when the company was compelled to leave the field of their labors by the prohibitive measure of the new constitution. The members of the company then went to Portland, Ore., and started in the macadamizing business there under the name of the Portland Paving Company. In 1882 Mr. Bates with others organized the Oregon Construction Company and built about one hundred and seventy-five miles of the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company's road from Umatilla Landing on the Columbia river to Huntington in eastern Oregon. Mr. Bates then resumed the management of the Portland Paving Company, continuing therein until 1887, and then returned to Oakland and took up street work under the old Alameda Macadamizing Company. The death of Mr. Slicer in 1893 resulted in the retirement from business of the last-named company and Mr. Bates and others formed the Piedmont Paving Company, which is still in existence.

On the 22nd of November, 1865, Mr. Bates was married to Miss Mary A. Tregloan, a daughter of John Tregloan, a pioneer of California in 1849; her brother, John R. Tregloan, of Amador county, is superintendent of the South Spring Hill Mining Company, while she has a sister, wife of Dr. Gabbs, residing in Alameda. Five children were born of this union, namely: Ada; Clara, the wife of W. F. Knight; Mae, the wife of Dr. George Martin; Charles D., Jr.; and Ethel, the wife of Herbert M. Lee. Mr. Bates lived in Oakland about thirty-eight years, with the exception of the time spent in Oregon, and always identified himself with all that made for the betterment of this, his favorite home. His

parents were of old Puritan stock and from them he inherited those sterling principles of integrity which made him one of the most highly esteemed and respected citizens of Oakland. His father served in the war of 1812, while earlier ancestors were identified with the colonial history of our country. Mr. Bates was made a Mason in Live Oak Lodge in 1872 and an Odd Fellow in Portland in 1885. His hand was ever open to the call of charity, and it may well be said of him "None knew him but to love him, none named him but to praise." Mr. Bates was a lifelong Republican, but never aspired to political honors.

ELIJAH HOOK.

Elijah Hook left as a memorial of his life a commercial enterprise which demonstrated his possession of much business ability, as well as a reputation among business associates and friends of stanch and unswerving integrity and personal characteristics which are as rare as they are precious. Mr. Hook was one of the pioneers of Oakland, where he located in 1873. He was born in Arrow Rock, Mo., in 1837, received his education in his native place and the University of the Pacific, located in Santa Clara, Cal. After graduation he accepted a clerkship in Martinez, and later on engaged in mercantile pursuits at Pacheco, Contra Costa county, Cal., pursuing this business until 1872, when he sold out and removed to Oakland. The following year he established a furniture and carpet business on the corner of Eleventh and Broadway and after continuing there for twelve years, he located on the corner of Thirteenth and Broadway, and finally erected a handsome three-story building for the accommodation of his business. He established his business in this block on Twelfth street, placed a large and well-selected stock of furniture, carpets and other household fixtures and engaged actively in business until his death, which occurred in 1896. He had also built a two-story warehouse in 1893, intended for



W B Harvub

the storage of furniture, carpets, etc., and in other ways had added materially to the progress of the city. By his close attention to business, his fair dealing and honest methods he won the continued friendship of his patrons and bequeathed to his sons a lucrative business.

In 1858 Mr. Hook was united in marriage with Miss Nannie P. Henderson, of Santa Clara county, Cal., and they became the parents of the following children: William P., now president of the firm of Hook Brothers Company; Mary E. Breck; and Henry P. Elijah Hook was a staunch advocate of Republican principles, was a man well versed on all current topics, and took an active part in the upbuilding and development of the city of Oakland. He was associated fraternally with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of United Workmen.

WALTER BALFOUR HARRUB.

Perhaps no citizen of California has been more closely in touch with its progress and development since pioneer days than Walter Balfour Harrub, who came to the state "in the days of old, in the days of gold, in the days of '49," and during the many years since in which the commonwealth grew he has been more or less active in every branch of its ordinary development—agriculture, stock-raising, merchandising, mining, and in all proving the sturdy qualities of his New England ancestry. Mr. Harrub is now a resident of Oakland, where his home has been located for more than thirty years of this time, and is in the enjoyment of a retirement well earned by his staunch efforts in early life and the successful accumulation of a competence.

Born July 16, 1830, in Plymouth county, Mass., and within eight miles of the town of Plymouth, Walter Balfour Harrub was a son of Thomas Bowers Harrub. His mother died when he was a child, and at the age of ten years he was thrown upon his own resources. He went to Pembroke to learn the trade of shoemaker with

an uncle, to whom his brother had been bound, and he remained there until he had learned the trade. But the confinement proving too much for him, he took up instead the work of a cooper in New Bedford, becoming an apprentice of Caleb L. Ellis, the understanding between them being that he was to remain as long as it was mutually agreeable. The apprenticeship was ended by Mr. Ellis and others fitting up the barque *Pleiades* for California, made famous by the discovery of gold the year previous. Mr. Harrub decided to come on that vessel to the Pacific coast, as did quite a number of others, all taking a part in the ship's cargo, he representing Mr. Ellis' interest. They left New Bedford, February 9, 1849, and were two hundred and eighteen days making the trip, which was the most perilous one, because of rough weather, ever made by their captain.

Before leaving their home Mr. Harrub and nine others formed a company to work together in the new land to which they were going, and accordingly upon landing in San Francisco, September 18, 1849, they set out en masse for Marysville. Being stopped at Vernon because of low water, and as a sand bar had formed there (this being where the Yuba, Feather and Bear rivers emptied into the Sacramento river), they decided to make Fremont their headquarters and accordingly cut trees, made puncheons, and put up a comfortable story and a half frame house. They had left a large part of their supplies at San Francisco and Mr. Harrub went back after them, but before he could get them and return he was taken very ill and for many months his life even was despaired of. Shortly before his fever broke there was a consultation of physicians and they decided that he would die before another day; he overheard them, but said nothing, not even when a friend came to him and spoke cheerfully about his soon being well. Six weeks later he was taken out into the sunshine for the first time in months, and from that time on his improvement was rapid. In the spring he went on to Marysville and from there to Foster's Bar, being directed to the spot where a young man had been working the fall before and believed gold would be found in abundance. Mr. Harrub hired

some Indians to take him to the place and there he staked off ten claims, one for each member of the party, and six of them came up there later, while the others remained at work at their trades. They were quite successful here, and the next winter they passed in Fremont. For letters at the mines, they paid one dollar each, so high were such conveniences at that time.

The next spring Mr. Harrub and a Mr. Palmer opened a hotel four miles from Fremont on the Sacramento river, and made considerable money; this they invested in hay, putting up seven stacks, and had sold only one of them when hay became a drug on the market. Mr. Harrub then accepted an offer to take charge of the dining department of a hotel at Shasta, and this he managed for some time. Then again becoming interested in mining through a miner who had located some splendid claims up north and wanted him to come and join them, he gave this up and went north, and the only claim that was worth anything was the one he drew, as they were allotted by drawing. Later he went on a prospecting trip with five others, during which he encountered many adventures and perils, and found a very valuable gold mine, which, however, they could not work because of no tools and the lateness of the season. Others therefore profited by their find, their discovery being turned over to four sailors, who had been hunting in that locality and had furnished them with fresh wild game during their stay. On their way to the mining district members of the company disagreed as to directions given for making camp; but Mr. Harrub, having paid close attention, was certain of the place and told them so, but some persisted in trying their own way first. Later they came back and joined Mr. Harrub and those who had gone with him, as they had found the camping place without difficulty. While going in this direction they met some Indians who warned them not to camp in the little valley that looked so inviting to the weary travelers. On their way home they had to cross the Sacramento river seven times, and being in a hurry to reach their destination they at first decided not to stop for anything. However, a number of their party desired to stop at a trading post which they had reached, and

here the party took a vote as to the advisability of continuing their journey; the majority ruled, they having agreed that such should be the case in all matters. They continued and made their last crossing of the Sacramento that night. They learned afterward that the post with all its inhabitants had been destroyed that night by the Indians.

Mr. Harrub again took his position in the hotel in Shasta for a time, then went back to mining the following spring, being located thirty miles northwest of Shasta. Later he went up on the Yuba and in Grass valley met with moderate success. At that time he began teaming from Sacramento to Grass valley, taking orders for the settlers and miners, and also became interested in the buying and selling of stock. In this connection he located a ranch about sixteen miles from Sacramento with a range that extended for thirty-five miles, and upon this he ran large herds. He continued teaming and the operation of his ranch, and had many discouragements along with his successes, losing many of his horses through an epidemic of glanders. Also they had a drouth in 1860 and 1861, during which Mr. Harrub was compelled to drive his stock over the mountains into Nevada for feed, locating that summer at Donner lake, the place where the Donner party suffered such hardships in the snow and cold. They had to make their way out of that locality through snow two and a half feet deep in early fall, but succeeded in getting out with all of their stock. He then located a winter range in Long Valley, Nevada, making a trail to his grazing lands from Dog valley, which is to-day the main trail in that section. His men spent that winter in Long valley and Mr. Harrub returned to California, and in the spring brought his cattle there to be butchered at the time the pony express brought the news of Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand volunteers for service in the approaching conflict between the north and the south. About this time Mr. Harrub went to Dayton and bought the butchering interests of that city and conducted a large business, making a satisfactory success for three years, during which he had several delivery wagons which took his meats throughout

that section. Another of his enterprises was the purchase of a stage line from Dayton to Virginia City, and another to Washoe City, carrying express and mail, and also fast freight, for some time. While thus occupied he built the Ruby Hill water works that supplied water for all the mines in that vicinity, this being in 1876. There were two pipe lines, in all ten miles of pipe, with tanks made of redwood three inches thick, and with twenty-two hundred and fifty pounds of iron in hoops on each tank, which had a capacity of fifty thousand gallons each, besides a large reservoir in New York canyon, which he afterwards abandoned. After disposing of both his meat business in Dayton and his stage lines, Mr. Harrub engaged in mining for a time, and then contracted with the Richmond Company to handle their ore and charcoal, which was very profitable, as the company controlled the lead market of the world, having the largest refinery in the United States. He ran many wagons and teams and probably did the heaviest teaming ever done in the state, running eighteen horses and mules to a wagon and two trailers.

In 1874 Mr. Harrub came to Oakland where his family has since lived, although he retained his interests in various mines for many years, and also with other enterprises, owning an automatic gas machine manufactory which he conducted until the factory burned down in 1901. He did not rebuild and since that time has lived in retirement, owning various properties in different sections of California, among which is a fine vineyard of raisin grapes in Fresno county. When he first came to this section Mr. Harrub purchased property near the present site of Fruitvale and built four houses, in the years since having disposed of three, retaining one—No. 1266 Twenty-sixth avenue,—where he has made his home since 1907.

Mr. Harrub has been twice married, his first wife being Frankie Reed, daughter of George and Catherine Reed, to whom were born four children, one now surviving, Ida May, wife of Walter A. Kinney, a citizen of Oakland. In Eureka, Nev., Mr. Harrub was united in marriage with Catherine J. Flavin, and they became the parents of two children, Walter, who died at

the age of three and a half years, and Katherine, wife of Edwin Giffith. Mr. Harrub has always been a staunch advocate of Republican principles, although his many business activities have precluded the possibility of his holding public office. He is a life member of the Society of California Pioneers and gives his best support to the preservation of early landmarks that noted the pioneer era. He has had many opportunities to become wealthy, especially in the Ruby Hill water works. Water being very difficult to obtain, he could not enlist the financial support of the mine owners, so undertook the task alone with the promise from them that they would take stock if he did succeed and would incorporate. He did succeed and about that time took a trip to Europe and while away, water was struck in the mines and in consequence lessened the value of his enterprise. Mr. Harrub is a self-made man in the best sense implied by the term, for with nothing but courage, energy, ability trained and integrity inherited, he set forth in the world in childhood to win his own way, and against many odds and almost insurmountable obstacles has attained a worthy success, has won a wide circle of friends, and well deserves the high place he holds among the representative citizens of California.

CHARLES McDONALD.

The best part of the life of Charles McDonald has been passed on the Pacific coast, where he participated in the upbuilding of civilization and the development of resources which have made this section of the country equal to any on the western continent. He is now retired from the active cares which have so long engrossed his attention and in the city of Oakland is rounding out the years of a well-spent manhood. A Scottish ancestry gave to him the sturdy characteristics which have been noticeable features in his successful career, his parents being William and Sarah (Arbuckle) McDonald; the father was a native of the Highlands of Scotland, while the

mother was born in Nova Scotia. They were the parents of eleven children, of whom Charles McDonald was the third child and second son. He was born in Pictou, Nova Scotia, February 20, 1834, and under the influence of home life and the training of his father, who was a man of unusual force of character, was reared to years of maturity. He received his education in a subscription school in Pictou, where he prepared and entered the college academy. After completing the work he was apprenticed to learn the trade of blacksmith, being influenced to this mainly because of his strong mechanical ability. Later he traveled as a journeyman and visited many places, in which occupation he gained a more extended knowledge of his trade.

Like many other young men, Mr. McDonald's attention at this time was strongly attracted toward the Pacific coast, where the discovery of gold some years previous had led to a rapid civilization. He decided to try his fortunes here and accordingly took passage on a sailing vessel bound for San Francisco in 1858. This trip, which covered a period of months, was not devoid of adventure, for they met with many accidents and delays; in rounding the Horn they neared a vessel in distress with a number of passengers and a heavy cargo aboard. All lives were saved and a large portion of the cargo before the destruction of the vessel. The captain of his vessel took possession of a large quantity of the goods, setting it aside as contraband, which he intended to sell for his own benefit. In the rescuing of this the crew was entitled to a certain per cent, but the captain refusing to divide or allow what was due them brought about his own exposure and the goods were taken from him and placed in possession of their proper owners. After arriving in San Francisco Mr. McDonald cast about for something to occupy his time, and soon found employment at his trade, which he carried on profitably for a time. Being then offered a lucrative position in Seattle, Wash., he went north and began work there, but soon afterward engaged in business for himself, establishing a shop and employing a force of men and soon building up an extensive trade along this line. His close attention to busi-

ness and his thorough knowledge along this line, as well as the dispatch with which orders were executed, led to success, and with the passing years he found his profits in the enterprise enabling him to become the possessor of much valuable real estate in that city. He practically retired from business in 1889, and at that time located in Oakland, where he has since made his home. He retains his property in Seattle and gives his attention entirely to looking after his personal interests. While living in Seattle he had the contract to execute the iron work on the first steam railroad out of that city, and also the work for the first street-car line laid in Seattle. For five terms he was a member of the city council, and was one of those who preserved the water-front to the city, as he was always opposed to giving such franchises to the Northern Pacific Railroad, who at the time were trying to get them for nothing. Since then, however, they have had to pay over \$3,000,000 for about one-tenth of what they formerly asked for.

Mr. McDonald was united in marriage with Miss Elizabeth A. Arbuckle, and born of this union are five children, namely: William R., Ida May, Joseph F., Carrie E. and Charles A. The family home is at No. 1353 Tenth avenue and both within and without reflects the comfort and culture with which he is able to surround himself and wife in the evening of their days. Although always actively engaged in business affairs Mr. McDonald has taken an active interest in the public welfare of his country; for a few years after his location in this country he affiliated with the Democratic party, but has since endorsed the principles advocated in the platform of the Republican party, especially on all state and national issues. He is a prominent Mason, being a member of St. John's Lodge No. 9, at Seattle, Wash., of which he is past master, and was presented with an honorary membership for being the oldest past master in the lodge. He also belongs to the Ancient Order of United Workmen in the same city. The success which has attended the efforts of Mr. McDonald along a business line has been entirely the result of his own personal qualities, for he began life with nothing but the courage, ability



Wm. A. Mendenhall

and energy characteristic of the Scot, and against hardship and deprivation worked his way to the top, accumulated property, and in his declining years seeks the rest and retirement which he has so justly won. He is held in high esteem by all who know him and is appreciated for his worth as a citizen.

WILLIAM M. MENDENHALL.

In the closest sense implied by the term, William M. Mendenhall is a pioneer of California, and as such has passed through the hardships and dangers which were of a necessity the warp and woof of its present greatness. Mr. Mendenhall comes of a New England family whose members were prominent in the colonial history of our country. His father, William Mendenhall, was born in 1794 in Tennessee, and following the example of his forefathers, served in the war of 1812. He married in Ohio Miss Sarah Peterson, a native of Virginia, and with his wife established his home in Greene county, Ohio, where the father purchased new lands, cleared and improved them and made that place his home for a number of years. His father was one of the first settlers of Ohio and the founder of Jamestown. In 1831 William removed to the more remote west, and purchasing land in Cass county, Mich., there engaged in general farming and stock-raising. His son having preceded him to California, the father brought his family to the Pacific coast in 1853 and located them, first in Contra Costa county, where he followed farming pursuits for some time. His death occurred in Alameda county in his seventy-ninth year. His wife, who survived him, also died in Alameda county, when she was eighty-four years of age.

William M. Mendenhall was the eldest son in the family of his parents, his birth having occurred near Xenia, Ohio, April 22, 1823. He passed his early boyhood and school days in three different states, without the advantages of the

youth of the present day, with its easily accessible high schools and colleges. In July, 1845, when a young man of twenty-two years, he with nine companions, Lanceford Hastings, N. B. Smith, H. C. Smith, Ira Stebbins, Helms Downing, D. Semple, Attorney Nash, Crosby, and William Loker, met at Independence, Mo., where they laid in supplies, then with pack horses and mules started on the perilous trip across the plains. They left on August 17. This journey was not only perilous because of the hostility of the Indians, but because of the hardships which had to be borne on every side. The attacks of the Indians were often severe, and when their supplies were in danger of being exhausted they used their guns to kill buffaloes, with which the prairies and woods abounded. At one time Mr. Mendenhall thought he had made a great shot, but it proved to be a wild Rocky Mountain dog, weighing over two hundred pounds. These dogs were savage, and added to the difficulties and dangers incident to the great herds of buffaloes which threatened often to tramp down horses and camp and men.

All these dangers, however, were passed through without serious mishap to any of the company, and on Christmas eve of that year Mr. Mendenhall and his companions arrived safely at the American river in California. They immediately took up their quarters in Sutter's fort. The Spaniards were then in control of the state, and were so unfriendly to the Americans that none of them was allowed to travel without a passport. Finally a proclamation was issued that all Americans must leave California, and it was only at the peril of their lives that they might remain. Mr. Mendenhall, being short of funds, was at the time employed in a lumber mill, in the Moroga redwoods, in Alameda county, which was conducted on a very primitive plan, the lumber made by what is called the whip-saw. He returned for refuge to Sutter's Fort, where the Americans determined to remain in California in spite of Castro's orders. Their first strategic feat was that of twenty-four young men who descended on Fort Sonoma and captured it in the opening onslaught, without firing a gun. In June, 1846, the Bear flag was raised. Col. John

C. Fremont was then on his way to Oregon. Men were sent to inform him of the troublous conditions. He at once returned and soon after the small company to which Mr. Mendenhall belonged joined Fremont at Fort Sonoma. In the meantime a man-of-war had been sent by the Federal government to San Francisco bay with the stars and stripes at the masthead. The war craft bore an American flag for Sutter's Fort, and the Bear flag was hauled down. As the national colors were run up, the little garrison saluted, and at once began plans to place the whole state under the sovereignty of the American people. Fremont at the head of a force of one hundred and seventy men started to take the state by march, going through to San Diego, and wresting control from the Spaniards without losing a man. Mr. Mendenhall was one of that historic party that took the whole country.

These troubles ended, Mr. Mendenhall went to San Francisco and there engaged in business. In 1847 he married in Santa Clara county, Miss Mary Allen, who had crossed the plains with her parents the previous year, her father, David Allen, being one of the pioneer settlers of the state. Mr. and Mrs. Mendenhall were the first American couple to be married south of the Sacramento river, and he is now the only survivor of the Bear Flag party. After marriage Mr. Mendenhall remained in Santa Clara county and there engaged in a successful conduct of the stock business and remained so occupied until 1853. In this year he disposed of his interests, and going to Contra Costa county undertook the operation of a stock ranch. After fifteen years in this pursuit he came to Alameda county and purchased twelve hundred acres of land in Livermore. This he sold for the most part, and now owns four hundred and eighty acres, upon which is situated some celebrated springs, for years conducted as a health resort and known as Mendenhall Springs.

Mrs. Mendenhall died in March, 1903, aged seventy-two years. Mr. Mendenhall is now in his eighty-sixth year, enjoying good health and retains his faculties to an unusual degree. He is an entertaining companion in his recollection of the early days of this western state, the pi-

oneer effort of which went toward its upbuilding and development. In 1869 he laid out the town of Livermore on a six hundred acre tract, started the town, gave ground for schools and all public utilities, roads, etc. He erected Livermore College on seven acres and maintained the institution for several years. He built a beautiful home, costing \$9,000, which was sold later and is now occupied as a sanitarium. While he has never held official position, yet he has taken a keen interest in the political affairs of this county, affiliating with the Democratic party, and served as town trustee of Livermore for eight years. He has been solicited many times for offices but steadfastly refused. Though a Democrat, he is an ardent admirer of Theodore Roosevelt. He was a member of the Vigilance committee of Contra Costa county, and is now a member of the Society of California Pioneers. He is living retired in Oakland, enjoying the evening of his days in quiet and contentment.

Mr. and Mrs. Mendenhall became the parents of a large family of children, namely: James Monroe, of Pleasanton; Elizabeth, wife of Curtis H. Lindley of San Francisco; Emma, wife of James N. Block of San Francisco; Ella, wife of G. W. Langan of Oakland; David A., of Palo Alto; William Wallace, of San Francisco; Oswald V., of San Francisco; Effie, who died aged two years; Asa V., an attorney of Oakland; and Etta, wife of Fred A. Carrick of Oakland.

HENRY SHEPARD BRICKELL.

Among the representative business men of the bay section and natives of the west, mention belongs to the gentleman whose name heads this article. He was born in Virginia City, Nev., of an old Pennsylvania family, his father, John Brickell, having been born in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1828 and his grandfather, David Zilhart Brickell, an early settler of that place. John Brickell received a good education in the public schools of Pittsburg, after which he was apprenticed to

learn the trade of pattern maker. When nineteen years of age he determined to come to California, and accordingly took passage on the bark Kirkland, bound for San Francisco, where he arrived in October, 1849. Soon after his arrival he secured work at his trade and continued so engaged for two years, then was a ship chandler for some time. He later removed the scene of his labors to Virginia City, Nev., where he established a lumber business and some time afterward became connected with the Dick Sides mines, which a few years later were merged into the Consolidated Virginia Mining Company, of Virginia City. This eventually brought large returns to John Brickell. In 1868 he disposed of his interests and returned to San Francisco, where he identified himself with the commercial life of the city. He became president of the Clay Street Bank, which now is known as the Savings and Loan Society, located at Sutter and Montgomery streets; he retained this position until his retirement from all active participation in commercial affairs. He died October 27, 1894. He was widely known through his business associations, held in high esteem for his force of character, his business ability, and strict integrity in all matters. His enterprise was a source of much of the growth and development of San Francisco and Oakland, and all public affairs received substantial assistance from him. He was united in marriage with Jennie A. Shepard, also a native of Pittsburg. She came to California in 1862. To Mr. and Mrs. John Brickell were born the following children: Henry Shepard, Louise D. Howard, John C., Helen Evadne and Howard. The wife and mother passed away March 11, 1900.

Henry S. Brickell was only a child when brought to California by his parents. He grew to manhood in San Francisco, receiving his education in the public schools. He served an apprenticeship with the California Electrical Works, which were located at No. 132 Sutter street. After serving his regular time he went to Virginia City and there installed the first electrical plant in Nevada for John W. Mackay, and likewise became interested in mining properties. After several years in Nevada he returned

to California and in San Francisco entered into real estate operations, becoming an extensive holder of business property as well as other investments in the vicinity of San Francisco.

This section of California has been the scene of his most successful operations, and his interests here have lain parallel with San Francisco and Oakland. While his connections have been such that his own personal fortunes have been materially advanced, he never has forgotten the duties of a loyal citizen, and has given his support to all movements that favored the upbuilding of the state. He was married in 1899 to Miss Gracibel Walker of Oakland, a daughter of A. H. Walker, who has been associated with the Southern Pacific Railway for thirty years. Two children have been born to them, Russell Walker and Joseph Shepard. Mr. Brickell is a member of Oakland Lodge 171, B. P. O. E. He is a man of ability and energy, a progressive citizen, and one who deservedly occupies a prominent place among his fellow townsmen.

GALEN CLARK.

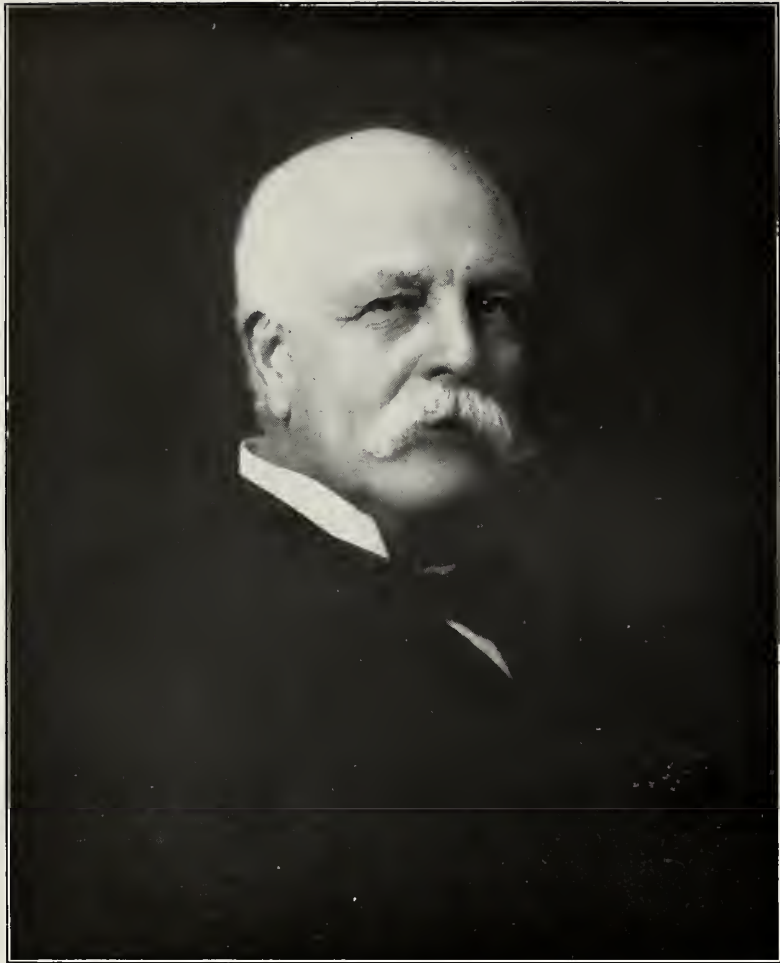
Not only as a pioneer of California, but the pioneer as well of the famous Yosemite valley, Galen Clark enjoys a distinction among the early settlers of the state, held high in the appreciation of both young and old for the part he took in the development of natural resources and the consequent supremacy of California among the western commonwealths. Mr. Clark, who is now living retired in Oakland, was born in Canada East, March 28, 1814; his parents, Jonas and Mary (Churchill) Clark, were natives respectively of Townsend, Mass., and Dublin, N. H., and were temporary residents in Canada at the time this son was born. They were the parents of fourteen children, of whom but two are now living, the one besides Mr. Clark being a daughter, Clarissa C., who was born in 1819 and is now residing in Peterboro, N. H. An uncle, William, served over five years in the Revolutionary war, participating in various im-

portant engagements, among them Bunker Hill and Monmouth. The family were of English extraction, the emigrating ancestor having arrived in Boston about 1630 and settled in Concord some time later.

Galen Clark was the tenth child and the seventh son in the family of his parents, and in the schools of Dublin, N. H., received his education. In passing it may be said that this town is now a famous resort, being situated near Mount Monadnock in New Hampshire. The family being large, Galen was placed in the home of a friend, with whom he remained from the age of five to seventeen years, after which he went to Genesee, N. Y., and there learned the trades of chair-making and painting. He was there employed by a cousin for the period of three years, after which he went to Boston and spent two years at his trade of painting, thence to Philadelphia and from there to St. Louis, in 1837. He spent some time in traveling throughout Missouri, Iowa and Illinois, and finally located in Clark county, Mo., where he engaged in farming and the prosecution of his two trades. While residing in Missouri he married Miss Rebecca McCoy, an aunt of the McCoy brothers of Red Bluff, Cal. After seven years they returned to Philadelphia and there Mr. Clark worked for his former employer. After the death of his wife he went to New York with his employer, who sold out and located there, and in 1853 he attended the Crystal Palace Exposition, where a piece of gold from California attracted his attention westward.

In October of the same year Mr. Clark set out for the far-famed land, taking passage on the steamer American on her first trip to Aspinwall, crossed part of the Isthmus on the railroad, went up the Chagres river and thence on mule-back to Panama. There he took passage on the Uncle Sam and arrived in San Francisco November 27. Mr. Clark's only object in coming to California was to secure his share of the fortune the soil contained, when he would probably have done like many others and returned to the east to make his home. He went to Mariposa county and worked along the Merced river, but was taken sick in 1856, which compelled him to go

to the mountains, the year previous having witnessed his first excursion into the Yosemite valley. He built a cabin on the present site of the Wawona hotel, and there hunted and fished for years, in his different trips throughout the country visiting the big trees of Mariposa county and bringing them to the notice of the public. The beginning of the tourist travel to the Yosemite found him in the position of a restaurateur, and for a long time his was the only place where meals could be obtained. They were cooked over a campfire and served on three legged stools, which was the beginning of the Wawona hotel and known at that time as Clark's station. He sold out in 1875 to the Washburn Stage Company and they gave the name to the place, which means in the Indian language "big trees." Upon the passage of the bill in June, 1864, making the valley and trees a part of the state property, Mr. Clark was appointed guardian of same, being the only white person living in that section of country at the time. For sixteen years he continued in that position and only lost it through the new law which provided that a guardian could hold office only for a period of four years. He then went to Sacramento on business, spending a part of two winters during the sessions of the legislature. In 1888 he was reappointed by the commissioners guardian of the Yosemite grant and re-appointed each year for eight years, when he declined the office. Since that time he has lived in retirement, having built a cottage at Summerland, but since 1904 having passed his time with a daughter, Mrs. Lee, in San Francisco until the fire of 1906, and since then in Oakland. Besides being a lover of nature Mr. Clark had always taken a prominent part in the upbuilding and development of the country, serving as justice of the peace, postmaster, and being ever ready to lend his aid toward the furtherance of plans for the general welfare of whatever community he made his home. He is well read, and informed on all topics of contemporary interest, and has published two works relative to the early times, the first, published in 1904, being entitled "Indians of the Valley," and the other, in 1906, "Big Trees."



W. G. Marston

Mr. Clark had a family of five children, three sons and two daughters, all but one born in Missouri and the youngest in Philadelphia. The oldest son, Joseph Locke, enlisted for service in the Civil war in a Massachusetts regiment, and was killed at the second battle of Bull Run. The second son, Galen Alonzo, also enlisted for service in the Civil war, under command of Gen. Lew Wallace, whose private secretary he became, but never saw active warfare, as the close of hostilities followed shortly after his enlistment. He was a graduate of Harvard, and after ending his school days he came to California and spent one year with his father, after which he went to San Francisco to take up the study of law. Death interrupted his efforts. The youngest son, Solon McCoy, was drowned at Peterboro, N. H. The daughters survive, one, Mrs. Mary Ann Regan, a widow, living in Springfield, Mass., with her family, and the other, Elvira M. Lee, a physician, now residing in Oakland and engaged in the practice of her profession, having formerly been located in both Merced and San Francisco.

and here took charge of a vessel in the lumber trade between San Francisco and Puget Sound from there going to the Orient, then visited the South seas and Australia. Then taking up trade with the Hawaiian Islands, he was identified with Welch & Co. (known as the Planters line) who had a regular line of vessels plying between San Francisco and Honolulu, and later went to Scotland and built two vessels for them. After remaining in their employ for twenty years, in 1892 he gave up permanently his sea-faring life, and has since devoted himself to the interests of the business as superintendent of the company. This company sold out to the Matson Navigation Company, of which Captain Marston is a stockholder.

During the years of his busy career Captain Marston has owned stock in thirty different vessels and at the present writing has interest in twenty. He is a director of the Boole Ship Building Company of Oakland, is also a stockholder in the California Transportation Company, a river boating enterprise, and is president of the Ship Owners Association of San Francisco. He has associated himself with numerous other enterprises of both San Francisco and Oakland, being director of the First National Bank of Berkeley, vice-president of the Seaboard Bank of San Francisco; and a stockholder in the Renters Loan & Trust Company and Bank on Hayes street, in San Francisco. In 1893 he moved to Berkeley and bought his residence at the corner of Vine and Arch streets, and has also built a number of other residences here, while he owns as well a ranch of two hundred acres in Vaca valley, devoted to fruit raising. He has taken a prominent part in public affairs in Berkeley, was elected a member of the city board and for five years was its president, while in San Francisco he served during the years 1905 and 1906 as president of the Chamber of Commerce, of which he is still an active member.

In San Francisco, in 1884, Captain Marston was united in marriage with Miss Idella Alice Reed, daughter of Willard B. and Louise Jane (Smith) Reed, and they became the parents of six children: Ellery, who died at the age of three years; Sibyl, Elsa, Otis, Vera and Merle. Of

WILLIAM HARRINGTON MARSTON.

Varied interests have held the attention of Captain Marston throughout a long and successful business career, but chief among them was that connected with a sea-faring life, which he led for more than forty years. A native of Maine, he was born in that state November 19, 1835, and in the public schools of Maine and Massachusetts he received his education. He lost his parents when he was but eight years old and he thus found it necessary to become dependent upon his own resources at an early age. In 1852 he shipped from Boston on a sailing vessel bound for the north of Cuba and he remained in this trade for three years, later making trips to New Orleans and to Europe, and touching at various ports of the Mediterranean. In 1860 he crossed the Isthmus of Panama for California.

the personal character of Captain Marston too much cannot be said, for throughout his long career he has maintained a staunch integrity in all business dealings, an unswerving honor and honesty, and a genuine friendliness for those about him, which have won him more than the mere accumulation of wealth. No citizen occupies a higher place in the esteem of his fellow-townsmen and no citizen has done more to deserve the place accorded him.

WALTER SCOTT WILLIAMS.

One of the most successful attorneys-at-law in Oakland is Walter Scott Williams, who was born in the county of Prince Edward, Ontario, Canada, May 24, 1833, a son of Isaac Williams, also a native of that county. The paternal grandfather was born in Poughkeepsie, N. Y., whence he removed to Ontario, where he reared his family. Isaac Williams married Charlotte Herrington, a daughter of Moses Herrington, who was also a resident of the county of Prince Edward. Walter Scott Williams was reared in the paternal home, and during his boyhood attended the public schools, later the Normal schools at Toronto, and still later became a student in Fairfield Academy, at Fairfield, N. Y. Returning to Ontario he entered Victoria College, in Coburg, and after completing the course in that institution began the reading of law. He was first in the office of Lewis Walbridge, Queen's Council and Solicitor General of Canada, and later he read with other eminent men of that country. For a time he resided in Belleville, but in 1863 he removed to Napanee, Ontario, where he built up a large practice in his profession. His native ability, combined with the personal qualities of character which won for him the confidence of those with whom he came in contact, brought him a noticeable success in this field, among the positions of prominence he filled there being that of attorney for the Bank of British North America, the consular agency

for the United States for the period of seven years, and the mayoralty of the city during the years 1875, 1876 and 1877. He was keen to see the advantage which could accrue to the town from a railroad running to the north, which would open up the back country, rich in iron and other minerals, and it was this thought that led him to originate the Napanee, Tamworth & Quebec Railway, the name of which has since been changed to the Bay of Quinte Railway and Navigation Company. It was mainly through his efforts that the different municipalities voted bonuses to assist in building the road, and through his energy and diplomacy he secured enough aid from the government of the Dominion of Canada to build the railroad. Mr. Williams was one of the directors, and its secretary, attorney and financial agent for many years, in fact until his removal to California. He also gave considerable time and attention to the furtherance of the cause of the Independent Order of Good Templars, serving as the right worthy grand counsellor of the Right Worthy Grand Lodge of the World during the years 1869 and 1870, and as the right worthy grand secretary from 1873 to 1880. His removal from Napanee in 1889 was regretted by the citizens of that place, who had come to rely on him for practical support and help in public affairs. What, however, was the loss to Napanee was California's gain, for he came direct to this state at that time, and establishing himself in Oakland, has since built up an extensive clientele. For a term he held the position of inspector of a San Francisco bank, and is now a commissioner of the provinces of British Columbia, Ontario, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Quebec. He gives the same attention to public affairs here that he did in Napanee, and is always to be relied upon in the furtherance of all movements for the general welfare.

January 16, 1858, Mr. Williams was united in marriage with Miss Elmira L. Huffman, and born of this union are four daughters, all of whom are married and live in Oakland. Named in order of birth they are as follows: Minnie, the wife of William H. George; Carrie, the wife of Robert Mills; Nellie, the widow of Herbert

C. Parks, who was a brilliant young lawyer and who died of consumption in California; and Blanche, the wife of Rupert Whitehead. In religion Mr. Williams is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church and gives liberally to its charities. Personally he is a man of much geniality and friendliness, ever ready to hold out a welcoming or helping hand, is energetic and ambitious and has deservedly won the position he holds in the esteem of the citizens of Oakland. Fraternaly he is associated with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Masons, and the Independent Order of Good Templars.

In the latter part of the year of 1836 and during the year 1837 a rebellion occurred in Canada which was supported by some of the best citizens and opposed by many equally respectable, among whom was John Shibley Huffman, of the county of Hastings, in the province of Ontario, a wealthy farmer and a large land owner, the father of Mrs. Williams, also by Isaac Williams, of the county of Prince Edward, province of Ontario, also a wealthy farmer and a large land owner, the father of Mr. Williams; both of these gentlemen were loyal to the British Crown and did what they could to put down the rebellion. For their devotion to the government, the late Lord Elgin, the governor-general of Canada, commissioned under the Great Seal of the Dominion of Canada, Messrs. Huffman and Williams, justices of the peace for their respective counties, positions which they held for thirty years or until their deaths. Throughout their lives both held many other official positions of trust and were prominent politically as well as in the Methodist Episcopal Church of Canada.

In the year 1873 the Dominion government determined to inform the people of Great Britain and Ireland of the values, in Canada, to those seeking investments in their land and homes for capitalists and their surplus population and they commissioned Mr. Williams, the subject of this article, to represent them in the Old World. On the 14th of June, 1873, the County Council of the county of Lennox and Addington, province of Ontario, of which he was a member, unanimously adopted the following resolution, moved by Mr. Booth and seconded by E. Perry.

That, whereas the members of the County Council of the county of Lennox and Addington have learned with pleasure that the government of the Dominion of Canada has appointed Walter S. Williams, Esq., Deputy Reeve of the town of Napanee, a special emigration agent to Great Britain, they hereby tender their congratulations to Mr. Williams upon his appointment and believe the government has acted wisely and judiciously in selecting one who has had so much experience and knowledge in regard to our municipal institutions, legal matters and the general wants and requirements of our country, and we extend to Mr. Williams and to Mrs. Williams who accompanies him, our best wishes for a pleasant and prosperous voyage and a safe return to their native country and family after his work is completed in the Old Country.

The County Council of the county of Lennox and Addington was a small parliament and composed of twenty-one members and elected by a popular vote of the inhabitants of the said county. Mr. Williams spent several months in England, Ireland, Scotland and France, and brought many capitalists to Canada and a large number of men with their families, who became profitable and wealthy farmers and citizens.

Mr. Williams is largely interested in some valuable mines in the Tavichie Camp, which are over five hundred miles south of the City of Mexico in the Republic of Mexico, and distant from the ancient and beautiful city of Oaxaca about thirty-three miles. Mr. Williams is president of both of said companies.

HARRY W. PULCIFER.

Named among the prominent and successful lawyers of Oakland is Harry W. Pulcifer, who for the past ten years has been engaged in the practice of his profession. He is a native of Maine, born in 1869; his father, Alexander W. Pulcifer, also a native of that state, was a pioneer of California in 1852, crossing the Isthmus of

Panama, and thence coming by steamer to San Francisco. Like the great majority of the settlers at that time he engaged in mining for a time, and after acquiring some means returned to his home in the east. About this time the Civil war called him into military service and in the Sixteenth Regiment, Maine Infantry, he served for three years and participated in many important engagements, in which he was twice wounded. Returning to his home in Maine, he remained there until 1876, in which year he again came to California, bringing his family with him and locating in Oakland, where he has ever since resided. Besides Harry W., he had three children, Alexander being pastor of a church at Crockett, Cal.; a daughter who married R. Timm, a prominent lumberman of Sacramento; and Ernestine, who lives with her brother, Harry W.

Being but seven years old when brought to Oakland, Harry W. Pulcifer received his education in the schools of this city, graduating from the high school and then entering the law office of Henry Vrooman, then one of the most prominent lawyers and successful politicians in the city. He remained in that office until Mr. Vrooman's death, when he went into the accounting department of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company. During this time he was also engaged in the study of law, and in 1894 he entered the law office of Davis & Hill, who were at that time leading attorneys for the city of Oakland in their fight to control the water front, and who were also prominent politicians. Admitted to the bar in 1897 he remained with the firm for about six months, and in 1898 opened up an office for himself, since which time he has been engaged in a successful practice of his profession. He has won many friends and has built up a wide clientele, which has placed him in the front ranks of professional men of Oakland and the bay country.

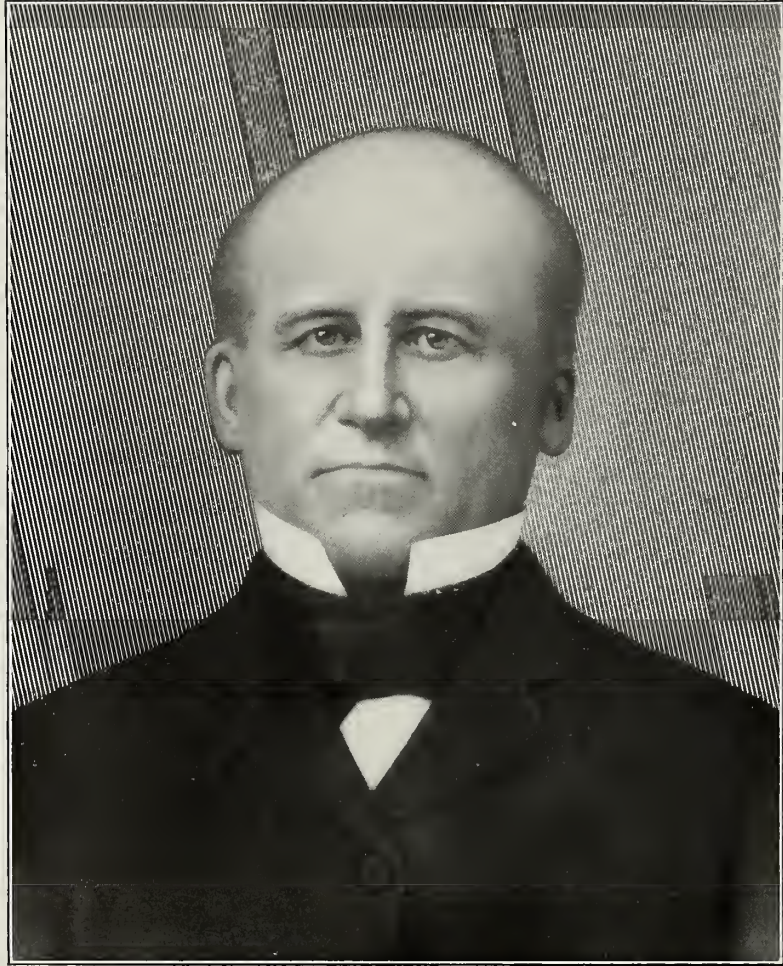
Mr. Pulcifer was united in marriage with Miss Nightingill of Marysville, Cal., daughter of G. F. Nightingill, a pioneer of 1849. He crossed the plains to California and became prominent in the public affairs of the state, serving as town marshal for a number of years. He was afterward employed in the San Francisco mint until his death. His brother, A. L. Nightingill, was secretary of

the state of Nevada for many years. Mr. and Mrs. Pulcifer are the parents of three children, Royce, Harry and Marian. Mr. Pulcifer has found time to ally himself strongly with the Republican party, taking an active and prominent part in both city and county politics. In fraternal circles he is also prominent, being a member of Oakland Lodge No. 188, F. & A. M.; Oakland Lodge No. 103, K. of P.; Oakland Lodge No. 171, B. P. O. E.; the Nile Club, and in memory of his father's services to his country in 1861 he belongs to the Sons of Veterans.

DAVID W. REDDING.

The pioneer instinct was inherited by David W. Redding, for, as a child, he was taken by his parents to the wild region of Michigan, where, in the timbered lands and among the Indians, they sought to hew out a farm and establish a home. There the father died in 1848, still too early to realize the advance of civilization which should be made in the coming years. David W. Redding was born in Yates county, N. Y., April 9, 1829, and in 1834 removed to Michigan, where he grew to manhood. He was one of a family of seven children, of whom but two are living, a sister residing in Michigan. The family were of colonial stock, the father being a native of New Jersey and the mother of New York.

In young manhood David W. Redding began to learn the trade of cabinet-maker and carpenter, working in a shop of this kind in Mishawaka, Ind. Because of impaired health he came to California in 1867, not intending to stay, but upon recovering his health he secured work at \$4 per day. He remained here until 1876, in which year he went back for a visit to his home in Michigan, but his longing for California was so great that he soon returned, and has ever since remained contentedly in the west. For the greater part of his time he has engaged as a journeyman, but at one time with two others he established a hardware business. They conducted the enterprise



John Alex Forbes

for about a year, when Mr. Redding sold to C. G. Reed, and returned to carpenter work. In 1880 he went to Oregon and there worked in building houses and boats on the Rogue river, and for the ensuing nine years made that place his home. In 1868 he had purchased a place on Fifteenth street, near Clay, and this he sold while in Oregon. Returning to California about 1889, he erected the home now occupied by the family at 1168 West street. He was married in Michigan in 1855 to Miss Mary Bradt, who died early, leaving a daughter, Hattie, who is now the wife of John Mathews, whose father, Peter Mathews, was an old pioneer. Mr. Redding's second marriage united him with Mrs. Elizabeth (Mann) Allen, who was taken by her parents to Nevada when seven years old and there made her home until 1872, in which year she came to Oakland. Her father was a manufacturer in the east and a miner and tavern keeper after coming to California. In politics Mr. Redding has always been a stanch advocate of Republican principles, although personally he has never cared for official recognition. In religion he is a member of the Christian Science church.

JAMES ALEXANDER FORBES.

An interesting career was that of James Alexander Forbes, one of the earliest pioneers of California, and for many years an upbuilder of its interests after permanently making this state his home. Born of a noble family in Inverness, De-colloden, Scotland, January 7, 1803, he was the son of Sir Edward John Forbes, physician to the queen for many years, while other members of the family were associated with the Bank of England and were otherwise prominent in public affairs. Mr. Forbes was highly educated and became professor of both languages and music in a college in Inverness. He entered the service of Spain and fought against the Moors and in a severe engagement was left upon a Spanish vessel for dead; he was finally picked up and found to

be severely injured, but after having his skull trepanned rapidly recovered his health. Following this he came to California on a Spanish man-of-war, as an officer, then being a very young man, and during this trip became a warm friend of a Franciscan monk who converted him from Protestantism to Catholicism. He remained but a brief time here, then returned to Scotland, came a second time, and finally was sent out by the English government to write a history of California in the interests of the Hudson Bay Company, which history was sent to England and published. Later he was appointed the second English consul in California and resided for some years in Yerba Buena, then removed to the Mission in Santa Clara county, where he was discharging the duties of English consul at the time of the American invasion. He was interested in many of the most important movements in the development of the country and was ever found ready to advance the cause of civilization. He built a beautiful brick residence in Santa Clara (having sold his residence to the Santa Clara College), putting in all modern conveniences, such as speaking tubes, dumb waiters, etc., and bringing knives, forks, cook stoves, etc., from England, the first to be brought into California. He built a stone mill at Los Gatos, machinery for which was brought from England, and manufactured the best flour in the state. He was owner of the Almaden mines and took out enormous sums of money, which was brought to his home in sacks as large as those used for potatoes, and piled about the rooms much the same as one would potatoes. Later he had trouble over mining interests and during the ensuing litigation of twenty-two years lost the greater part of his early fortune. He then went to work in the conduct of a drug store, he being himself a physician, and this he continued for some years, while he also carried on all business for the Spanish people because of his fluent use of the language.

Mr. Forbes married a native daughter of California, his wife being in maidenhood Anita Marie Galindo, who was born at the Presidio, in Yerba Buena, July 29, 1818. They were married July 4, 1833, and afterward Mrs. Forbes completed an already fine education by learning

to sing, from her husband. She had a Mexican grant in her own right known as the Stockton Rancho, part of the present site of San Jose, of which one-half was given to Commodore Stockton by Mr. Forbes at the time of the American occupation, and also owned property in San Francisco, a parcel of which was the present location of the Hibernia Bank of that city. They lived for a time in San Francisco, where Mr. Forbes built a beautiful home, but later removed to Oakland, where Mr. Forbes passed away at the age of seventy-seven years. Mrs. Forbes' father, Juan Crissotomo Galindo, lived to be one hundred and one years old. Mr. and Mrs. Forbes became the parents of twelve children, namely: Charles H., deceased, who, for more than forty years, was employed in the legal affairs of Colonel Baker's widow of Los Angeles; Martha Eleanor, deceased, who married A. R. Tompkins and had seven children; James Alexander, Jr., singer, translator of records and searcher of San Francisco for nineteen years, who was sent to Mexico as consul, and is now in Guadalajara in mining interests; Miguel G., a poet living in Los Angeles; Frederick, deceased, and formerly a linguist and translator in the courts of San Francisco; James Alonzo, justice of the peace at Kings City, Cal.; Louis P., deceased, formerly a druggist in San Jose for eighteen years; Clara Frances, wife of J. D. Sunol; John T., employed with a firm in Oakland for twenty-two years; Margaret, deceased; Frank Howard, a druggist employed for years in Oakland and San Francisco; and Alfred, deceased. All the children were born in California and all educated in the state, the sons being honored graduates of Santa Clara College. The sons were all talented, inheriting their literary ability from their father, he being a writer of more than ordinary merit for years. He compiled several text books which were in use for a number of years in California, was correspondent for the *Illustrated London News* and other papers, while he wrote a hymnal which was used for many years by the first missionaries of the state. In later years he wrote for the *Argonaut*. He was always a man of prominence in public affairs, served in the state legislature, was one of the first trustees of Santa

Clara College, while the first organ ever brought to California was at his expense for the use of the Old Mission. He was thoroughly posted on the Bible, was a musician of unusual ability, and during the early days in San Jose taught the Indians to play the flute and other musical instruments, and also taught them the Spanish language and singing. His name is one that will always be remembered when the advancement and development of California is mentioned, for he was one of the courageous and self-sacrificing pioneers, without whose efforts nothing of this success could ever have been accomplished.

EDSON ADAMS.

Descended from one of the early colonial families, and endowed by inheritance with those sterling traits of character which distinguished those hardy settlers, Edson Adams was eminently fitted for the part he played in the upbuilding and development of the bay country of California, where for nearly forty years he made his home. The first paternal ancestor who located on American soil was Edward Adams, who established the name in New Haven, Conn., in 1640, while four years later the immigrating ancestor on the maternal side, Edward Nash, became a resident of Norwalk, Conn. Edson Adams was born in Fairfield county, Conn., May 18, 1824, and in his native state received his education, after which, at an early age, he engaged in trade. The gold discovery of 1849 in California led him to immigrate to the Pacific coast, and accordingly he took passage on a steamer in January of that year and arrived in San Francisco in July of the same year. In the following September he went to the mines and pursued the work for a few months, returning to San Francisco in March, 1850, and proceeding to an examination of the bay country with a view to establishing a town. May 16, 1850, he located permanently at a point now known as the foot of Broadway, Oakland, taking up one hundred and

sixty acres of what was then public domain. His property lay on either side of the present Broadway and extended from the estuary of San Antonio north to the present location of Fourteenth street. At that time the country was a wilderness and Mr. Adams was the first settler. Others followed, among the first of whom were Andrew Moon and H. W. Carpentier.

In the latter part of 1851 Mr. Adams, with Mr. Carpentier and Mr. Moon, employed Julius Kellersberger and others to survey, lay out and set the stakes, and make maps and plats (which included the properties of the three gentlemen) for the present city of Oakland. Mr. Adams was elected to fill various offices and discharged the duties incumbent upon him in an efficient manner, and with a public spirit worthy of a pioneer gave himself over to the task of bringing civilization to the remote corners of the Pacific coast. The disadvantages under which he and other public spirited citizens who were associated with him in this enterprise worked were such as to almost render such an undertaking hopeless, for as a rule the first settlers were single men who preferred to spend their time in the mines rather than assist in the upbuilding of a town in which they would probably not care to reside permanently. The citizens of San Francisco were slow in making Oakland their home because of poor ferry accommodations, the only means of travel at first being an occasional excursion from San Francisco to the new town, then called Contra Costa. Finally a company was induced to establish ferry communications, with at least one round trip each day. The fare was then one dollar each way, but was finally reduced to fifty cents each way, with the chance of being detained by foggy weather five or six hours on a trip. Gradually all these conditions changed, immigration became heavier, the location appealed to incoming settlers, and with their location in the town city conveniences came as a matter of course and Mr. Adams lived to see his dream fulfilled and a city of importance and prosperity grow from the efforts of his and others first residence in California. He continued throughout his entire life, which lasted to December 14, 1888, to be associated with various business en-

terprises and was always to be counted upon in the furtherance of any plan for the advancement of the general welfare. He won a wide circle of friends who held him in the highest appreciation for the many sterling traits of character which were evidenced in many ways throughout his long career as a citizen of this western commonwealth.

Mr. Adams was married May 3, 1855, to Miss Hannah J. Jayne, and born of this union are three children, Julia P., Edson F. and John C.

FREDERICK E. WHITNEY.

Inheriting the stanch qualities of a New England ancestry, Frederick E. Whitney, one of Oakland's successful professional men, was born in Farmington, Me., November 26, 1850. His ancestors were English, and he is a direct descendant of John Whitney, who settled in Watertown, Mass., in 1632. He was the youngest son of George W. and Violette (Haines) Whitney. His father was a man well known in his county for his intelligence, integrity and public spirit. He held many positions of trust in the township government of Farmington and was elected county clerk in 1848. After the expiration of his term he engaged in mercantile business until his death in 1866. He was secretary of the county convention held in Strong, Me. (1855), which first, and at his suggestion, adopted the party name Republican. Afterward James G. Blaine recognized this as the birthplace of the Republican party, and celebrated there its anniversary while as its standard bearer he was candidate for president.

The mother of the subject of this sketch was the daughter of Capt. Peter Haines, a sterling pioneer of Livermore, Me., whose mother was Mary (Dudley) Haines, a direct descendant of Thomas Dudley, at one time (about 1650) governor of Massachusetts, which at that time included the province, now the state, of Maine.

Frederick E. Whitney attended the public

schools at Farmington and at the age of sixteen years commenced teaching school in the rural districts; at seventeen he graduated at the State Normal School of Maine at Farmington with the highest rank, although the youngest member of his class. In 1869 he graduated from the Waterville Classical Institute and at once matriculated at Bowdoin College, where he graduated with the highest honors in 1873 and was made a member of the honor society Phi Beta Kappa. He received his degree of B. A. and three years later (1876) that of Master of Arts.

Immediately after graduating from Bowdoin Mr. Whitney taught in the public schools of Boston for four years, having acquired a life certificate in that position, when he resigned and came to Oakland, Cal., and began searching records for the firm of Lawrie & Whitney (succeeded to now by Stocker & Holland), and at the same time began the study of law under the direction of his brother, Senator George E. Whitney. A year later (1878) he accepted a lucrative offer to go to Japan as instructor in English literature and rhetoric in connection with the Government University at Tokio. After three years engaged in this manner he resigned, and thereafter traveled around the world, visiting many countries and places of interest, and after passing through the Red Sea, Suez Canal and Mediterranean and traversing Europe from Naples to London, returned to America. He at once passed successfully the examinations and entered the senior class of the law department of the University of Washington at St. Louis, Mo., where he graduated, taking the degree of LL.B. in 1882. He immediately returned to make Oakland his permanent home. After his admission to practice in all the state and federal courts he became a law partner of his brother, remaining with him until 1883, when he was appointed by the superior court judges, court commissioner of Alameda county, and for about fifteen years he discharged the duties of that office in a very efficient manner. He now devotes all his time to a general practice of law and has enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. For a term of four years he was attorney for the public administrator of Alameda county, which with his

other practice has made him very familiar with probate law and proceedings. He has taken a lively interest in politics, although never a candidate for office. He served several terms as chairman of the Republican city central committee and was also a member of the state central committee. For several years he was connected with the National Guard of California, rising from the ranks as private to the position of chief aide on the staff of General Turnbull, N. G. C., with the rank of major. As a Mason he has been a member of Oakland Lodge No. 188 for over twenty years, and as a Royal Arch Mason he has been a life member of St. Paul's Chapter, Boston, for over thirty years.

Mr. Whitney was married in Oakland, March 22, 1884, to Miss Edith A. Adams, who was born in Farmington, Me., a daughter of Thomas H. and Hannah (Corbett) Adams. His wife's death occurred October 6, 1906. He has two children, a son, Frederick Adams Whitney, now in the University of California preparing for the practice of law, and a daughter, Edna, who married Robert I. Bentley, Jr., of San Francisco, on April 22, 1908.

SAMUEL SOLOMON GREEN.

The gold excitement of California brought the parents of Samuel Solomon Green across the plains to the Pacific coast, and like many others who foresaw the country's future greatness through the means of commercial and agricultural activity, the elder man became one of the successful merchants of the city of San Francisco. Harris and Augusta (Vogel) Green were the parents of eleven children, all but two of whom were natives of California. His death occurred in 1893, while his wife still survives and makes her home at No. 1160 Golden Gate avenue, in San Francisco.

Samuel Solomon Green was born in New York City, November 21, 1853, and was but three years old when brought across the plains of California. He was reared in San Francisco



William Reed



Hannah E Reed

and educated in its public schools, and after completing the course he sought employment in a dry goods establishment of that city. Later he engaged for himself in this pursuit in San Francisco and continued so occupied to the time of his death, which occurred December 6, 1906. He experienced the horrors of the earthquake and fire of April 18, 1906, and lost both his stock and establishment, but, nothing daunted, he opened up in another location after the settlement of the disaster and continued to conduct his store until his death. He was a man of energy and ability, staunch in his support of public interests, and was looked upon as one of the enterprising and progressive citizens of San Francisco. Politically he was a Republican, but never cared for personal recognition at the hands of his party, although he liberally supported the principles he endorsed. Fraternally he belonged to the Foresters, being a member of Cremieux Lodge, in which he acted as secretary for sixteen years.

Mr. Green was married in San Francisco October 1, 1876, to Miss Jennie Blass, a daughter of Meyer and Adeline (Seid) Blass, both natives of Germany. They were also pioneers of California, having emigrated to the state in 1851 and located in San Francisco. Both are now deceased, the mother dying in 1891, at the age of seventy-five years, and the father in 1905, at the age of eighty-three years.

WILLIAM REED.

The Reed family is well represented in Oakland and vicinity, first by the pioneer, William Reed, and his wife, Hannah C. Reed, and also by their children, grand and great grandchildren, who with marriages now number forty living descendants, of whom we mention in particular Charles G. Reed, National Bank Examiner, and George W. and Clarence M. Reed, senior and junior members of the law firm of Reed, Black & Reed.

The founder of the family in America was An-

drew Reed, of English descent and a retired colonel of the English army, who was born in County Antrim, Ireland, in 1693, and who married Jean Murray, of Scotch-Irish descent. Col. Andrew Reed, with his wife, eight sons and one daughter, settled in Boothbay, Me., in 1743. They with others founded the first church in that town, and a nephew of Mrs. Reed, Rev. John Murray, was its first pastor. Colonel Reed died July 22, 1762, and his wife February 8, 1780. Two sons died before the great struggle of the colonies for independence; of the six remaining, five took an active part in the war, as did also several grandsons. The eldest son, Andrew (from whom the Reed family of Oakland is descended), was a lieutenant-colonel, and his son Robert, a boy of nineteen, was a fifer. Paul, the sixth son, was commander of a privateer which captured several valuable prizes. David was a captain, Joseph, first lieutenant and William a private. A grandson, Andrew, Jr., was second lieutenant. Robert, before mentioned, was afterward captain of a revenue cutter in connection with the Custom House at Wiscasset, Me. William, son of Robert, followed the sea for many years. He was in command of a vessel captured by the British in the war of 1812; was paroled and allowed to continue on his voyage. One very dark night a vessel under his command ran afoul of the man-of-war Constitution (old Ironsides) in Boston harbor, breaking a spar of the Constitution.

In 1835 he established his home in Vassalboro, Me., and in the meantime he had married Hannah P. Hutchings. Among the children born of this marriage was a son to whom they gave the name of William, his birth occurring October 11, 1811, on Cape Newagen Island, now known as Westport, Lincoln county, Me.

Early in life William Reed, Jr., became acquainted with the sea by accompanying his father on his voyages and was commander of a vessel at the age of twenty years. He conveyed the first cargo of cotton ever sent direct from a southern port to Europe, making the trip from Galveston, Texas, to Havre de Grace in 1846. Previously all cotton had been sent to New York or Boston and re-shipped. On the return voyage

he brought back a cargo of wines procured at Bordeaux. During the thirty years or more of his seafaring life Captain Reed entered every port of any importance from Maine to Florida, as well as Mobile and New Orleans, besides making several voyages to Cuba and various ports of the West Indies. On December 30, 1839, he married Hannah Carleton Hall, who was born in Vassalboro, Me., on August 16, 1818, the daughter of John Goffe and Mercy (Taylor) Hall.

Captain Reed's identification with California dates back to the days of the early mining boom. On the ship *Rob Roy*, he made the trip around Cape Horn, arriving at San Francisco August 9, 1850, bringing with him as part of the cargo the stern-wheel steamer *Kennebec*, which was put together at North Beach and plied between Sacramento and Marysville for a time, and of which he was captain. In 1851 he returned to Maine and engaged in farming until 1854, when he again came to this state and for two years engaged in mining at Angels Camp. His family arrived in California November 14, 1856, and settling in Oakland, he purchased a tract of thirteen acres on Market street and engaged in the business of raising fruit. From the sale of this property, all of which is now a part of the city, he realized a snug income. At the time of his death he was the owner of considerable valuable property. Captain Reed and his wife are both deceased, his death occurring April 19, 1905, when in his ninety-fourth year, and his wife's December 31, 1906. Captain Reed was ardent in his views on political questions, being a member of the Union League, which was organized during the Civil war. He also took an active interest in the public school system and was at one time a member of the Board of Education. In public as in private life his honor never was questioned and his word was as good as his bond. His probity, sterling character and upright dealings with his fellowmen won for him the loving friendship of all who knew him. He acquired a competence during his business career and the last years of his life were spent in quiet contentment at his home at Sixteenth and Market streets.

Six children blessed the marriage of Captain and Mrs. Reed, as follows: Elizabeth M., born in 1840 and now the widow of D. P. Barstow, of whom a sketch will be found elsewhere in this volume; Emily F. (deceased), born in 1842; Charles Goffe, born in 1844, whose life history also appears elsewhere; George W., born in 1852, whose sketch is given in this volume; Nellie Carleton, who was born in 1854 and is now the wife of Thomas C. Mayon, of whose history a detailed account will be found on another page; and Annie Lincoln (deceased), born in 1857.

THOMAS WOLFE MORGAN.

Thomas Wolfe Morgan, lately one of the most esteemed of Oakland's citizens, was born on the 3d of December, 1839, in a house on Royal street, New Orleans, where Andrew Jackson was entertained by Rev. Dr. Wheat, his mother's uncle and adopted father. He came by inheritance to those fine principles and high traits of character which distinguished his career, for both on paternal and maternal sides his ancestry was among the most aristocratic as well as the most intellectual in America. His father was Judge Thomas Nicholson Morgan, well known as the youngest judge who ever sat on the bench, being but twenty-four years old when elevated to this high position. He was born in Louisiana in 1809, a son of Gen. J. Morgan and his wife, she being a daughter of Judge John Nicholson. The parents had located in the southern state from Philadelphia, Pa., of which state they were natives. Thomas N. Morgan was a gold medal graduate of Yale in the class of '31, and ascended the bench as associate justice of the city of New Orleans when twenty-four, retaining the position until his death in 1844, in Nashville, Tenn. Judge Morgan took an active and leading part in reform work in municipal matters as well as along humanitarian lines, being a member of St. Paul's Episcopal Church and officiating for many years as its warden. His wife was born

in Winchester, Va., May 17, 1817, a daughter of Thomas Wolfe, a native of that city, and his wife, Mary Ann (Patten) Wolfe; the latter was born in 1795 and died in 1825, while her mother, Mary (Roberdeau) Patten, was born in Philadelphia in 1774, removed to Virginia and there, November 14, 1793, she married Thomas Patten, who was born in Roxbury, Mass., the son of a prosperous merchant. When nine years old Mr. Morgan's mother was left an orphan and was adopted by an aunt, who was the wife of Rev. Dr. Wheat, of Chapel Hill, N. C. She married Judge Morgan in 1837 and their only child was Thomas W., of this review. Later she became the wife of J. B. Harmon, who was afterward a prominent attorney of San Francisco and Oakland; he removed to Ohio in 1852 and to California in 1854.

Thomas Wolfe Morgan received his education in Warren, Ohio, and New Orleans, while from the age of fifteen to eighteen years he was under the instruction of Dr. Wheat. He came to California via the Panama route in 1857, arriving in December of that year, after which he engaged as an assistant to James Ferrill, United States department surveyor, then in Monterey county. He remained with him for four months, and having acquired a knowledge of the science in the University of North Carolina he continued his studies. For a time he was undecided whether to take up architecture or engineering, but in 1861 decided on the latter and was soon engaged with Robert L. Harris in a survey of the first horse railroad in San Francisco. He continued with Mr. Harris for a period of four years, during which he did instrumental work on Point San Jose survey, and at Black Point Fort in 1863, and the following two years was transit man on the Harris work for the Central Pacific Railroad. He next surveyed under George C. Potter, of San Francisco, as leveler and computer, and later as chief draughtsman to Wheaton for two years. In 1868, with another who had taken the work under Mr. Harris, he formed a partnership, the firm name being Morgan & Smith, and together they began civil engineering and surveying. They had charge of the land party in the survey of the Oakland water front, and in 1870 were chief en-

gineers in the survey of the first horse railroad in Sacramento. In 1872 they surveyed the town of Calistoga and in the following year began work as deputy to T. J. Arnold, city engineer, and made a map of the northern addition to Oakland. In 1873 Mr. Morgan was put in charge as chief deputy, and remained so until the death of Mr. Arnold in 1878, when he was appointed city engineer by the city council, holding the position until the new charter went into effect in April, 1889. He became his own successor by appointment of the board of public works. He made preliminary surveys of Cliff house, the steam railroad, and also laid off the grounds on Sutro Heights for the proprietor. He was a member of the Technical Society of the Pacific Coast, and also California Society of Civil Engineers. He was a man of great inventive ability and many excellent ideas of his were prolific of splendid results in a mechanical way. He was a man of diversified talents, home-loving to a degree, an excellent violin player, a good conversationalist and necessarily an entertaining companion. For some time he was associated with Apollo Lodge, I. O. O. F., the only secret society to which he ever belonged. He was far-sighted and of keen judgment, and made many investments in land in East Oakland, Piedmont Heights, and in Point Richmond, the last named town being laid out by him. His own residence was built from plans drawn up by his wife, to whom he deeded the property. Mr. Morgan's death occurred August 3, 1904, in the midst of his career, and many there were who mourned his loss and remember well his name and the good he did to his fellowmen while passing through this life.

Mr. Morgan was married in Santa Cruz December 25, 1865, to Miss Christina Agnes Ross, who was born in Oxford, Ontario, October 16, 1847, a daughter of Daniel and Janet (MacNeille) Ross, both natives of Scotland, in which land they were reared and married. They immigrated to Canada in 1843, with five sons and one daughter, a son and two daughters being born in Canada. They came to California in 1856. Of their thirteen children but three are living, namely: Daniel, of Los Gatos; Jennie, wife of W. A. Sanborn, of Watsonville; and Mrs. T. W. Morgan. To

Mr. and Mrs. Morgan the following children were born: Ross, born in 1867, a graduate of the University of California in the class of 1891, and now engaged as a civil hydraulic and mining engineer; M. De Neale, born in 1868, a graduate of the school of design of San Francisco and an artist of marked ability; Janet H., born in 1870 and died in 1877; Thomas W., Jr., born in 1875, a graduate of the high school and a draughtsman; Dana Roberdeau, a student of civil engineering; James Wheat, born in 1881, a surveyor; and Jennie Christine, born in 1884, and a teacher of music.

JOHN FREDERICK WILLIAM SOHST.

The reminiscences of John F. W. Sohst carry him back to the earliest days in the history of the bay country, when the city of Oakland was a town of only a few inhabitants, few houses, fewer fences, and with nothing to presage the greatness of the present metropolitan city. He was a young man of twenty-two years when he came to California, having been born in the Fatherland in 1837. He received his early education in Germany in the public schools, after which, in 1854, he came to America. He landed in New York City, thence went to Sandusky, Ohio, and there started in business making carriages and buggies and wagons, remaining in different towns in Ohio until 1859, when he set out for California. He made the journey via the Isthmus of Panama and in February arrived in San Francisco, where he remained until August of the same year. It was in that month that he first came to Oakland, a description of his first impressions of this city being realistically given by Mr. Sohst in an article published in an Oakland paper in 1896. There were two boats plying between San Francisco and Oakland at that time—rival steamers—and both left at the same time. Mr. Sohst and a friend who were going to Oakland missed both steamers and had to wait an hour. By this apparent misfortune they were saved from being in the wreck of the Contra Costa, upon which an

explosion took place, causing the loss of several lives. This was in a spring month, and it was not until August that Mr. Sohst finally came to Oakland, having secured employment with the Pioneer Carriage Works, at that time conducted by Artemus Davison.

For a few months Mr. Sohst remained as manager of this concern, when he purchased the factory and began the conduct of the enterprise for himself. This factory was first located at Broadway and Water streets, was later moved to Broadway between Seventh and Eighth streets, and in 1873 was located on Eighth and Franklin streets, where it has ever since been conducted. This is the largest enterprise of its kind in the city, and has proven a profitable investment for its owner. And not alone have the business interests of Oakland claimed the attention of Mr. Sohst, for he has taken an active and helpful interest in everything pertaining to the development of the city from the very first. He served two terms in the city council, from 1874 to 1877, and was an important factor in advancing movements calculated to add to the city's welfare. He it was who first proposed the Contra Costa tunnel and fathered the proposition until its completion, which was about four years ago. He was at that time chairman of the tunnel committee and is still acting as its president. This committee was appointed by the Merchants' Exchange, of which Mr. Sohst was also president.

Mr. Sohst is also active in fraternal circles, being a member of the Odd Fellows organization and one of the original thirteen charter members who on July 7, 1864, organized the Oakland Lodge No. 1118. He is likewise a member of Oakland Lodge, No. 171, B. P. O. E., being the forty-sixth addition to that lodge, while his son is the one thousand and first member of the same lodge, showing its rapid growth since its organization. Mr. Sohst is a charter member of the Oakland Turnverein Society and a director of the German Old People's Home of Oakland, and a member of the German Club. Although he has proven so good a citizen of his adopted country, yet he maintains an honest loyalty for the Fatherland, where he first saw the light of day.



Geo. W. Reed

The marriage of Mr. Sohst, which took place in San Francisco in 1863, united him with Miss Margaret Buckingham, of Boston, Mass., who came to California in 1859. They became the parents of six children, of whom five are living, as follows: Minnie, the wife of L. Emly, of Oakland; Nelli, a resident of Oakland; William W. H., manager of the Pioneer Carriage factory, who is married and has two children; Alice, the wife of Harry Elfen, a prominent optician of Oakland, and member of the firm of Davis & Elfen; and Carl G., of Oakland, who married Miss Grandgene; he is an Elk, Mason, and a member of the Native Sons of the Golden West; Adolph, deceased, was killed by an accident in 1890. Mr. Sohst has built up for himself since his early location here a place among the representative citizens, being deservedly held in high esteem for the services he has rendered Oakland in her early growth and development.

GEORGE W. REED.

One of the leading attorneys of Oakland is George W. Reed, the senior member of the firm of Reed, Black & Reed, well known throughout this city and vicinity for their successful accomplishments along legal lines. Mr. Reed is a native of the state of Maine, born in Vassalboro, June 14, 1852, and was a child of four years when brought to this coast by his parents. Up to the age of twelve years he attended the public schools of Oakland and subsequently attended the Brayton school and afterwards the University of California, graduating from that institution in 1872. In the meantime he had made up his mind to follow the legal profession, and immediately after his graduation he took up the reading of law. At the end of one year he received the appointment of deputy county clerk under his brother, Charles G., a position which he held four years. Thereafter he resumed his law studies and in December of 1879 was admitted to the bar. The following year he entered

the office of A. A. Moore in the capacity of law clerk, remaining in this position until 1883, when he was admitted to partnership with Mr. Moore, under the firm name of Moore & Reed. During the six years in which the partners were amicably associated they built up an extensive and profitable clientele, and had it not been for Mr. Reed's election to the office of district attorney their relations would no doubt have continued indefinitely. Mr. Reed's election to office occurred in November, 1888, and at the close of his first term he was elected to succeed himself in 1890. Later he formed the partnership of Reed & Nusbaumer, and after eleven years formed the partnership which now exists between himself, Mr. Black and his son, Clarence M. Reed, the three working harmoniously together and in accord with the needs of their large practice.

Mr. Reed has always taken a strong interest in matters of public import, and as a Republican lent his aid to the advancement of that party's principles and now (1907-1908) is serving as chairman of the Republican county central committee. In 1900 he was sent as a delegate to the national convention at Philadelphia, which nominated William McKinley for president, and in 1904 in the same capacity to the national convention at Chicago, which nominated Theodore Roosevelt. He again was a delegate to the national convention in Chicago in 1908 that nominated William H. Taft. He was a strong supporter of Victor H. Metcalf when Metcalf ran for congress, and was a member of his congressional committee. For several years he was chairman of the congressional committee of Joseph R. Knowland, the present member of congress from the third congressional district.

In civic matters Mr. Reed is also active, now serving as trustee for the Cogswell Polytechnical College of San Francisco, and is a director of the California Institute for the Deaf and Blind at Berkeley. Fraternally he belongs to the Masonic organization, being a member of Sequoia Lodge, F. & A. M.; is a past Exalted Ruler of Oakland Lodge, No. 171, B. P. O. E., and acted as chairman of the building committee which succeeded in the face of many obstacles in building the

Elks' Hall, one of the most popular clubrooms in Oakland. He also belongs to University Lodge, No. 144, I. O. O. F. Socially he is a member of the State of Maine Association, in which he takes a most active part, and is a member of the Athenian Club. Mr. Reed is the father of three children: Mabel Linden, wife of Harry A. Lane of Los Angeles; Clarence Munroe, junior member of the firm of Reed, Black & Reed; and Russell Albert, who died aged twenty-one years.

EDWIN MEESE.

One of the most prominent citizens of Oakland is Edwin Meese, a native son of California, who has proven a factor in the development and upbuilding of public interests. His parents, Herman and Katherine (Waldman) Meese, were both natives of Germany and left the Fatherland in 1849, when they crossed from New York City to St. Louis, Mo., spent one year, and thence crossed the plains to California. The elder Mr. Meese located near Sacramento for the first year, afterward engaged at contracting and building in San Francisco, and finally became interested in the sugar business. The father is still living in Oakland, while the mother passed away in 1881. Besides Edwin Meese, they were the parents of the following children: Constant, of Oakland; Walter; Herman, who died at the age of thirty-five years; Emma, wife of J. C. H. Stut, of Oakland; Gustav, of Spokane, Wash., and Adolph, of Oakland.

Edwin Meese was born in San Francisco, March 28, 1857, the second child in the family of his parents, and in the common schools of that city he received his early education. He took a four years' course at Fort Wayne, and was next a student in Heald's Business College of San Francisco, from which institution he was graduated in 1876. His first business position was as assistant secretary of the Bay Sugar Refinery, a company organized by his father and the first of its kind on the Pacific coast. After

three years spent in Oakland he went to Sacramento and followed a similar occupation for a like period, when he sold out and returning to Oakland established an insurance concern with which he is still identified. He has been actively identified with every movement of importance in Oakland, belonging to its Board of Trade, serving as a director in its Chamber of Commerce, and as a member of the Nile Club seeking social advancement. After serving seven years as a member of the City Council of Oakland he was appointed city treasurer and tax collector, which position he now holds. He was married in Grand Rapids, Mich., in 1880 to Miss Cornelia Van Wiltenburg, a daughter of John Van Wiltenburg, and they became the parents of the following children: Emma, wife of Rev. M. H. Liebe, of San Francisco; Edwin, a student; and Alvina, who died at the age of eighteen months.

Also prominent in this family is Walter Meese, who was born in San Francisco, November 7, 1858. He likewise received his education in the public schools of San Francisco, and in Heald's Business College took a commercial course, graduating therefrom in 1875. He first took up the trade of carpenter, which he followed for three years, and then for two years engaged in the sugar business with his father's company. He was then sent to Central America to learn the growing of sugar and spent one year at San Salvador; the business was then sold and on his return to his home he engaged in the wholesale liquor business with a partner, the firm name being Bach, Meese & Co. He acted as book-keeper in the concern for about eight years, when, in 1888, he purchased a wooden and willow ware business which he has since changed to hardware. For eighteen years he was located at No. 1009 Washington street, but then removed to his present location, No. 1014 Clay street, where he is carrying on a large and profitable business. Mr. Meese is associated with movements calculated to advance the commercial interests of Oakland, being a member of the Merchants' Exchange, the Hardware Dealers' Association, both state and county (now serving as treasurer of the Alameda County Association), and is also a member of the Oakland Chamber

of Commerce. For a number of years he was a director in the Merchants' Exchange and was largely instrumental in its advancement and up-building. Socially he is a member of the German Club and for a number of years served as its treasurer. In religion he belongs to the German Lutheran Church of Oakland.

The marriage of Mr. Meese united him with Miss Elizabeth Koenig, a daughter of Ferdinand and Elizabeth (Hildebrand) Koenig; the ceremony was performed in Oakland in 1886. They became the parents of the following children: Anna, Alma, Dorothea, Walter, Arnold, Constant and Elizabeth.

EUGENE SALTER VAN COURT.

A varied business career has been that of Eugene Salter Van Court, many ups and downs in the past that have jeopardized his business interests, many obstacles that have been difficult to surmount, and yet through it all he has come triumphant—accumulating a competence and at the same time building up for himself a place among the representative citizens of Oakland, where he has made his home throughout the greater part of his life. He is a native son of California, his birth having occurred on the old Jeremiah Clark ranch, one mile south of Mayfield, October 25, 1856; his father, John Warren Van Court, was one of the early pioneers of California, for further reference to whom see personal biography elsewhere in this volume.

Eugene S. Van Court received his education in the public and high schools of San Francisco, after which at a youthful age he engaged in carrying papers for a livelihood. Later he engaged with the Bradstreet Mercantile Agency for two years, and then, in 1876, entered the employ of McCain, Flood & McClure, a wholesale dry goods firm, and remained in this connection until they discontinued business in 1878. Then accepting employment with the Deming-Palmer Milling Company, he remained in their employ for the

period of nine years as collector and assistant bookkeeper, resigning in the fall to become financial agent for the racing stables of Senator Hearst. He returned to California after one year and became superintendent for the Reliance Athletic Club, holding the position for five years. While in this connection he was one day pondering upon what the future would bring to him, when in a puddle of water in front of what is now the Forum he saw a muddy card. He stooped down, pulled it out, brushed it off and read an advertisement of a shorthand college which had just opened. It seemed a way out of his difficulties and he at once decided to take up stenography and become a court reporter, and seven months and three days later he reported his first case in the police court of Oakland. Fourteen months later he went to work as a full-fledged reporter and has since carried on this business, for four years of this time working under Coroner Baldwin, the remainder of the time to date, under police judges, Fred Wood, Mortimer Smith and George Samuels.

Besides the interests already mentioned, Mr. Van Court has for some years associated himself with the La Zacualpa, the largest rubber plantation in the world, in southwestern Mexico, for which property, twelve thousand acres, has recently been offered \$2,750,000. Mr. Van Court has given much time and attention to the project and to him much credit is due for its success. He is also connected with various other organizations, among them the Hoag Rapid Press, the Shasta May Blossom and Shasta Kennett Copper Mines, in the great copper district of Shasta, those two being the only two not owned by the big close corporations of Europe and the United States. That Mr. Van Court has been successful in his business career is evidenced by existing conditions, and although he has had much to contend with he has never lost hope of ultimate success, has retained his native geniality of manner, and the genuine kindness of his disposition, which has won him a large circle of friends wherever he is known.

Mr. Van Court formed domestic ties by his marriage in Oakland, September 7, 1866, with Miss Mary M. Graff, and their home is now

established at No. 1356 Harrison street, of this city. Mr. Van Court is pre-eminently of a social disposition and is identified with various fraternal organizations; he is a Scottish Rite Mason, having been made a Mason in Oakland Lodge No. 188, F. & A. M., and passed through the various bodies, and is also a member of Islam Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S. He has held various offices in the Scottish Rite. He belongs to Oakland Lodge No. 171, B. P. O. E., and Oakland Parlor No. 50, N. S. G. W. He is an ardent supporter of the benefits to be derived from athletics and has always taken a keen interest in physical prowess, himself contending for and receiving the title and right to wear the emblem of an Olympic champion on seven different occasions in the Olympic Club games of the Olympic Athletic Club of San Francisco, Cal. Liberal, public spirited and enterprising, he is eminently deserving of the high place he holds among the citizens of Oakland.

JUDGE WILLIAM H. WASTE.

As one of the prominent citizens of Alameda county, Judge William H. Waste, of Berkeley, is assisting materially in the development of the best interests of this section, filling the position of judge of the Superior Court, to which he was appointed by Governor Pardee on the 13th of April, 1905. He is a native Californian, his birth having occurred October 31, 1868, on a farm in the vicinity of Chico, Butte county; his father, John Jackson Waste, a native of New York, crossed the plains in 1851, riding a fine, thoroughbred Kentucky horse, and carrying his rifle on the pommel of his saddle. He acted as hunter and guide for an emigrant train which was over three months in making the trip. Mr. Waste first located in Sutter's Fort, and thence removed to Princeton, Colusa county, where he engaged in the raising of cattle and general farming. Later he removed to Chico, Butte County, where he engaged in farming, an occu-

pation which he continued up to the time of his death, in 1882. His wife, formerly Mary C. McIntosh, a native of Kentucky, died in 1868.

Judge Waste received his early education in the public schools, after which he became a student in the University of California and was graduated therefrom in 1891, with the degree of Ph. B. Deciding to take up the study of law, he then entered Hastings Law School of San Francisco, and graduated in 1894 with the degree of LL.B. During the time he was engaged in studying law he was also acting as reporter on the San Francisco *Examiner*, and *Chronicle* and the Oakland *Tribune* and *Times*. After being admitted to the bar he commenced to practice in Oakland and for several years continued in that location. Politically he is a staunch advocate of Republican principles and is active in the councils of his party. In November, 1902, he was elected to the state assembly from the Fifty-second district, and was re-elected in 1904. On the 13th of April, 1905, he received the appointment of his present position of judge of the Superior Court. At the same time he has taken a helpful interest in the public affairs of the bay cities, assisting in the organization of various enterprises, and has acted as attorney for several, among them, the First National Bank of Berkeley, the Homestead Loan Association of Berkeley and the Berkeley Bank of Savings and Trust Company. It was also through his influence as a member of the assembly that appropriations were secured for a large state building at the University of California and also an appropriation for an agricultural building, which, however, was never erected because of lack of funds. Judge Waste also served as president of the Young Men's Christian Association of Berkeley, which he helped to organize, and was an organizer and first president of the Holmes Library Association of Berkeley to which Mr. Carnegie contributed \$40,000 for the erection of a building. In the municipal affairs of Berkeley, Judge Waste has also taken a prominent interest.

In Berkeley, September 16, 1896, Judge Waste was united in marriage with Miss Mary Ewing, a daughter of Archibald and Rowena (Taylor)



Wm. J. Reed

Ewing, natives of Virginia, and born of this union are two children, William E., and Eugenia McIntosh. Judge Waste is prominent in fraternal circles, having been made a member of the Masonic organization in Durant Lodge, F. & A. M., of Berkeley, of which he is past master, and belongs to Berkeley Chapter No. 92 R. A. M.; Berkeley Commandery No. 42, K. T.; and Islam Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S. He is also a member of Peralta Camp, W. O. W., of Berkeley; and of Berkeley Parlor, N. S. G. W. As a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church he contributes liberally to all its charities, and is prominent in the Epworth League. The position held by Judge Waste in the esteem of the people of Berkeley has been won by merit and held by the maintenance of the principles upon which his life work has been based. He is not only a man of ability, but of principle as well, and while he seeks his own personal advancement, still gives his time and attention to the duties that fall to the lot of a loyal citizen.

CHARLES G. REED.

Practically the entire life of Charles G. Reed, of Oakland, has been passed in California, for he came to the state with his parents when only about twelve years old. His father was Capt. William Reed, of whom mention is made elsewhere in this work. Charles Goffe Reed was born in Vassalboro, Me., December 24, 1844, and in November, 1856, was brought to Oakland by his parents. He attended the old Carpenter school, being one of the first pupils enrolled there, and finally he entered the Oakland College School, taking up a business course. His first independent work was in a wholesale clothing business in San Francisco, with which he remained connected for four years, when he came to Oakland and engaged in the hardware business for about two years, being located on the corner of Twelfth and Broadway. He then en-

tered the office of the county clerk as deputy under J. V. B. Goodrich, and after four years in this service was elected to the office of county clerk in 1875. Re-elected in 1877, he served two terms, and then became deputy under C. E. Palmer, county treasurer, and held the position for four years. Entering the Union National Bank at that time, he was advanced to the position of paying teller and later was made exchange teller, which duty he discharged until receiving the appointment of national bank examiner for the Northern District of California, in October, 1907.

In Oakland, January 8, 1868, Mr. Reed was united in marriage with Miss Flora A. Moore, daughter of Gorham H. and Mary A. (Jenkins) Moore, and they became the parents of four children, namely: Olive, wife of S. W. Cushman, of Oakland; Elmer, engaged in a hardware business in Nome, Alaska; Aimee, wife of Harwood D. Swales, of East Oakland; and Eva, who became the wife of H. D. Danforth and died June 28, 1904, at the age of twenty-nine years. Mr. Reed has always taken a keen interest in movements looking toward the betterment of general conditions and has been found ready to lend his aid for such promotion. He was a member of the old Oakland Guard as private in 1862 and was later promoted to first lieutenant, and was also a member of the Oakland light cavalry. He was a member of the Board of Education of Oakland from 1893 to 1897, during which time he acted as chairman of the finance committee and high school committee. Fraternally he is associated with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, in which he is past grand, and also belongs to the Ancient Order of United Workmen, in which he has passed all the chairs, represented his lodge in the grand lodge at various sessions and was grand trustee. He also belongs to the Fraternal Brotherhood. He is a member of the First Baptist Church, in which he officiated as trustee. He is a broad-minded, liberal and public spirited citizen, and by his strict integrity of character, business ability and genial disposition has justly won the position he holds in Oakland and its vicinity.

JOHN C. STOUT, M. D.

For a number of years Dr. Stout has been a resident of Oakland and during that time has built up and conducted an extensive practice in medicine and surgery, as well as establishing for himself a place in the citizenship of this section of California. He is a native of Illinois, his birth having occurred in Carrollton, Greene county, January 27, 1846; his father, Jacob M. Stout, was born and reared in Oxford, Ohio, where he took up the study of medicine. He became an early settler of Greene county, Ill., and there followed the practice of his profession in conjunction with agricultural interests. Both himself and wife, the latter in maidenhood Julia A. Henderson, also a native of Ohio, are now deceased.

John C. Stout passed his childhood on the paternal farm, receiving a primary education through an attendance of the public school in the vicinity of his home. August 7, 1862, he enlisted in Company I, Ninety-first Regiment, Illinois Infantry, and his regiment being assigned to General Buell's command, they went at once to Kentucky. There Mr. Stout was taken prisoner December 29, 1862, was paroled and sent to St. Louis, Mo., and exchanged June 11, 1863. He rejoined the army and went to Vicksburg, where the regiment became a portion of the Third Brigade, Second Division of the Thirteenth Army Corps. Incapacitated because of exposure, he was granted a furlough and before its expiration he was honorably discharged at Springfield, Ill., February 19, 1864. Subsequently he prepared for and entered Illinois College at Jacksonville, where he pursued his studies for one year.

Deciding then to take up the profession so long followed by his father, he became a student in the American Medical College at St. Louis, Mo. In 1867 he engaged in the drug business with his father at Whitehall, after he completed his education in Shurtleff College, in Upper Alton, Ill. He did not graduate until 1878, in the meantime practicing for a time with his father and also spending two years in California. Three years after his graduation he again came to California, and locating in San Jose made that city

his home for fourteen years, during which time he rose to a prominent position among the citizens of that place. He not only built up a large and lucrative practice in medicine in that city, but as a staunch Republican politically aided materially in the advancement of these interests, exercising a marked influence in all public matters. This practice he gave up to locate in Los Angeles county, where he purchased one hundred acres of deciduous fruit, forty acres of olives and twenty acres of oranges and lemons, sacrificing it all, however, because of lack of water. Two years later (1897) the doctor came to Oakland, and here for more than ten years he has been prominent as a specialist in nervous and chronic diseases, and also as a very successful surgeon. He has won the confidence of the people with whom he has been associated, their appreciation being a tribute to his thoroughness and perfect mastery of his profession.

In 1876 Dr. Stout married Miss Laura Gertrude Smith, a native of Alton, Ill., and a daughter of Hon. George Smith, ex-state senator and one of the founders of Shurtleff College. Born of this union are three children, namely: Pearl H., at home; Arthur G., engaged in business in San Francisco; and Olive G. The doctor is associated with various medical organizations, having been a member and delegate of the National Eclectic Medical Society, past president of the Illinois State Medical Society and past president of the California Eclectic State Medical Society, having officiated for two terms in the latter; is also past president of the Santa Clara Medical Society. While a resident of San Jose he was a member and surgeon for the John A. Dix Post, G. A. R., filling this same position in the Admiral D. D. Porter Post of Oakland at the present writing, while he is past medical director of the Department of California of this organization, and past commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy Republican League of California, which numbers seven thousand members. Although so prominent in politics Dr. Stout has never cared for personal recognition along these lines and has repeatedly refused solicitations to become a candidate for official position; at one time, however, in Neosho, Kans., he acted as sheriff of the

county, while he has served frequently as delegate to state and county conventions. He has always favored clean politics and has given his influence consistently in this direction. With his family he is a member of the Twenty-third Avenue Baptist church, and has always taken an active part in church work. Fraternally he is an Odd Fellow, being a member of Observatory Lodge, No. 23, of San Jose, in which he has passed all the chairs, has also passed all the chairs in Golden Rule Encampment of Oakland, is past surgeon and major of Canton, No. 11, Patriarchs Militant, is a member and past chancellor commander of Amazon Lodge, No. 181, of Oakland, and is captain of Uniformed Rank, Knights of Pythias, No. 66, also of this city.

MARTIN W. KALES.

Martin W. Kales, who has been connected with California more or less during the past forty years, was born in Coventry, Chenango county, N. Y., June 5, 1845, a son of William and Hannah (Sheldon) Kales, the father a native of Ireland and the mother of New York. William Kales, who was born July 4, 1806, a son of Francis Arthur Kales, came with his parents to Albany, N. Y., when four years old. There he grew to young manhood and received an excellent education, following teaching for some years; finally he took up farming pursuits, which occupied his attention throughout the remainder of his life, which lasted to the ripe age of eighty-two years. He became a leader in the Republican party of his locality and was sent to the state legislature the year that John C. Fremont was nominated for the presidency, which cause he championed loyally. He married in New York and had eight children, four of whom now survive, Martin W. being the only one on the Pacific coast.

In the common and high schools of his native place Martin W. Kales received his education, before the close of his studies enlisting in March,

1862, in Company D, Eighth Regiment New York Cavalry, under command of Col. Benjamin F. Davis, for service in the Civil war. His regiment was assigned to the Army of the Potomac and there he served faithfully until December 4, 1863, when he was honorably discharged, having participated in the battles of that army and lastly in the battle of Gettysburg. Returning to his home in New York he remained there until 1865, in which year he came west and in Austin, Nev., was employed in the First National Bank of Nevada. He retained his connection with this institution for four years, when he engaged in mining in that state for four or five years. In the fall of 1876 he went to Arizona and at Prescott established the Bank of Arizona, that being the first financial institution in the territory, and served as its cashier for two years. He then became president of the Phoenix, a private bank conducted under the name of Kales & Lewis, and Mr. Lewis became president of the Bank of Arizona. In 1887 Mr. Kales established the National Bank of Arizona at Phoenix and upon its organization became president and held the position until 1896, when he sold out his interests and retired from the active management of the various banks with which he had been associated; he still retains his legal residence in Phoenix.

In 1880 Mr. Kales married Miss Rose Whisler, of San Francisco, and born of this union are the following children: Arthur F., a graduate of the State University of California and now engaged in the zinc mines at Carthage, Mo.; Ruth and Rose, at home; Franklin A., a student in the State University; and Spencer M., a graduate of the high school and now a student in the State University. In June, 1887, Mr. Kales removed his family to Oakland because of climatic conditions and educational advantages, and here purchased the property at No. 176 Lake street and remodeled and refurnished the residence which is now their home. Mr. Kales is a staunch Republican in his political convictions, having cast his first ballot for U. S. Grant. He is prominent socially, being a charter member of the Claremont Country Club and member of Lincoln Post No. 1, G. A. R., of San Francisco. He is prominent in the Masonic organization, having

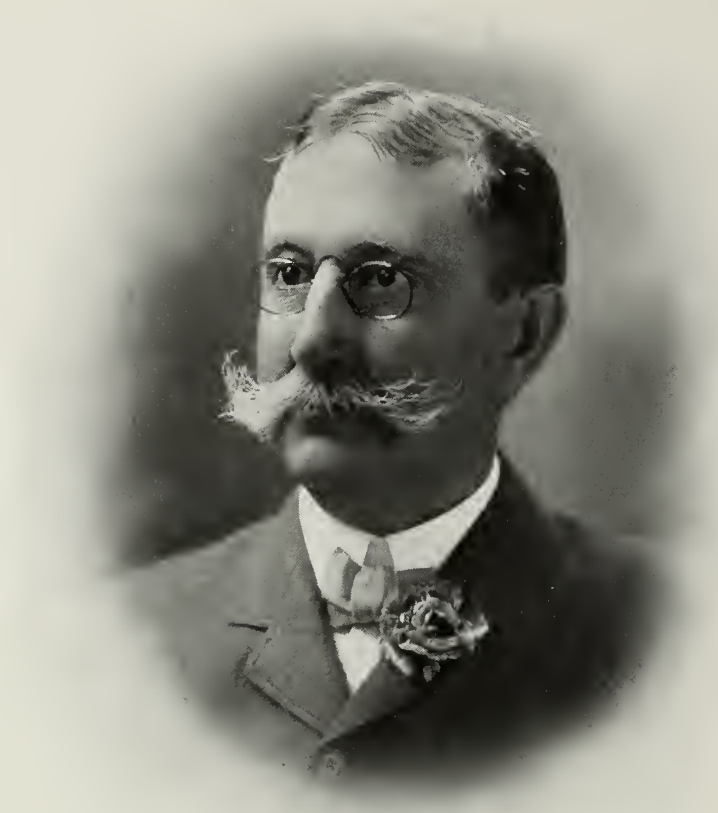
been a Thirty-third degree Mason since the fall of 1890; is past grand master of Arizona, past grand high priest of Arizona, is a member of Arizona Lodge No. 2, F. & A. M., Arizona Chapter No. 1, R. A. M., and is a member of Oakland Commandery No. 11, K. T., and Islam Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., of San Francisco.

HORACE DANE FERSON.

The various enterprises with which Horace Dane Ferson was identified served not only to bring him a personal fortune, but as well to develop and upbuild the resources of the state of California. Inheriting the sturdy qualities of New England ancestry, he was born in Hillsboro county, N. H., June 30, 1826, a son of Moses B. and Sally (Colby) Ferson, both descendants of Scottish families who located in America and served in the Revolutionary war. His father was a carpenter, but Horace Dane Ferson was reared on a farm, receiving a limited education in the common schools. His parents being in straightened circumstances he was put out to work for his board and clothes and from that time on he was dependent upon his own resources. He soon found employment in a cotton mill at Lowell, Mass., and remained there for some time, when he returned to New Hampshire and drove a market wagon. From this he gradually drifted into the buying and selling of live stock and this proved a rather profitable employment. He gave it up, however, to come to California, in 1858, with the idea of making his fortune in the mines of the state. While this occupation contributed to his success, yet he was much more interested in other lines of work which meant more for the development of the Pacific coast resources. He made the journey west via the Isthmus of Panama, thence up the coast to San Francisco, and from that city to Butte county. He arrived December 1 and began working in the mines, continued for himself about a year and a half and then worked for others for a time. Finally he

established a butcher business and conducted this successfully until 1862, when with his accumulated means he began the raising of stock and mining for himself. He was located at Powellton in this line of work until 1870, when in the vicinity of Chico, Butte county, he bought two hundred and forty acres of land and added farming to his labors. He continued to meet with success in his ventures and soon owned a tract of a thousand acres, part of which was developed and a part devoted to timber. With this latter interest he combined the conduct of a large sawmill at Chico, operating the same for three years. He sold out his mining interests in 1892, also his stock, confining his energies to general farming until 1905, when he also disposed of these interests, and moving to Oakland, lived retired from the active cares of life until his death, March 17, 1907. He was identified with many projects which had for their end the upbuilding of the best interests of Butte county, his name figuring prominently in various enterprises. He was a man of shrewd business judgment, combined with a quickness of decision without which no man succeeds. He started with nothing to be classed as assets, and yet steadily climbed the ladder to a position of influence. The first success he achieved in California was in 1865, when he went to Mendocino county, and purchasing a drove of one hundred steers drove them over a trail in the mountains, through valleys and the snow region until at last he reached again the "land of sunshine and flowers." The success of this venture gave him means to continue on a broader scale and thus came to him the opportunities of life which he at once utilized.

In New Hampshire December 25, 1849, Mr. Ferson was united in marriage with Miss Lucy Bennett, a daughter of Moses and Betsey (Bennett) Codman, descendants of Scotch and English ancestry. She was born in Grafton, N. H., July 14, 1831, and came to California after her husband had secured a foothold financially. Mr. Ferson never cared for official recognition, although he always gave his efforts toward the advancement of Republican principles. With his wife he was affiliated with the Presbyterian



J. Ghiorzelli

Church and gave liberally toward its support. Mr. and Mrs. Ferson had one daughter, Laura Jane, now the wife of Rolla Fuller, of Red Bluff, Tehama county, Cal. Mr. Ferson was a man of sterling traits of character, inheriting a strength of purpose and steadfastness which brought him financial success, and personally bearing about with him a friendly and helpful cordiality, a hearty sympathy, which won for him a place high in the esteem of his fellow citizens.

JOSEPH NICHOLAS GHIRARDELLI.

The odd names of California still recall the pioneer spirit which gave to the western statehood its first impetus toward the high place it now holds among its sister states, and among these that of Ghirardelli is prominent in the bay cities. Domingo Ghirardelli was the pioneer, and in San Francisco he conducted a successful business for many years. His son, Joseph Nicholas Ghirardelli, was born in San Francisco February 7, 1852; the early years of his boyhood were passed in his native city, but at a comparatively early age he was sent with two brothers, to Europe. One of his brothers died while studying in Europe. Joseph N. studied for some time in Italy, after which he returned to California and became a student in Santa Clara College, which he attended up to within six months of his graduation. At the age of twenty years he entered the store established by his father in Oakland, and there assisted in the management and was later taken into the firm. As the business increased he was elected to the position of vice-president, which office he held at the time of his death. Their business was the manufacture of chocolate, and was one of the successful industries of Oakland and San Francisco. At one time Mr. Ghirardelli was a member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and at the time of his demise was an Elk of many years standing and a very active member of that organization, holding membership in the Oakland lodge. In young manhood

he had voted the Democratic ticket, but in later years inclined to independence in political matters. Mr. Ghirardelli passed away in his home in Oakland May 11, 1906, heart failure superinduced by the shock received at the time of the great earthquake being the cause of his demise. He was sincerely mourned by a large circle of friends, won in both business and social life, for he was of a genial, kindly temperament, fond of sports, especially of hunting, taking an active, normal interest in all that was going on around him. He was a public spirited citizen and liberal to a degree.

In Oakland, in 1885, Mr. Ghirardelli was united in marriage with Miss Ellen Frances Barstow, a daughter of David Pierce and Elizabeth (Reed) Barstow, whose personal history is given elsewhere in this volume. They became the parents of two children, Joseph N., Jr., engaged in the real estate business in Oakland, and Carmen, a student. The old family home of the Ghirardellis was at the corner of Fifth and Brush streets, Oakland, and after Mr. Ghirardelli's marriage he built a residence on the corner of Market and Nineteenth streets, where he made his home until his death. Since that event the widow has removed to Piedmont, where she owns a beautiful home.

GEORGE CHASE.

The first white man to settle in that part of Alameda county where the city of Oakland now stands was Moses Chase, a seaman from early manhood, who as captain of a vessel had touched at every important port in Europe. He passed several years of his life in marine pursuits, part of the time as proprietor of a pump and block factory, fitting the equipments of his company to ships. He came to California in 1849, leaving Boston January 24 on the ship *Capitol*, rounding Cape Horn, and arriving in San Francisco June 14. He traced the footsteps of others who went to the northern mines, but being accustomed to the salt air of the sea, was stricken with

mountain fever and compelled to abandon gold hunting. He returned to the bay country, where he bought a boat, and made his camp on Gibbons' point, which now is the foot of the Oakland mole. Then it was forested with oaks, and the country which now is a city was part of the same forest. While established at Gibbons' point Mr. Chase explored the whole bay region, and discovering the creek which separates Oakland from Alameda today, changed his camp to the estuary shore. Broadway now ends at the very point where he located. Subsequently he removed across the creek to the east side, and while tenting there he and the three Patten brothers leased land that afterwards was the site of Clinton. They planted it with potatoes, which the year previously had brought \$1 per pound; but because of the demand, many persons began raising the vegetable for market, and prices consequently fell. About two years later, Mr. Chase and the Pattens gave up their lease to a syndicate, which, having bought them out, began laying out the land and founded Clinton, now a portion of East Oakland. Mr. Chase spent the winter months in hunting ducks for the markets, and in this occupation made as much as \$1,000 in one month. For guns and supplies he went east and shipped his purchases across the Isthmus. He owned a sloop and cruised over the bay as the game migrated. Mr. Chase lived retired for the last ten years of his life, and died February 17, 1891, at the age of eighty-four years and six months. His wife, Mary Emily (Stickney) Chase, had passed away in the east in 1841, leaving an only child, George.

George Chase was born in Newburyport, Mass., April 17, 1841, and losing his mother when but three weeks old, was reared by his father's sister, wife of Captain Allen, with whom he lived until he reached his majority. In 1854, Captain Allen, his wife and daughter and George Chase came to California, Mr. Chase's father having made a trip to the east and arranged for them to leave for the west, he returning by the Isthmus route, and they following later in the clipper ship *Fly Away*, which came around via Cape Horn. Mrs. Allen lived in California until

1891, when her death occurred. George, who had been attending the public schools in his native place, resumed his education in the Oakland College for a time. One of his first ventures in earning his own livelihood was acting as toll collector at the old Twelfth street bridge, which he gave up to engage with his father and uncle in hauling freight across San Francisco bay. In 1860 George Chase began an apprenticeship to learn the trades of carriage and house painting, following the first named vocation for three years and the latter for twenty. An injury sustained in his work compelled him to retire from this occupation, and he accepted a position as copyist under P. R. Borein, the county recorder, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Chase's. A few years later Mr. Chase was appointed to the office of deputy county treasurer under James A. Webster and subsequently under Socrates Huff, holding the appointment for more than ten years. In November, 1892, he was elected to the office of county treasurer and successfully discharged the incumbent duties for two years. Mr. Chase has been interested in various business undertakings during the past years, one of which was a mining venture in Montana in company with other men. At the present writing he is engaged principally in the real estate business.

In Oakland, December 25, 1869, Mr. Chase formed domestic ties through his marriage with Miss Mandana E. Boyton, a native of Maine, and daughter of James and Elizabeth (Monroe) Boyton. They became the parents of the following children: Mary Emily, the wife of J. L. Williams of East Oakland; George Moses and Gertrude, twins, the latter now deceased; and Albert B., engaged in the real-estate business in San Francisco. Mr. Chase was one of the original members of the Oakland Guards and served for many years. He has had an active part in musical circles of the city, being a member of a band and a singer in choir and quartette. He is a member of several fraternal organizations, among these the Odd Fellows, being the first to be initiated into Orion Lodge No. 189 in East Oakland. In this he has passed all the chairs, served as representative to the Grand Lodge, and been one of the most active workers.

He is treasurer of the Orion Odd Fellows Hall Association, and for twenty-eight years acted as recorder in the Ancient Order of United Workmen, of which he now is financier. Likewise, he is identified with Oakland Camp No. 94, Woodmen of the World. Mrs. Chase is a member of Brooklyn Rebekah Lodge No. 12, and was installed as the first lady noble grand in California on January 7, 1878. She and her husband are now the only charter members of the lodge.

DANIEL WEBSTER PRATT.

Many of Oakland's early citizens were self-made men, whose success came to them entirely through their own efforts, and of these a prominent place belongs to Daniel Webster Pratt, whose death occurred August 29, 1900. Mr. Pratt came of an old New York family, his own birth occurring in that state September 9, 1835; until he was thirteen years old he remained on the paternal farm, when he was taken by his mother to New Berlin, same state. Mr. Pratt received but scant schooling, and at the age of thirteen and a half years became apprenticed to learn the trade of carriage painting. Upon the completion of his apprenticeship he went to Utica, N. Y., and there followed his trade, and there married Merinda Stilwell, also a native of New York. They had one child born in New York, where it died, and two children born in California, one son dying in infancy, and the daughter, Martella A., becoming the wife of Dow Golden, of Dimond. They were persuaded to come to California by Mr. Pratt's sister and her husband, who had preceded them to the Pacific coast, and this they were more inclined to do because of the failing health of Mrs. Pratt. They made the journey via the Isthmus of Panama, and upon his arrival Mr. Pratt engaged in business for himself in San Francisco. After some years the family removed to Oakland and here Mr. Pratt followed his business, establishing his home on Eleventh street, beside the old Pardee

home. Mrs. Pratt's death occurred in 1875, when her daughter was about ten years old. Mr. Pratt finally gave up independent work in Oakland and soon found employment with a firm manufacturing marble slabs from a patent process, and this enterprise he managed for some time. About this time Mr. Pratt received an appointment to the United States mint in San Francisco and held this position for some years.

In January, 1876, Mr. Pratt was united in marriage with Mary B. Tompkins; she was born in Cohoes, N. Y., a daughter of Clark and Eliza A. (Cook) Tompkins, both natives of Rhode Island. Her father was a mechanic and had been engaged in Troy for some years, but because of impaired health he had come to California, his daughter following him in 1874. Soon after his marriage Mr. Pratt accepted a position as deputy county clerk, under Charles G. Reed, continuing with him during his term of office. After its expiration he went to Arizona on a mining and prospecting tour, but was not successful; he was also located at Halfmoon Bay, San Mateo county, in the cattle business, and later set out a tract of twenty acres in grapes, in the Fresno colony, which property is still owned by his widow. Upon returning to Oakland Mr. Pratt engaged in the real estate business in partnership with Charles E. Lloyd, with whom he remained associated for several years. They afterwards dissolved partnership and Mr. Pratt continued the business until incapacitated by a stroke of paralysis, which left him an invalid for two years, when his death occurred. In every possible respect Mr. Pratt had proven his worth as a citizen, taking a keen interest in all upbuilding movements and ever ready to lend substantial aid. He was an ardent Republican politically, and worked for the party's interests. He was a patriot and at the time of the country's need he sought to give his services, but was rejected because of ill health; he gave his services, however, in caring for those who were wounded and sent back from the front during the first years of the war. He was a member of the First Methodist Episcopal church, member of the board of trustees, and teacher in the Sunday-school, thoroughly conscientious and ever ready to lend a

helping hand to those less fortunate than himself. Fraternally he belonged to the Masonic organization, the Ancient Order of United Workmen, and the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, having been made a member of the first organization in New York, and here affiliated with Live Oak lodge, and was later transferred to the Oakland lodge.

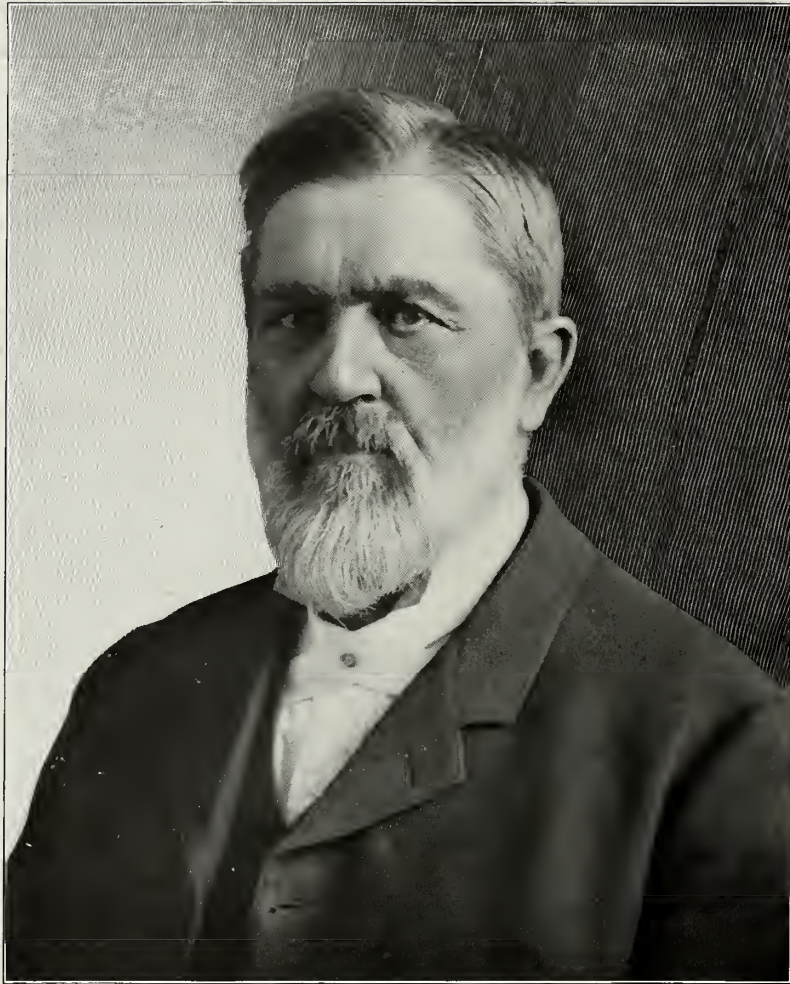
NORMAN A. HARRIS.

The connection of Norman A. Harris with the mining interests of the western states has resulted in financial returns for himself, as well as a development along this line of no small importance. Descended from old New England stock, Mr. Harris was born in Chesterfield, Cheshire county, N. H., September 9, 1827; his parents were John and Luna (Fletcher) Harris, natives of the same state and life-long residents. In the common schools of New Hampshire he received his education, after which he engaged in various pursuits until 1850. In this year he came to California, making the journey by way of the Isthmus of Panama and spending twenty-three days en route. After arriving in San Francisco he remained there for a short time, then went to Sacramento, and thence to the mines of Shasta and Butte counties. This occupation, which proved so disastrous to so many adventurous sons of the east, continued to be the chief interest of Mr. Harris and has brought him large returns as a reward for the strenuous effort he has made toward the development of claims. In 1859 he became associated with George C. Perkins, H. B. Lathrop, D. D. Harris, James Nelson and O. P. Powers, in the organization of the Spring Valley Hydraulic Claims, a company which continued to operate for about twenty-five years, Mr. Harris having been superintendent all this time. In 1873 it was consolidated with the Cherokee Company, which was established in 1855 and was known as the Spring Valley Canal & Mining Company, of which Mr. Harris was also superintendent for a number of years. The former

company had gone to great expense in the operation of their claims, putting in a water way of about forty miles at a cost of \$40,000, building reservoirs, etc. After the consolidation others were interested in the concern, which was finally sold to a New York company for \$1,000,000. At one time they were offered a much larger sum for the mines, but through an act of the state legislature the difficulties to be encountered in hydraulic mining became much greater and naturally depreciated the property to some extent. During Mr. Harris' connection with the property the company took out \$2,000,000, while Mr. Harris himself made the largest bar ever cast at that time, containing \$73,000 worth of ore. In 1883 he took charge of the Big Bend Tunnel for Dr. Pierce, made the survey and ran the tunnel over two miles to turn the course of the North Fork of Feather river, but this did not make their mining a success and this property is now (1908) owned by the Western Power Company.

At one time a number of diamonds were found in the Cherokee mines, Mr. Harris now having two in his possession, one cut and one in its natural state. They are as fine specimens as have been found in America. During 1907 and 1908 much progress has been made in the development of these mines, known to contain precious stones, and they have been visited by experts from the diamond centers of the world. Although he is not now identified with the Spring Valley Company, Mr. Harris is still connected with mining interests, having a quartz mine in Mexico as well as mines in both Plumas and Butte counties, all of which he is operating individually. Practically since 1850 Mr. Harris has given his undivided attention to mining interests and is considered an authority on all questions of mining, and his opinion is respected by all who know him.

Mr. Harris was married in Cambridge, Mass., to Miss Addie L. Taft, the descendant of Mayflower ancestry, her parents being Owen and Adaline (Udall) Taft, both natives of Vermont. Mrs. Harris has among her treasured possessions some continental money paid her great-grandfather for his services in the Revolutionary war,



James B. Merritt

and also two badges worn by her father in the Henry Clay and W. H. H. Harrison campaigns.

Personally Mr. Harris is a man of many parts, inheriting the strong integrity, honor and honesty which have characterized his career; possessing unusual business ability which has brought him financial success; and in character and disposition winning friends wherever he is known by his demonstrated geniality, hospitality and unfailing courtesy. As a citizen he occupies a high position in this section of the state and can always be depended upon to further any movement brought forward for the advancement of the general welfare.

JAMES B. MERRITT.

The manufacturing interests of the bay country have had in James B. Merritt an able advocate for many years, for he came to California in 1871, and locating in Alameda county, six miles southeast of Oakland, established a plant for the manufacture of blasting fuse, which with many alterations and improvements is in operation at the present writing. Mr. Merritt came of a literary family, both parents, James B. and Sarah Goodwin (Humphrey) Merritt, being school teachers. They were both natives of Connecticut, whence after their marriage they went south to Alabama and there engaged in their chosen work. There their son was born December 31, 1839, in Springhill, Marengo county; later the mother returned to Connecticut, where she passed the remainder of her life, the father having passed away the day before his son was born.

James B. Merritt received his education in the schools of New England, after completing the course in the common schools entering Wilbraham Academy and there preparing for Amherst College, where he later became a student. He was but eighteen years old when he decided to become a pioneer of the then remote west—Illinois,—and there began teaching school in Adams county. He remained a resident of Illinois until

1864, when he returned to Simsbury, Conn., and there during the years 1865 and 1866 operated a grist and saw mill. He built up a large business in the two years, but disposed of this enterprise and returning to Illinois purchased a farm of one hundred and sixty acres, carrying it on until 1871, in which year he came to California. The plant he established here was for the manufacture of fuse for blasting purposes and it proved so profitable that Mr. Merritt found it necessary to enlarge and improve his plant from time to time. He held his connection with this enterprise during its various changes for a period of thirty years, the company being known a part of the time as the Toy-Bickford Company. Upon the death of Mr. Toy in 1887 it was changed to the Ensign-Bickford Company. There was a change in the affairs in 1881, but Mr. Merritt remained in active management up to 1901, in which year his son, Albert H. Merritt, succeeded to the position, he being one of the largest stockholders in the concern. The company is now known as the Coast Supply & Manufacturing Company, this being but a branch of a company established in England, where they still have a factory; in 1836 the first branch in America was organized in Connecticut, after which the California branch came into existence. Mr. Merritt is still a director in the company, although practically retired from business life at the present writing.

Mr. Merritt formed domestic ties by his marriage, May 26, 1863, with Miss Catharine F. Cormeny, a native of Pennsylvania and daughter of George Cormeny, and born of this union are the following children: Sarah T., wife of Edward C. Robinson, a prominent attorney of Oakland; Albert H.; Mary Williston, wife of Charles H. Cowell, connected with the gas company of Oakland; Gertrude E., at home; and Augusta A., wife of Thomas W. Norris, of Oakland. They are all members of the First Presbyterian Church of Oakland and liberally support its charities. Mr. Merritt has not allowed his business affairs to so engross his attention as to cause him to fail in his duty as a citizen, but has always been looked upon as one ready to help in the management of public affairs. While a resi-

dent of Illinois he served as school trustee, also member of the district school board and justice of the peace, and in Oakland, from 1873 to 1879, he acted as justice of the peace. Since his retirement from active business he has been occupied with his own personal interests, being specially active in Masonic circles, of which organization he has been a member for many years, now being associated with the lodge, chapter and commandery of Oakland, and is also a member of the Scottish Rite and a Thirty-third degree Mason, acting as secretary of the Scottish Rite bodies of Oakland. The Thirty-third degree was conferred upon him January 16, 1887. As a Republican politically Mr. Merritt served on the election board from 1873 to 1900, when his son succeeded him. Through his many years of business connection and being so prominently identified with Masonic interests, Mr. Merritt has an extensive acquaintance throughout the state of California, and this combined with a kindly and courteous personality has won him many friends.

LEVI SAMUEL BIXBY.

Occupying a position of esteem and respect among his fellow-citizens of Oakland is Levi Samuel Bixby, one of the pioneers of this section, whose father also gave his labors in the early upbuilding and development of the state. The elder, Levi Rogers Bixby, was born in Westford, Mass., October 31, 1818, and there grew to manhood, learning the trade of cabinet maker. He came to California in 1852 via the Isthmus of Panama and located at Coulterville, Mariposa county, where he followed his trade for many years. He enlisted in Company H, Seventh Regiment California Volunteer Infantry, for service in the Civil war, after which he received an honorable discharge. For the first time in sixteen years he returned home, his family having long since thought him dead. Then with his family he came back to California and locating in Oakland made this city his home until

his death. His wife was in maidenhood Martha Maloon, whose family history is given at length on another page of this volume. They were the parents of three children, two daughters, Emma and Jane, being deceased, and the son, Levi Samuel Bixby, now residing at No. 1470 Brush street, Oakland.

Levi Samuel Bixby was born in Boston, Mass., November 26, 1844, and there grew to maturity, receiving a common school and also a high school education. His studies were interrupted by the call to arms, and August 10, 1862, he enlisted in Company K, Thirty-fifth Regiment Massachusetts Infantry, and was assigned to the Ninth Army Corps, following which he participated in the battles of South Mountain, Antietam, Fredericksburg, the Siege of Vicksburg, and others of importance. As a result of the hardships of the Mississippi campaign he contracted malarial fever and was sent to the hospital at Camp Denison, Ohio, and was there adjudged incapable of service at the front. He was then transferred to Company F, Seventeenth Regiment Veteran Reserve Corps, in which he became a corporal. Honorably discharged in July, 1865, in Indianapolis, he returned home and once more took up his studies, entering Bryant & Stratton's business college. He graduated February 20, 1868, and during the same year accompanied his parents to California. Since that time he has held various positions, for four years serving as deputy superintendent of the streets of Oakland under M. K. Miller. He is now acting as storekeeper and gauger under civil service in the internal revenue office, first district of California. For about seven years he was a member of the Oakland Guards under Captains H. N. Morse and A. W. Burrell, and also the Exempt Firemen of Oakland, having been one of the volunteers until that became a pay department of the city in 1874. Fraternally he belongs to the Knights of Pythias, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Masons, and the Grand Army of the Republic, being past post commander of this last-named organization. He organized the Col. E. D. Baker Camp No. 5, Sons of Veterans, and served as its first captain for one year.

Mr. Bixby's home has been located at No.

1470 Brush street since 1871, this being the first residence built in this section of the city. In Oakland he married Sarah Ella Gates, and they have one son, Wilfred Everett, a graduate in 1907 of the medical department of the University of California, and is now serving as assistant under Dr. J. D. Long on the state board of health. He has offices in the Union Savings Bank Building in Oakland, and is also medical instructor in the Oakland College of Medicine. He was married April 21, 1908, to Miss Grace A. Foizy, of Berkeley, and now resides in Oakland. Mr. Bixby is a member of the Baptist Church and his wife of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

MYRON T. DUSINBURY.

Since 1862 Myron T. Dusinbury has been a resident of California and a citizen of Oakland, where he has been identified with banking interests and the real estate business. He is the descendant of Holland ancestry of Quaker stock, the name being originally spelled Van Dusingberg; his paternal great-grandfather was the emigrant who located in New York. Mr. Dusinbury's father, John B., was born in 1802 in Vermont, and in manhood engaged as a manufacturer, eventually coming to California, where both himself and wife passed the remainder of their lives, his death occurring at the age of ninety years.

Myron T. Dusinbury was born in Rensselaer county, N. Y., July 17, 1838, and, being taken by his parents to Lockport, Ill., there attended the public school taught by his aunt, who now resides at Kankakee, Ill., at the age of ninety-six years. Mr. Dusinbury's studies were interrupted by the call to arms in 1861, and although but a lad in years he enlisted among the seventy-five thousand volunteers called for. Later he learned the painter's trade and also engaged in a mercantile enterprise for a short time. One of his sisters, Lydia M., having married A. J. Stevens and come to California in 1861, he decided to try his fortunes on the coast, and accordingly in 1862

he made the journey west by way of the Isthmus of Panama. His first work in the state was in the building of the first wharf, for which he sawed all but three of the piles; after this he was engaged in the building of the railroad from the pier, the first train from the boat to Broadway being run September 3, 1863. Mr. Dusinbury worked a few months at the station and was then made conductor of the first train, continuing in this capacity for the period of six years. During his time of service the railroad was extended to Thirteenth avenue, East Oakland. May 1, 1870, he became identified with the banking interests of Oakland, becoming paying and receiving teller in the Oakland Bank of Savings, then located in the Wilcox building. Later he acted as exchange clerk for both the commercial and savings departments, and also note clerk for a time. He was thus employed at the time of the bank's removal to its present location. He remained in this connection until 1888, when he withdrew from banking interests and became identified with the realty interests of Oakland, associating himself with other enterprising men, the firm being known as that of Dusingbury & Wurtz. Later he became independent in his work and subdivided several tracts of land, one of which consisted of eight acres extending from Adaline to Linden, and from Sixteenth to Fourteenth streets. His home was erected in 1871 from the plans of Dr. Merritt, and here he has ever since resided, his being one of the first houses in the section. The street upon which it is located was known as Sailor's Lane, and was the second street macadamized in the city.

The marriage of Mr. Dusingbury united him with Miss Frances Plummer, a daughter of Marshall D. Plummer, a pioneer of '49, whose personal biography appears on another page of this volume. They became the parents of four children, namely: Harry E., engaged in the insurance business in Denver, Colo., and has one son; John Benjamin, engaged with the West Fuel Company, of Oakland; Mary W., deceased, who married James Merritt and had two children, James Myron and Ruth May; and Marshall P., who died in 1903, at the age of twenty-three years. Mr. Dusingbury is a Mason, being a life

member of Oakland Lodge No. 188, F. & A. M., of which he became a charter member in 1868 and being one of four left of the original number. He officiated as treasurer for years. He is also a member of Oakland Chapter No. 36, R. A. M. He was active in the organization of the Athenian Club, of which he is still a member. Politically he is a staunch advocate of Republican principles and is active along party lines, having served as delegate to both city and county conventions.

WILLIAM BARNET HARDY.

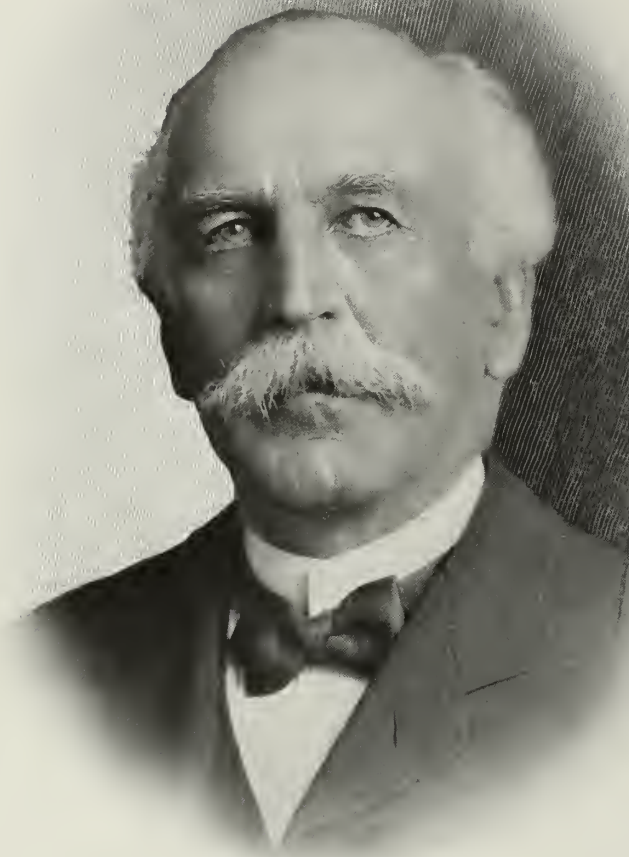
Numbered among the early pioneers of Oakland is William Barnett Hardy, one of the early settlers of this section and for many years engaged in mercantile pursuits. He is a native of Otsego county, N. Y., and was born March 21, 1827. His parents were John and Elizabeth (Moore) Hardy, the father being a native of Scotland and brought to America by the paternal grandfather when he was but four years old. Mr. and Mrs. Hardy became the parents of three sons and three daughters, of whom only William B. now survives.

When thirteen years old, William Barnett Hardy accompanied his parents from New York state to Michigan, and there in the vicinity of Detroit he spent the remaining years of his boyhood. He received a good education through the medium of the public schools and also private institutions, his first occupation in manhood being as a teacher in the schools of Michigan. Later he taught in Illinois also, following other employment during a part of this time, being located in the pineries of Michigan and in Calhoun county, Ill. In St. Louis, Mo., November 12, 1852, he married Ermina M. Bacon, a native of Calhoun county, Ill., and daughter of Orrin Creighton and Sarah Ida (Mounts) Bacon, settlers of that portion of the Prairie state in 1825 when it was largely given over to the huts of the red men. In 1854 Mr. Hardy and his wife

outfitted for the perilous trip across the plains, joining a train bound for California, which they reached without any serious mishap. They remained in San Jose for a short time, then bought a ranch in Alameda county, near San Leandro; he secured a squatter's title to his property, and in the conflicts that followed over land rights, he left the property. Removing to Oakland in 1858, he engaged in business with his brother-in-law, W. B. Bacon, in the express and mercantile business. They continued their partnership for about three years, when Mr. Hardy purchased the entire interest and pursued his business occupations for many years. He acquired considerable means during the passing years, but met with some reverses in 1893, the year of the widespread panic. Since that time he has sold his business, which consisted of one of the finest book and stationery stores in Oakland, to his sons, and they are now managing this enterprise at No. 961 Broadway. Mr. Hardy has retired from active business pursuits and is spending the evening of his days in peace and contentment in a comfortable little bungalow home at No. 2031 Richmond boulevard.

Mr. and Mrs. Hardy became the parents of a large family of children, named in order of birth as follows: Lillian V.; W. Frank; Mina B., wife of Albert N. Dennison, of Oakland; Charles G., who is married and living in Oakland; Tracy S., married and living in Oakland (these two sons being the owners of the business formerly conducted by their father); Esther D., wife of Noah G. Rogers, of Los Gatos, Cal.; Sophia B., wife of G. H. White, of Marin county, Cal.; John Ross, married and living in San Diego, Cal.; Wright B., located in Schenectady, N. Y.; Sumner, a dentist, and Samuel P., who is married and lives in Nevada.

During the many years of his residence in Oakland Mr. Hardy has taken a keen and practical interest in all movements looking toward the furtherance of the general welfare. He served as supervisor at the time the new courthouse was built, also served as a member of the board of trustees of the public schools at the time it was changed to the board of education. His voice has always been heard in matters of public im-



E. F. Bachelder
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provement, and his suggestions have proven practical and beneficial. He has never cared greatly for fraternal organizations, although he has at different times been identified with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of United Workmen. Mr. Hardy enjoys a wide esteem among his fellow-citizens, justly earned by his years of integrity in business and helpfulness as a citizen.

THOMAS F. BACHELDER.

The Bachelder family, represented in Oakland by Thomas F. Bachelder, a successful lawyer and a citizen of worth and ability, was established on American soil during the colonial period of our history, three brothers emigrating from England and locating in the colonies, one in Massachusetts, a second in New Hampshire and a third in Maine. New England remained the home of the various branches of the Bachelders, and there they rose to prominence as business men, statesmen and scholars. Maine is the native state of Thomas F. Bachelder, his birth having occurred in the town of Corinna, Penobscot county, December 16, 1834; both parents, Dodge and Mary P. (Lynnell) Bachelder, were natives of the Pine Tree state, where their entire lives were passed. For many years the father was engaged in the lumber business and the manufacture of shingles, and being successful in business, accumulated a substantial competence. Trained in the loyalty of his ancestors, he enlisted for service in the Mexican war, and died while in service, at Pueblo, Mexico. He was a man of enterprise and ability and enjoyed the respect and esteem of his fellow citizens.

Thomas F. Bachelder received his education primarily in the common schools of his native state, preparing for college in the academy at Corinna. Subsequently he entered what was then known as Waterville College, in Waterville, Somerset county, Me., this afterwards being merged into the Colby University. He was grad-

uated from this institution in 1858, after which he began the reading of law with J. M. Bell, of Somerset county, continuing his studies until his admission to the bar in the spring of 1859. Following this he immigrated to what was then known as the "west," and established a law office in Grand Rapids, Wood county, Wis., and there began the practice of his profession. He remained in this location from 1859 to 1864, when, in company with two brothers, he outfitted for the trip across the plains to California. They arrived without accident at Salt Lake City, and there stopped for a time to rest their teams and get supplies. While there they were told of the unfriendly attitude of the Indians, which they found out for themselves after again resuming the journey, as they had many thrilling experiences before reaching California. They were attacked several times in what was then called a running fight, the Indians being mounted on ponies and shooting their arrows as they rode. One man in the train was wounded five times, one arrow passing entirely through his arm. However, they met with no serious encounter and succeeded in reaching their destination in safety. Following the general trend of population they first located at Placerville, and there engaged in mining, but not meeting with the success anticipated they went on to San Francisco. There Mr. Bachelder established a law office and resumed the practice of his profession, which continued uninterruptedly for about twenty-two years. It was in 1887 that he first became interested in a ranch comprising twenty-five hundred acres of land, there engaging in the raising of stock, hay and grain. Not caring for an agricultural life, however, he decided to divide his ranch into tracts of ten and thirty acres and sell it off, and being near Oakland he readily found a market at a handsome figure. After disposing of his real estate he returned to San Francisco and resumed his law practice, remaining a resident of that city for but a brief time when he came to Oakland and opened an office at No. 906 Broadway, and has here built up a lucrative clientele, having been connected with many important cases.

In 1858 Mr. Bachelder was united in marriage

with Miss Charlotte A. Crommett, of Waterville, Me., and a daughter of Alfred Crommett, a substantial citizen of that place. Two children have blessed their union, Walter T., superintendent and manager of the Canton Mining Company, on Feather river, and Maybell, Mrs. R. W. Curtis, of Oakland. In his fraternal relations Mr. Bachelder is a member of Occidental Lodge, No. 22, F. & A. M., of San Francisco, and also belongs to the Knights of Pythias, being past grand chancellor, and was a representative to the national supreme lodge, which met in Milwaukee, Wis., in 1890, and again in 1892 at Kansas City, Mo. He is prominent socially, and is held in the highest esteem by all who know him.

GEORGE W. BRETT.

The two families, paternal and maternal, represented among the pioneers of California by the late George W. Brett, were named among the founders of our country, his first American ancestor on the paternal side, Seth Brett, having located in the colonies in 1712. Descended from him and likewise prominent in the development of whatever section they made their home, were Simeon, Rufus, Ezra and George W. In 1775 Rufus Brett married Susanna Cary, the sixth in descent from John Alden, and thus on the maternal side the family are descended from Mayflower ancestry. Ezra Brett married Alice R. Robinson, and George W. Brett married Susan Wharff.

George W. Brett was born in Paris, Me., April 14, 1810, and in the common schools of his native state received a very limited education, years of experience, reading and observation tending to make of him the well-informed and helpful citizen of maturer years. His father was a blacksmith and he learned this trade under his instruction, living, however, with an uncle from the age of ten years. He followed his trade in Auburn, Me., for many years, was there married and reared a family of fourteen

children, of whom six are now living. A brother of Mr. Brett, John R. Brett, came to California in an early day and became a wealthy merchant of Marysville, and through his representations and those of other of his relatives George W. was induced to come to the Pacific coast, which he did in 1857. Upon his arrival in California he at once established a blacksmith shop in San Antonio and there carried on his business for about three years. Disposing of his interests at that time, he went to Carson City, Nev., and there assisted in the operation of a stamp mill for the period of a year. Returning to California, he established a business in San Francisco, but finally located again in his old home in Auburn, Me., where he passed the remainder of his years, attaining the ripe age of ninety-three.

But one of Mr. Brett's children is located in California, she being Mrs. Alice R. Chase, who was born in Maine and there educated, after which she came to California in 1860 via the Isthmus of Panama. Here she married Amos L. Bangle, also a pioneer of California, and had four children, namely: Newton Brett, who died at the age of nineteen months; Martha Amy, who was born in Oakland, educated in the public schools, then married E. F. Richardson, a noted attorney of Denver, and has four living children; George Edgar, a jeweler, who is married and has two children; and Amos Lincoln, professor of music in Oakland, who is married and has one child. Their first home in Oakland was at the corner of Nineteenth street and Eleventh avenue, where Mr. Bangle died February 25, 1872. Mr. Bangle was one of the early pioneers of Oakland and established the first drug store here; he was a cornetist of unusual ability, also of an inventive turn of mind, having patented a printing press. Mrs. Bangle married Duncan McFarlane, a pioneer of Oakland, a railroad man and miner, and his death occurred in 1887. September 7, 1903, she became the wife of Christopher Columbus Chase; he was born in Maine July 8, 1833, and there learned the trade of painter and paper hanger. He came to Oakland in December, 1876, returned to Maine in 1877, and then in November, 1902, once more located in Oakland, where

he has since resided, their home having been erected in 1877 by Mrs. Chase. Mr. Chase is a veteran of the Civil war, having enlisted in Company I, Twenty-second Regiment Maine Infantry.

CHARLES D. HEYWOOD.

The Heywood family have maintained for many years a place of importance in the business life of California, of which state, Samuel Heywood, the father of the present generation, became a pioneer in 1850. He was the descendant of old New England ancestry, having been born in the state of Maine in November, 1833; his father Z. B. Heywood, was a prominent lumberman and a successful business man for many years. Samuel Heywood was educated in his native state and until he was seventeen years old enjoyed the benefit of his father's training; at that age he was fired with the ambition to try his fortunes in the far famed land of California, and accordingly made the trip to San Francisco. With two of his brothers he then formed a partnership for the conduct of lumber interests, the firm being known as that of the Heywood Brothers, and located in San Francisco for several years.

In 1900 Mr. Heywood established the business now conducted by his sons, having as a partner at that time Thomas Richardson, who continued as its secretary until he sold his interests to Mr. Heywood. This company is known as the West Berkeley Lumber Company, and after the father's death in 1903 was incorporated as such with a capital stock of \$50,000, the mother and sons retaining the entire interest. Charles D. Heywood, who was born in Berkeley and there educated, became president of the company, while his brother, Frank Heywood, assumed the duties of secretary. In 1907 they disposed of their original property and established their present firm at the foot of University avenue, their buildings extending to the bay in order that large vessels may come direct to the wharf for loading and unloading. This is

one of the large enterprises of Berkeley and has been instrumental in the commercial advancement of this section. The sons are prominent in public affairs, as was their father, the elder Mr. Heywood serving as a member of the Board of Trustees of Berkeley for years and acting as president, while he was also a member of the Board of Education. In politics he was a staunch advocate of Republican principles, and in religion was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and a liberal contributor to all its charities. He was a prominent Mason, belonging to Live Oak and Durant Lodges.

Charles D. Heywood is prominent in the Masonic organization, belonging to Durant Lodge No. 268, F. & A. M., Berkeley Chapter No. 92, R. A. M., and Berkeley Commandery No. 42, K. T. He is helpful as a citizen and always ready to lend his aid, either financially or personally, toward the general advancement of the community.

WILBER WALKER.

As secretary of the Merchants Exchange of Oakland, Wilber Walker is exercising a strong and marked influence on the business affairs of this city, where he has been a resident practically since boyhood. He was born in Bangor, Me., September 4, 1847, a son of Asa and Emeline (Brown) Walker, the only child born to his parents. The father was also a native of Maine, his birth having occurred at Beans Corner in 1806; he received his preliminary education in the public schools of Bangor and later studied and practiced law in that city. In 1854 he came to California by way of the Horn, bringing with him his family, and located in Happy Valley, where the old Palace hotel stood. Later he came to Clinton, now known as East Oakland, and engaged in lumbering and the manufacture of shingles for about two years and then began the practice of law. He was elected justice of the peace and later was elected one of the first su-

perior judges of Alameda county, and in 1863 was elected to the state assembly, in which he served one term. He made Oakland his home until his death, which occurred May 13, 1869. His wife survived him some years and passed away in the home of her son Wilber, in Oakland.

Wilber Walker was reared in Oakland and educated in the public schools, after which, in 1865, he entered the College of California, which became the University of California. The class of which he was a member was the first graduating class of the present University of California. In 1867 he took up bookkeeping and for thirteen years was employed with a planing-mill company. Later for a time he followed lumbering and finally became proprietor of a hardware establishment, which business continued for about sixteen years. During this time, in 1898, he became secretary of the Merchants Exchange of Oakland and has since acted in that capacity, now devoting his entire time and attention to that work. However, for eight years he filled this office as well as conducted his business. He also served as president of the Board of Library Trustees for two years. In fraternal circles he has been a Mason and a member of Oakland Lodge No. 188 for thirty-eight years; is also a member of the Ancient Order of United Workmen in which he has passed all the chairs of the Brook-

lyn Lodge and was a representative in the Grand Lodge. During the trying times following the great San Francisco disaster, Mr. Walker was made secretary of the relief committee and gave valuable service in the work.

In Oakland in 1872, Mr. Walker was united in marriage with Miss Eva Jane Smith, daughter of John F. and Margaret (Horne) Smith; she was a native of Brooklyn, N. Y. Four children were born of this union, of whom one son, Edgar Wakeman, died at the age of four years; the others are: Wilber, Jr., who is married and engaged in the mantel and tile business on Telegraph avenue in Oakland; Walter Smith, a machinist, who is married and living in Oakland; and Margaret, at home. The home of the family is located at No. 519 East Twelfth street in Oakland, the residence having been built in 1876 by Mr. Walker, whose father purchased a block of land at this point in the early history of the city. Mr. Walker has always been a very public-spirited citizen, taking a keen interest in the general welfare of the community and freely giving his time and means toward this end. He is a man of unquestioned integrity and as such has been made trustee and executor of many estates, two of which are now in his hands for settlement.

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